# Siblings Overseas

Foundational landscape, law, land distribution,
and urban form in 16th-century Spanish colonial cities.

Three cases of new towns in Jaen (Spain),
Nueva Granada (Colombia) and Cuyo (Argentina).

## Manuel Sánchez García
\* \* \* \* \* \*

**Supervisors**

Prof. Sergio Pace
ICAR 18 / Dipartimento di Architettura e Design, Politecnico di Torino

Prof. Juan Calatrava
Área de Composición Arquitectónica, Universidad de Granada

**Commission:**
Prof. Annalisa Dameri, Politecnico di Torino.
Prof. David Arredondo Garrido, Universidad de Granada
Prof. Ana Esteban-Maluenda, Referee, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid.
Prof. Germán Mejía Pavony, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá.
Prof. Carlos Plaza, Referee, Universidad de Sevilla.

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# Summary

The PhD project *Siblings Overseas* aims **to contribute to the global urban history of Hispanic grid cities, building connections between practices, morphologies, and ideas from both shores of the Atlantic Ocean.** This line of research has its precedent in the previous work *Granada Des-Granada*, published in Colombia in 2018 (Ed. Uniandes), which offered a survey on Muslim medinas and the evolution of Christian grid cities between the 11th and 15th centuries.

*Siblings Overseas* takes over where *Granada Des-Granada* ended and focuses on grid cities founded in Spanish domains during the early modern period. After the first fortified settlements in the American coastline were created, the 16th century brought diverse transformations to Spanish colonial new towns both in the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean, and the American frontier. Urban laws and foundational acts gained relevance, shifting the main urban efforts in America from fortified positions in the early 1500s to open grid cities in the 1530s. Despite the ample literature studied this phenomenon in America, its presence in Europe and the Mediterranean has received less attention. Spanish archives conserve original 16th-century settlement books and logs of several cities founded in the Iberian south and the former Andalusian frontier, which have been studied and transcribed by local historians who signaled their familiarity with their American sisters. No comparative analysis has been developed in this sense, keeping these "Andalusian colonies" away from international historiography.

**The objective** of this dissertation is to present an in-depth comparative study of European and American urban plantation protocols, focusing on unfortified new towns whose foundational processes evolved during the 16th century.

**The general hypothesis** is that Spanish practices for the plantation of cities in Europe and America present a set of shared aspects based on their common frame of laws, institutions, agents, and beliefs. These elements were in constant evolution in both shores of the Atlantic due to their dynamic socio-political situation. Their similarities and differences have been studied and evidenced through the analysis of primary written sources, historical cartographies, and detailed foundational records. The urban grid is the most visible of these cities' traits, even an archetypical one; but it did not operate by itself. The evidence presented in *Siblings Overseas* show that there was no pre-established model for all these new towns around the global Spanish Empire, but a shared set of urban protocols organically applied in diverse contexts.

**The leading case of study** in this project is the foundational process of four new towns in Sierra Sur de Jaen (Andalusia), which took place between 1508 and 1539 and includes the settlements of Mancha Real, Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares, and Campillo de Arenas. Sierra Sur was the main friction point between the kingdoms of Jaen and Granada during the last centuries of the Reconquista, making it a strategic territory for colonization after the Granada War (1582-92). Available primary sources are mainly written documents: instructions for founding agents, judicial processes, lawsuits over land rights, independence privileges, etc. Only one of the four foundational plans survives but is well conserved and show with precision the layout of streets and the distribution of urban parcels.

**American cases** include two cities, both influenced by urban principles stated in the Indies Laws. This legal body reunites edicts from the earliest 16th century until its publication in 1681, each with its respective date and ordering king/queen. Its analysis shows how Laws enacted by monarchs like the Catholic Kings, Juana I, Charles V, and Philip II recommend the same principles and rules for America as those applied in Sierra Sur. However, official records and foundational plans of most early Spanish colonial settlements have not survived. The oldest partition plan conserved of an American foundation is the one of Mendoza, first Spanish city in the province of Cuyo (1561-2), originally under the jurisdiction of Capitanía General de Chile and later included in the Viceroyalty of La Plata (Argentina). Mendoza was founded in two acts, with plans and written records conserved for each of them at the Archivo General de Indias (Seville). The second American case is Villa de Leyva in the Kingdom of New Granada (Colombia), firstly planted in 1572 and then moved in 1582. The foundational acts conserved for this city are some of the oldest in Colombia and South America. Villa de Leyva depended on Tunja's jurisdiction, forty kilometers away, in the same manner that Sierra Sur's new towns were under the authority of Jaen.

# Sumario

El Proyecto de doctorado *Siblings Overseas* tiene como objetivo **contribuir a la historia urbana global de las ciudades hispanas en retícula, construyendo conexiones entre prácticas, morfologías e ideas provenientes de ambas orillas del océano Atlántico**. Esta línea de trabajo tiene un precedente directo en el trabajo previo Granada Des-Granada, publicado en Colombia en 2018 (Ed. Uniandes), en donde se ofrecía una exploración del urbanismo de medina islámica y grilla cristiana en España entre los siglos XI y XV.

*Siblings Overseas* toma el relevo donde *Granada Des-Granada* terminó, concentrándose en ciudades de trama ortogonal fundadas en reinos españoles durante la modernidad temprana. Tras la creación de los primeros asentamientos costeros fortificados en América, el siglo XVI trajo consigo diversas transformaciones urbanas en ciudades de tipo colonial creadas tanto en la Península Ibérica y el contexto mediterráneo como en la frontera americana. Leyes urbanas y actas fundacionales ganaron relevancia, redirigiendo los principales esfuerzos urbanos en América desde las posiciones fortificadas de principios de la década de 1500 a los asentamientos reticulares abiertos en la década de 1530. A pesar de la amplia literatura existente en cuanto al estudio de este fenómeno en América, su presencia en Europa y el Mediterráneo ha recibido mucha menos atención. Diversos archivos españoles conservan libros y registros de fundación originales de diversas ciudades del siglo XVI creadas en el sur ibérico y la antigua frontera andaluza, los cuales han sido estudiados transcritos y estudiados por historiadores locales que han señalado su familiaridad con sus "hermanas" americanas. Sin embargo, ningún análisis comparativo ha sido desarrollado en este sentido, manteniendo así a las fundaciones "coloniales" andaluzas del XVI apartadas de la historiografía internacional.

**El objetivo** de esta tesis doctoral es presentar un estudio comparativo profundo entre protocolos de fundación de ciudades aplicados en Europa y América, concentrándose en ciudades de nueva planta no fortificadas cuyos procesos fundacionales se desarrollaron a lo largo del siglo XVI.

**La hipótesis general** se basa en la idea de que las prácticas fundacionales españolas aplicadas en Europa y América presentan una serie de aspectos comunes basados en su marco legal compartido a nivel de leyes, instituciones, agentes y creencias, entre otros factores. A lo largo del siglo XVI, estos elementos experimentaron una evolución constante a ambos lados del Atlántico dada su divergente situación sociopolítica. Sus similitudes y diferencias han sido estudiadas y

evidenciadas en este proyecto a través del análisis de fuentes escritas de carácter notarial, registros de procesos de fundación, así como mapas y cartografías históricas. La grilla urbana es la más visible de estas características comunes, incluso la más arquetípica, más sin embargo no operaba por si misma. La evidencia presentada en *Siblings Overseas* demuestra que no existía ningún modelo preestablecido para todas estas ciudades a lo largo del imperio español global, sino más bien una serie de protocolos urbanos comunes aplicados orgánicamente en contextos diversos que arrojaban, por tanto, resultados igualmente diversos.

**El caso de estudio principal** de este proyecto es el proceso fundacional de cuatro ciudades de nueva planta en la Sierra Sur de Jaén (Andalucía) llevado a cabo entre 1508 y 1539 y que incluye las poblaciones de Mancha Real, Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares y Campillo de Arenas. Sierra Sur había sido el principal punto de fricción entre los reinos de Jaén y Granada durante los últimos siglos de la Reconquista, haciendo de ella un territorio altamente estratégico de cara a ser colonizado tras la Guerra de Granada (1482-1492). Las fuentes primarias disponibles al respecto de este proceso fundacional son principalmente documentos escritos: instrucciones impuestas a los agentes fundadores, procesos judiciales, demandas sobre derechos de propiedad de la tierra, privilegios de independencia, etc. Sólo uno de los cuatro planos fundacionales de estas villas ha sobrevivido, si bien se encuentra bien conservado y muestra con precisión la distribución de vías y parcelas urbanas.

**El grupo de casos americanos** incluidos en este trabajo consta principalmente de dos ciudades, ambas influenciadas por los principios urbanos recogidos más adelante en las llamadas Leyes de Indias. Este cuerpo legal reúne edictos y normas emitidas desde principios del siglo XVI hasta su compilación en 1681. En dicha edición, cada ley o norma incluye una nota indicativa de la fecha en que fue hecha oficial y el monarca a cargo de su firma. Su análisis muestra cómo las leyes aprobadas por reyes y reinas tales como los Reyes Católicos, Juana I, Carlos V o Felipe II recomendaba los mismos principios y reglas para América que ya se venían aplicando en la Sierra Sur. A pesar de la existencia de esta base legal común abundantemente documentada, casi ningún asentamiento colonial de primera generación en América conserva documentación de su fundación. El plan de repartimiento colonial americano más antiguo que se conserva es el de Mendoza (1561-2), la primera ciudad española en la provincia de Cuyo, originalmente en la jurisdicción de la Capitanía General de Chile y más adelante integrada en el Virreinato de La Plata con capital en Buenos Aires, hoy Argentina. Mendoza fue fundada a través de dos actas distintas, cada una con sus propios registros y planos conservados en el Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla. El segundo caso americano es Villa de Leyva, en el Reino de Nueva Granada (Colombia), fundada por primera vez en 1572 y más

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adelante desplazada a una nueva localización en 1582. Las actas de fundación que conserva esta ciudad son algunas de las más antiguas tanto de Colombia como de América Latina, con Mendoza como antecedente cercano en el tiempo más no en el espacio. Villa de Leyva dependía de la jurisdicción de Tunja, a cuarenta kilómetros de distancia, de un modo similar a como las nuevas fundaciones de la Sierra Sur dependían de la autoridad provincial en Jaén.

# Acknowledgments

When that agreement was signed, this project entered the orbit of the research group HUM813 'Arquitectura y Cultura Contemporánea' led by Prof. Juan Calatrava Escobar at Universidad de Granada. Its members have supported this dissertation and provided valuable guidance. Parallelly to this connection among researchers, the production of *Siblings Overseas* has been systematically applied in teaching activities, the most relevant of them being the courses on History of Material Culture led by profs. Sergio Pace and Francesca Filippi at Politecnico di Torino, and the design course on architectural and landscape led by prof. Rafael de Lacour at Universidad de Granada. All of them acted as mentors, generously sharing their experience and supporting the project in its most difficult moments. Moreover, these courses provided an opportunity to maintain a connection with the student community that ended up being indispensable for the progress of this research. In this way, professors and students have become part of *Siblings Overseas*. My most sincere appreciation to you all.

*To Eva,*
*for always being here.*

*To Rosa and Conchita,*
*who are not here but there.*

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[1] All figures in this dissertation have been revised with the collaboration of Eva Amate, Spanish architect, and designer. Her collaboration has been essential during the development of new digital maps and diagrams, as well as for the vectorial digitization of early modern foundational plans from cities in Andalusia, Argentina, and Colombia.

developed during the Iberic period, 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. The locations in red are the Cathedral, the Madrassa, Plaza Nueva and Charles V palace. © Universidad de Granada. ....................................................................................................156

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# Introduction

## *Siblings Overseas*
## An approach to early modern colonial urban studies based on the notarial nature of foundational urban plans.

## *Siblings Overseas*
## Una aproximación a los estudios urbanos coloniales de la modernidad temprana basada en la naturaleza notarial de los planos de fundación.

### Prolegomena

*Siblings Overseas* is a doctoral dissertation project developed at the Ph.D. program *Architettura. Storia e Progetto* at Politecnico di Torino (Italy), coordinated with the Ph.D. program *Historia y Artes* at Universidad de Granada thanks to an international *co-tutelle* agreement. Thanks to this agreement, this

dissertation opts to two PhD degrees at the same time, summing the doctoral degree in *Architettura. Storia e Progetto* and the degree of *Doctor por la Universidad de Granada*. It has been supervised by professors Sergio Pace from Politecnico di Torino and Juan Calatrava from Universidad de Granada, both linked to the fields of Architectural History, Urban History, and Architectural Composition.

The project *Siblings Overseas* began in November 2018 thanks to a full Ph.D. fellowship granted by the Department of Architecture and Design at Politecnico di Torino and funded by the Italian Ministry of Universities and Research.[2] This financial support allowed the Ph.D. candidate to move from Bogotá, where he was a lecturer and researcher at Universidad de los Andes, to Torino, where he has maintained his primary residence for the whole duration of the Ph.D. program. The first step of *Siblings Overseas* was the development of a research plan that was presented and approved by two different juries, one at Politecnico di Torino in October 2019 and another at Universidad de Granada in November 2019. After that, the project continued with field work and archival research at diverse locations in Spain. These activities were abruptly interrupted in March 2020 because of the COVID-19 outburst, which forced the candidate to a lockdown of three months at his family's house in Granada until he was able to book a ticket in May for an emergency flight organized by the Italian Embassy in Spain. From June 2020, all research tasks were developed remotely, including the analysis of early modern visual media and the elaboration of essays and research articles. Since then, most activities on archival material and primary sources have been developed digitally through the commissioning of digitized documents and continuous communication with the staff of archives in Spain, Colombia, Argentina, and the US. *Siblings Overseas* focuses mainly on documents and plans from the 15th and 16th centuries that receive special archival treatment and are not available for direct manipulation, so their digitization is often prioritized. This worked for the benefit of the project, attenuating the negative consequences of the lockdown.

Despite these difficulties, *Siblings Overseas* advanced steadily. By May 2021, several essays and research papers had been finished.[3] Three of them underwent peer-review in internationally acknowledged journals.[4] Partial contributions and advances of the project have been presented at international conferences and meetings of academic associations such as AISU[5] 2019 at Bolonia, the SAH[6] 2020 digital conference, SAH 2022 at Pittsburgh, RSA[7] 2022 at Dublin, EAHN[8] 2022 at Madrid, and AhAU[9] 2022 also at Madrid. Writing work for this

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[2] Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca.
[3] See appendix C.
[4] Journal of the SAH, Archivo Español de Arte, Hispania, Studia Historica: Historia Moderna.
[5] Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana.
[6] Society of Architectural Historians
[7] Renaissance Society of America.
[8] European Architectural History Network.
[9] Asociación de historiadores de la Arquitectura y el Urbanismo.

dissertation document started in April 2021 and a first complete draft was issued in October 2021 to the PhD commission at Politecnico di Torino. A second draft was discussed in January 2022, presented to external reviewers in March, and finally approved for its public defence on May.

The following pages offer a synthesis of these four years of research work and academic activity divided in three acts. They are preceded by an introduction that works as a general roadmap, and a conclusive chapter that summarizes the main contributions of the project and connects with potential future post-doctoral endeavours. All in all, this dissertation seeks to provide a smooth but precise argument that delves into as many details as necessary for each topic. At the same time, it is conscious of its length and complexity. Measures have been taken to maintain flow and coherence, so its contributions to the field of early modern urban history do not get lost in a sea of conjectures.

## Prolegómenos

*Siblings Overseas* es un proyecto de tesis doctoral desarrollado en el programa de doctorado *Architettura: Storia e Progetto* del Politecnico di Torino (Italia), en coordinación con el programa de doctorado en Historia y Artes de la Universidad de Granada gracias a un convenio de cotutela internacional firmado en 2019. Gracias a dicho acuerdo, el candidato opta simultáneamente a dos títulos de doctorado, sumando el título de doctore in *Architettura: Storia e Progetto* y el de *Doctor por la Universidad de Granada*. La tesis ha sido supervisada por los profesores Sergio Pace del Politecnico di Torino y Juan Calatrava de la Universidad de Granada, ambos vinculados a las áreas de la historia de la arquitectura, la historia urbana y la composición arquitectónica.

El proyecto *Siblings Overseas* comenzó en noviembre de 2018 gracias a una beca de doctorado completa otorgada por el Departamento de Arquitectura y Diseño del Politecnico di Torino y financiada por el Ministerio Italiano de Universidades e Investigación.[10] Este apoyo económico permitió al candidato desplazarse desde Bogotá, donde trabajaba como profesor asociado e investigador de la Universidad de los Andes, a Turín, donde ha mantenido su residencia durante la mayor parte de la duración del programa de doctorado. El primer paso de *Siblings Overseas* consistió en el desarrollo de un plan de investigación que fue presentado y aprobado por dos comisiones/jurados distintos, uno en el Politecnico di Torino en octubre de 2019 y otro en la Universidad de Granada en noviembre de ese mismo año. Después de ello, el proyecto continuó con actividades de trabajo de campo y de archivo en diferentes localizaciones españolas. Estas actividades fueron interrumpidas de forma abrupta en marzo de 2020 debido a la pandemia del COVID-19, forzando al candidato a un confinamiento estricto en una residencia familiar en Granada hasta que consiguió reservar un billete en un vuelo de emergencia a Italia en mayo, organizado por la Embajada de Italia en España. A partir

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[10] Ministero dell'Università e della Ricerca.

de junio de 2020 todas las actividades de investigación fueron desarrolladas de forma remota, incluyendo el análisis de fuentes de la modernidad temprana y la escritura de ensayos y artículos científicos. A partir de ese momento, la mayor parte del trabajo sobre material de archivo se ha desarrollado a través de la comunicación continua con archivos en España, Colombia, Argentina y los Estados Unidos, quienes facilitaron el acceso a materiales digitalizados. *Siblings Overseas* se concentra mayoritariamente en planos y documentos de los siglos XV y XVI que suelen recibir un tratamiento especial en los archivos, prohibiendo su acceso y manipulación directa incluso desde antes de la pandemia. Su digitalización era por tanto prioritaria también antes de la crisis del COVID-19. Este factor funcionó a favor del proyecto, atenuando las condiciones negativas del confinamiento.

A pesar de estas dificultades, el proyecto *Siblings Overseas* avanzó de forma constante. Hacia mayo de 2021 varios artículos de investigación y capítulos de libro habían sido terminados.[11] Tres de ellos fueron sometidos a revisión de pares en journals de impacto internacional.[12] Otras contribuciones parciales y avances de investigación han sido presentados en conferencias internacionales y reuniones de asociaciones académicas tales como la de AISU[13] en Bolonia en 2019, la conferencia digital de SAH[14] en 2020 y su conferencia presencial en Pittsburgh en 2022, la reunión anual de RSA[15] en Dublín en 2022, la conferencia internacional de EAHN[16] en Madrid en 2022, y el III Congreso Internacional AhAU[17] en 2022 también en Madrid. El trabajo de escritura sobre el manuscrito principal de la tesis comenzó en abril 2021. En octubre de ese mismo año se presentó un primer borrador a la comisión de doctorado de *Architettura: Storia e Progetto* en el Politecnico di Torino. Un segundo borrador fue revisado en enero de 2022, sometido a revisión de pares externos a finales de marzo y finalmente aprobado para su defensa en mayo.

Las siguientes páginas ofrecen una síntesis de estos cuatro años de trabajo de investigación y actividad académica, divididos a su vez en tres actos. Son precedidos a su vez por una introducción que funciona como guía general del recorrido, así como un capítulo conclusivo a modo de sumario de las principales contribuciones del proyecto y su conexión con potenciales proyectos post-doctorales. En suma, esta tesis busca proporcionar un argumento fluido pero preciso que presente el nivel de detalle más alto posible respecto a cada uno de los temas y casos tratados. Es al tiempo consciente de su longitud y complejidad. Se han tomado medidas para mantener el dinamismo de la narrativa y su coherencia, de modo que sus contribuciones al campo de la historia urbana moderna no se vean extraviadas en un mar de conjeturas.

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[11] Ver apéndice C.

[12] Journal of the SAH, Archivo Español de Arte, Hispania, Studia Historica: Historia Moderna.

[13] Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana.

[14] Society of Architectural Historians

[15] Renaissance Society of America.

[16] European Architectural History Network.

[17] Asociación de historiadores de la Arquitectura y el Urbanismo.

*Quando l'opera è finita, si instaura un dialogo tra il testo e i suoi lettori (l'autore è escluso). Mentrel'opera si fa, il dialogo è doppio. C'è il dialogo tra quel testo e tutti gli altri testi scritti prima (si fanno libri solo su altri libri e intorno ad altri libri) e c'è il dialogo tra l'autore e il proprio lettore.*
*Umberto Eco, 1983*[18]

[18] Umberto Eco, Postille *a il nome della rosa* (Bompiani, 1983).

# Taking down Fletcher's tree: new categories for the study of Hispanic urban morphology

Urban form is, by now, a classic topic in urban history. During the second half of the 20th century, authors like L. Benevolo, A.E.J. Morris, J. Rykwert, S. Anderson or S. Kostof built upon the French and English roots of the urban studies field, becoming international referents and publishing some of the most widely read surveys on the history of cities.[19] Their conceptual framework and the way they organize urban typologies remind the notorious tree of Architectural style genealogy published for the first time in 1896 by Sir Bannister Fletcher.[20] In this diagram, architectural styles appear as fruits in a tree, ordered chronologically. Older styles appear at the bottom, near the roots, while newer ones are feature as young, thinner branches over the top. Greek and Roman styles occupy the trunk of the tree, functioning as a Eurocentric reference that pollutes the whole ideogram. The representation of architectural styles shows them isolated, without intermediate variants or mutations, frozen in time as a static object of art and culture. The shadow of this tree and its conceptual frame is evident in the work of many of these authors, in the same way that it still lingers over contemporary architecture education programs. Although most scholarship today recognizes Fletcher's contribution to the creation of Architectural History as a discipline, his legacy is considered Eurocentric, non-diverse, and even violent and deceptive of architectural cultures in the Global South.[21] Hence, Fletcher's genealogical tree is generally not well received today (Figure 1).

In the same way as architectural history manuals, 20th-century urban history surveys categorize cities in a similar manner to Fletcher's. This condition affects the Global South and distorts and shallows the narrative of topics and regions that has not been traditionally considered the core of the European canon. Spanish grid urbanism is one of these topics, being presented in most urban surveys as a sudden appearance in the 16th century barely rooted to Iberian medieval history.

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[19] Leonardo Benevolo, *Diseño de la ciudad*, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977); A. E. J. Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 3rd ed (London New York Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1994); Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Cambridge (Mass.): The MIT Press, 1988); Stanford Anderson, *On Streets.* (Cambridge, Massachusets: The MIT Press, 1978); Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

[20] Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 5th ed., rev. (London: Batsford, 1905).

[21] Francis D. K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, Architecture (Hoboken (New Jersey): Wiley, 2007). Profs. Mark Jarzombek and Vikramaditya Prakash are also founders of the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC) in 2013, a collective project born as a direct response to eurocentric architectural teaching practices. See https://gahtc.org/ and Williams, R. J. A Review of *Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative* (GAHTC) in Tahl Kaminer et al., "Reviews Fall 2020," *Architectural Histories* 8, no. 1 (December 2, 2020): 21, https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.559. Another root for this approach to Fletcher's legacy can be found in Gülsüm Baydar and Nalbantoḡlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's 'History of Architecture,'" *Assemblage* 35 (1998): 7–17, https://doi.org/10.2307/3171235.

**Figure 1: Collage mixing Fletcher's architecture tree (1954) with a group of woodcutters by F. Goya (17777-1780).[22]**

[22] Francisco de Goya, *Los Leñadores*, 1780 1777, Óleo sobre lienzo, 141 x 114 cm, 1780 1777, Museo del Prado; Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method: For Students, Craftsmen and Amateurs*, 16. ed. revised with over four thousand illustrations (London: BTBatsford, 1954). Image first published in Manuel Saga, "A favor de una Historia Global de la Arquitectura," *Blog de Fundación Arquia | Blog de arquitectura y arquitectos* (blog), May 20, 2019, https://blogfundacion.arquia.es/2019/05/a-favor-de-una-historia-global-de-la-arquitectura/.

For example, in the 1979 book 'History of Urban form before the industrial revolutions,' A.E.J. Morris covered all of medieval Spanish grid urbanism in just a few pages. According to Morris, Spanish medieval grid plantations were 'further variations on the theme of European medieval town planning' whose 'main significance is that of providing a determining influence on the colonial settlement policies adopted by the Spanish conquistadores in Latin America.'[23] In this way, one of the most crucial phenomena in medieval Hispanic culture was conceptualized and defined only through its American consequences, without further exploration of its origins, its social and legal backgrounds, or morphological traits. The only medieval Spanish grid city highlighted by Morris is Santa Fe, a proto-modern plantation created in 1492 over the trace of the royal military encampment for the siege of Granada. Santa Fe is, of course, a paradigmatic case, but it does not allow for a synthetic understanding of a four-hundred-year-old planning tradition that branches all over the Iberian Peninsula. This same approach can be found in most 20th century and contemporary urban history works, giving Santa Fe the status of an embodiment of Hispanic grid urban culture that invisibilizes its rich past and regional diversity. In other words, the fruit in Fletcher's tree for Spanish grid planning practices, it bears the image of Granada's Santa Fe.[24]

During the last decades and under the umbrella of postcolonial and decolonial theory, the fields of architectural history and urban history have shown an increase in works focusing on global and local case studies that have been traditionally oversight or despised.[25] Most relevant study centres in the Western world have created research groups and seminars focused on Latin American, Asian, African, and other non-western topics, delving into their specific cultural and historical aspects. At the same time, European and non-European scholars have reacted to their academic legacy, embarking on the de-construction of their 19th-century frameworks, exploring their own internal complexities and increasing the visibility histories previously subjected to nationalist discourses born from the 19th-century hegemony.[26] In 2015, the author of this dissertation created the research project *Granada Des-granada*[27] based on this same sensibility, as a means to put into discussion a diversity of Hispanic urban traditions through parallel arguments that

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[23] Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 147.

[24] The discussion on urban historiography and the case of Santa Fe is developed further in the first chapter of this dissertation.

[25] With Edward Said as one of the main references for postcolonial thinking: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

[26] One of the most influential text regarding this approach is Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Revised edizione (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ Pr, 2007).

[27] Developed as a master's thesis titled "Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana", presented at Universidad de los Andes (Bogotá) in 2016, worthy of maximum grade and *cum laude* honors, and published in 2018: Manuel Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana* (Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, 2018).

included planning practices in Al-Andalus[28] and Christian Iberia.[29] This work explored the traditional Arab legal roots of Hispanic-Islamic urbanism in the Andalusian side while presenting the emergence of Christian grid urbanism as a projection of monarchic and Catholic power in certain border areas. The title *Granada Des-Granada* was inspired by the problematic cross-border relationship between Andalusian and Christian cities, as well as the words attributed to King Ferdinand II of Aragon 'the Catholic': 'sacaré una a una las semillas de esta Granada' [I will take one by one the seeds of this Granada].[30] If *Granada* was a kingdom and its seeds were its Islamic cities and medinas[31], a *Des-Granada* would be a Christian plantation explicitly created to urbanize the borderland and eventually conquest its enemies. This conceptual approach focused on the interaction between Islamic capitals (*Granadas*) and Christian plantations (*Des-Granadas*) in four different Iberian territories and time periods: the Jacobean[32] area around Zaragoza and its Aragonese and Navarre plantations between the 11th and 12th centuries, the Iberian eastern coast and the Aragonese plantations near Zaragoza in the 13th century, the Castilian castrum for the siege of Seville and the grid new towns founded after its Christianization in the 13th century, and finally the Castilian-Aragonese urbanism used in the decades before and after the fall of Granada in 1492 (Figure 2). By studying these four historical contexts and a small group of study cases for each of them, *Granada Des-Granada* explored the relationship between urban form and legal tradition that exists in the core of medieval Hispanic urbanism. This complex relationship between law and urbanism provides new insights for later plantations in Latin America, which have been traditionally studied through surveys focused only on their morphology. Also, *Granada Des-Granada* insisted on the existence of a long and slow historical process behind Spanish grid urbanism, one that overcomes traditional shallow theories like its creation thanks to influences from Renaissance Italy, French southern *bastides*[33], or directly from

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[28] Refers to all territories controlled by Islamic kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula between 711 and 1492. In some periods, this covers almost all the Peninsula, including most of present-day Spain and all of Portugal. In its last centuries, the term refers just to the Kingdom of Granada in the South-East. During some periods, Al-Andalus was a region of foreign empires, like the period of the Umayyad Emirate of Córdoba, which was controlled from Damasco (711-756), or the Almohad occupation coming from North Africa (1145-1212). At other times, Al-Andalus was a unified, independent region, like the Umayyad Califate of Córdoba (929-1010) or the aforementioned Kingdom of Granada. Finally, there are several periods when Al-Andalus grouped multiple separate kingdoms called "taifas," such as the Taifa of Zaragoza in the north, the Taifa of Murcia in the West, or the Taifa of Menorca in the Balear Islands. This definition has been already published in Manuel Sánchez García and Juan Calatrava, "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism: Spaces of Conflict and Cultural Exchange during the Reconquista and Its Aftermath," Teaching Material, GAHTC - Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative, November 2020, https://gahtc.org/modules/preview/94.

[29] Iberia: refers to the whole territory of the Iberian Peninsula.

[30] Washington Irving, *Crónica de La Conquista de Granada* (Madrid: Imprenta de I. Sancha, 1831). The kingdom of Granada and its capital are named after the Spanish Word for pomegranate *granada*, hence the wordplay with seeds/cities being taken out.

[31] Medina: walled medieval city whose structure follows the Arab-Islamic tradition. Its

[32] Jacobean refers to the Jacobean Route, known in Spanish as Camino de Santiago.

[33] Bastide: Unique typology of fortified new towns created in southern France, England, and Wales. Most of them date from the 13th and 14th centuries, although some earlier examples exist.

Classic Roman traditions. Also, acknowledging the presence of urban grid practices in the Iberian Peninsula during the whole medieval period leads to the question of how did it continue to be applied there after 1492. Was Granada settled and repopulated in the same way that Seville, Valencia, and Zaragoza were repopulated before? And, what relationship do these repopulation projects hold with the settlement of the Iberian Americas? *Granada Des-Granada* focused on the diachronic first question, but the synchronic second one was barely explored. It was left open for future research.
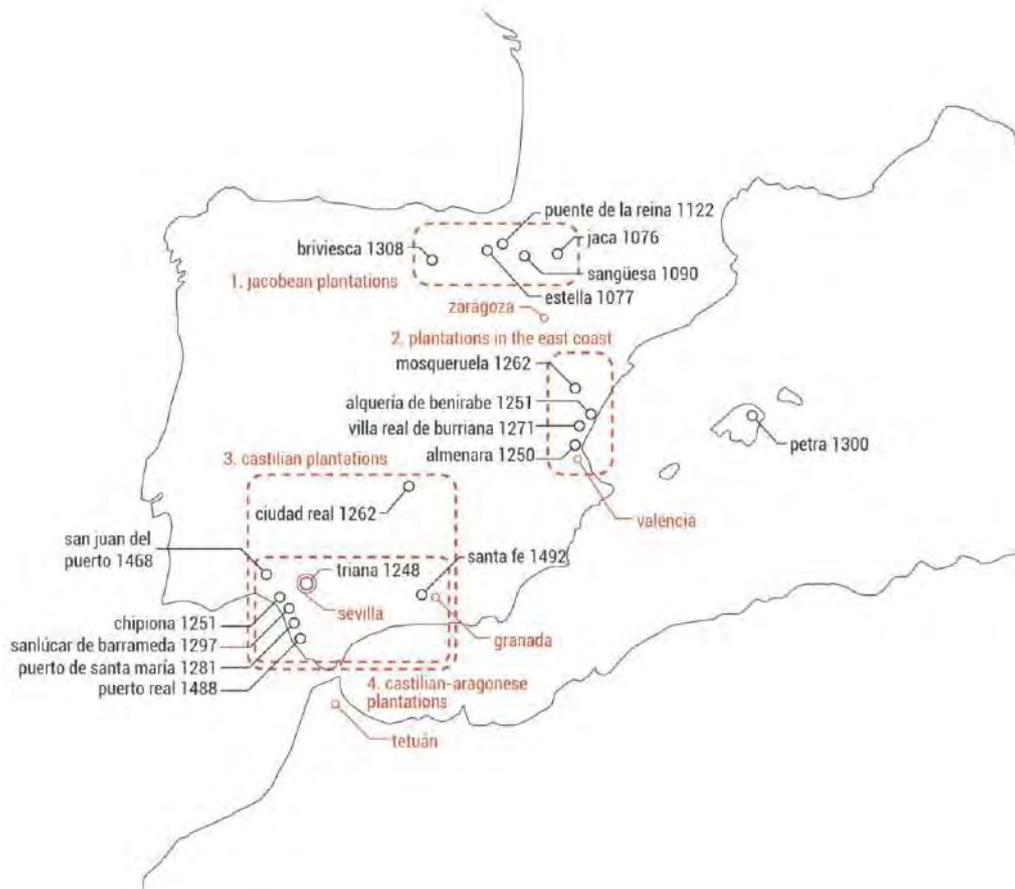


**Figure 2: Granadas (purple) and Des-Granadas (grey) in the Iberian Peninsula. © Manuel Sánchez García[34]**

Their main characteristic is their grid plan, central square and fortified limit, with a stablished set of rules and measures for the construction of houses, streets, churches, etc.

[34] Source: Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana*, 140.

## Talando el árbol de Fletcher: nuevas categorías para el estudio de la morfología urbana hispana.

La forma urbana es, a estas alturas, un tema ya clásico en el campo de la historia urbana. Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XX, autores como L. Benevolo, A.E.J. Morris, J. Rykwert, S. Anderson o S. Kostof construyeron sus trabajos sobre las raíces inglesas y francesas del campo de la historia urbana, convirtiéndose en referentes internacionales y publicando algunos de los manuales sobre historia de la ciudad más leídos en el mundo.[35] Sum arco conceptual y el modo en el que organizan diferentes tipologías urbanas recuerda en gran parte al infame árbol de la genealogía de los estilos arquitectónicos publicado por primera vez en 1896 por Sir Bannister Fletcher.[36] En este diagrama, los estilos arquitectónicos aparecen como frutas en un árbol ordenadas cronológicamente. Los estilos más antiguos aparecen cerca del suelo, junto a las raíces, mientras que los más nuevos aparecen como ramas jóvenes y finas cerca de la copa. Los estilos griego y romano ocupan el tronco del árbol, funcionando como referencia eurocéntrica indispensable para el autor que contamina el resto del ideograma. La representación de los estilos arquitectónicos los muestra como productos aislados, sin variaciones indetermedias o mutaciones, congelados en el tiempo como objetos estáticos de arte y cultura. La sombra de este árbol y su carga conceptual es evidente en el trabajo de muchos de los autores anteriormente referidos, del mismo modo que aún pesa hoy en día sobre la mayoría de los planes de estudio de arquitectura en universidades de todo el mundo. Aunque el estado del arte actual reconoce la contribución de Fletcher a la hora de crear la disciplina de la historia de la arquitectura, su legado es considerado eurocéntrico, contrario a la diversidad e incluso violento y poco riguroso en su tratamiento de la cultura y la arquitectura del sur global.[37] Por ello, el árbol genealógico de Fletcher no suele ser bien recibido hoy en la mayoría de foros académicos (Figure 1).

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[35] Leonardo Benevolo, *Diseño de la ciudad*, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977); A. E. J. Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 3rd ed (London New York Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1994); Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Cambridge (Mass.): The MIT Press, 1988); Stanford Anderson, *On Streets.* (Cambridge, Massachusets: The MIT Press, 1978); Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

[36] Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, 5th ed., rev. (London: Batsford, 1905).

[37] Francis D. K. Ching, Mark M. Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, Architecture (Hoboken (New Jersey): Wiley, 2007). Profs. Mark Jarzombek and Vikramaditya Prakash are also founders of the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC) in 2013, a collective project born as a direct response to eurocentric architectural teaching practices. See https://gahtc.org/ and Williams, R. J. A Review of *Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative* (GAHTC) in Tahl Kaminer et al., "Reviews Fall 2020," *Architectural Histories* 8, no. 1 (December 2, 2020): 21, https://doi.org/10.5334/ah.559. Another root for this approach to Fletcher's legacy can be found in Gülsüm Baydar and Nalbantoḡlu, "Toward Postcolonial Openings: Rereading Sir Banister Fletcher's 'History of Architecture,'" *Assemblage* 35 (1998): 7–17, https://doi.org/10.2307/3171235.

Del mismo modo que las guías de historia de la arquitectura, los volúmenes del siglo XX que repasaron la historia urbana categorizaron diferentes ciudades y asentamientos por estilos asimilables a los vistos en la obra de Fletcher. Esta condición afecta especialmente al sur global, distorsionando y consumiendo la narrativa sobre temas y regiones que no han formado parte del canon europeo tradicional. El urbanismo español en retícula es uno de esos casos, presentado en la mayoría de los manuales de urbanismo como un modelo aparecido súbitamente en el siglo XVI como producto del Renacimiento, sin apenas raíces en la historia medieval ibérica.

Por ejemplo, en el libro de 1979 'History of Urban form before the industrial revolutions,' A.E.J. Morris concentró todo el urbanismo medieval en retícula de España en apenas unas pocas páginas. Según Morris, las fundaciones españoles en retícula de la edad media eran 'variaciones dentro de la costumbre europea de planeación de ciudades medievales'[38] cuya 'principal importancia es la de generar una influencia determinante en las políticas de población colonial adoptadas por los conquistadores españoles en América Latina.' [39] De este modo, uno de los fenómenos más cruciales en la historia cultural hispana era conceptualizada y definida tan solo en cuanto a sus consecuencias americanas, sin explorar en ningún momento sus orígenes, su trasfondo social, su marco legal o sus atributos morfológicos. La única ciudad en retícula española de la edad media reseñada por Morris es Santa Fe, una fundación proto-moderna creada en 1492 sobre la traza del campamento de realengo creado durante el asedio de Granada. Santa Fe es, por supuesto, un caso paradigmático, pero no permite ni mucho menos una comprensión sintética de la tradición urbana ibérica que se expande y ramifica a lo largo y ancho de cuatro siglos. Esta misma aproximación de Morris aparece en la mayoría de trabajos de historia urbana del siglo XX y principios del XXI, atribuyendo a Santa Fe un estatus de adalid de la cultura urbana de ciudades en retícula españolas que invisibiliza su diverso y rico pasado. En otras palabras, la fruta de la grilla española en el árbol de Fletcher lleva la imagen de Santa Fe de Granada.[40]

Durante las últimas décadas y bajo el paraguas de la teoría postcolonial y decolonial, los campos de la historia de la arquitectura y la historia urbana han mostrado un incremento en la cantidad de trabajos dedicados a casos de estudio locales o globales que han sido tradicionalmente ignorados o incluso despreciados.[41] La mayoría de centros de estudios de occidente han creado grupos de investigación y seminarios dedicados a América Latina, Asia, África y otros casos fuera del canon occidental, profundizando en sus especificidades culturales e históricas. Al mismo tiempo, estudiosos tanto europeos como externos al viejo

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[38] Traducción del autor.

[39] Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 147. Traducción del autor.

[40] La discusión sobre historiografía urbana y el caso de Santa Fe se desarrolla con mayor extensión en el capítulo primero de esta tesis.

[41] Con Edward Said como uno de los principals referents del pensamiento postcolonial: Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

continente han reaccionado a su propio legado académico, embarcándose en la deconstrucción de sus marcos conceptuales decimonónicos, explorando sus propias complejidades internas e incrementando la visibilidad de historias europeas previamente sujetas a discursos nacionalistas nacidos de las hegemonías del siglo XIX.[42] En 2015, el autor de esta tesis creó el proyecto de investigación *Granada Des-Granada*[43]*,* basado en esta misma sensibilidad, como medio para poner en discusión la diversidad de tradiciones urbanas hispanas a través de argumentos paralelos que incluían prácticas aplicadas en Al-Andalus y la Iberia cristiana. Este trabajo exploraba las raíces legales tradicionales en el urbanismo hispano-islámico del lado andalusí, al tiempo que presentaba la emergencia del urbanismo cristiano en retícula como una proyección del poder monárquico católico sobre ciertas áreas de la frontera. El título *Granada Des-Granada* estaba inspirado en la relación problemática existente entre ciudades cristianas y andalusíes a ambos lados de la frontera, así como en las palabras atribuidas al rey Fernando el Católico: 'sacaré una a una las semillas de esta Granada.'[44] Si *Granada* era un reino y sus semillas eran sus ciudades y medinas, una *Des-Granada* sería una fundación cristiana expresamente creada para urbanizar el territorio fronterizo y eventualmente conquistar a sus enemigos. Esta aproximación conceptual se concentraba en la interacción entre capitales islámicas (*Granadas*) y fundaciones cristianas (*Des-Granadas*) en cuatro territorios y periodos históricos diferentes: el área jacobea alrededor de Zaragoza y las fundaciones aragonesas y navarras entre los siglos XI y XII, la costa oriental ibérica y las fundaciones aragonesas vecinas a Zaragoza en el siglo XIII, el castro castellano para el asedio de Sevilla y las nuevas ciudades en retícula creadas tras su cristianización en el siglo XIII, y finalmente el urbanismo castellano-aragonés utilizado durante las décadas inmediatamente anteriores y posteriores a la caída de Granada en 1492 (Figure 2). A través del estudio de estos cuatro contextos históricos y un pequeño grupo de casos de estudio asociados a cada uno de ellos, *Granada Des-Granada* exploraba la relación mediante formas urbanas y tradiciones legales como parte de la esencia del urbanismo medieval hispano. Esta relación compleja entre ley y urbanismo proporciona además nueva luz sobre las fundaciones posteriores creadas en América Latina, las cuales han sido tradicionalmente estudiadas a través de estudios centrados exclusivamente en su morfología. Por otro lado, *Granada Des-Granada* insiste en la existencia de un proceso histórico largo y lento tras la razón de ser del urbanismo español en retícula, uno que va más allá de teorías superficiales

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[42] Uno de los textos más influyentes sobre esta aproximación es: Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Revised edizione (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ Pr, 2007).

[43] Desarrollado como tesis de maestría bajo el título "Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana", presentado en la Universidad de los Andes (Bogotá) en 2016, merecedora de la calificación máxima y grado cum laude, publicada en 2018: Manuel Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana* (Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, 2018).

[44] Washington Irving, *Crónica de La Conquista de Granada* (Madrid: Imprenta de I. Sancha, 1831). The kingdom of Granada and its capital are named after the Spanish Word for pomegranate *granada*, hence the wordplay with seeds/cities being taken out.

centradas en su influencia renacentista italiana, su similitud a las bastidas francesas, o su copia directa desde las tradiciones castrenses romanas. El reconocimiento de la presencia de prácticas urbanas en retícula durante todo el periodo medieval ibérico lleva también a la pregunta sobre cómo continuó su práctica después de 1492. ¿Fue Granada colonizada y repoblada del mismo modo en que lo fueron Sevilla, Valencia y Zaragoza? Y, de ser así, ¿qué relación tuvo esta repoblación con los asentamientos en América? Granada Des-Granada se concentró en la primera cuestión de un modo diacrónico, más la segunda, de tipo sincrónico quedó abierta a futuras investigaciones. Este es el punto en el *que Siblings Overseas* entra en acción.

## The historiographic problem of Spanish grid urbanism in post-conquest Granada

Still today, most scholarship on early modern Ibero-American urban history is either situated on one or another shore of the Atlantic. Projects connecting both realms are rare and costly in human and economic means. Works focused on the American side often refer to the Hispanic grid as a medieval 'tradition' that 'reappeared' during the American conquest, giving a natural overseas continuity to the Andalusian conquest.[45] Works focused on the Mediterranean side of this history not always refer to the American reality of the time. As this dissertation will show, the Spanish city is often conceptualized as a city for war, a militarized planning tool performed and inhabited by veteran soldiers hardened by their ancient feud with the *Moorish invaders*.[46] This consideration elevates the influence of the Castilian *castrum* city over the legal traditions and protocols mentioned above. Moreover, it leaves aside the European stage after 1492, especially the recently conquered Andalusian domains. If there were not bloody conflicts and invasions taking place, why would the Spanish plant cities there? And what possible similarity would they have with their American *siblings*? A longer timeframe helps to clarify things. Newly planned towns had been traditionally used in the Iberian Peninsula as a tool for the organization of the territory, political representation, and show of power earlier than to establish advanced military posts. Its aggressive character was first born in the world of the ideas and the monarchic discourse of legitimacy and then merged into the logic of early modern armies and fortifications. From this point of view, if new plantations had been created after the annexation of Zaragoza (12th c.), Valencia (13th c.), Mallorca (14th c.), and Seville (13th c.), a similar strategy was to be expected after the conquest of Granada.[47]

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[45] Allan-Randolph Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada* (Caracas: Criteris Editorial, 2006).

[46] Brewer-Carías, 83–84.

[47] Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Granada después de la conquista: repobladores y mudéjares*, 2ª ed. (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993); Rafael Peinado Santaella, *Cómo disfrutan los vencedores cuando se reparten el botín. El reino de Granada tras la conquista castellana (1483-1526)* (Granada: Comares, 2011).

The most well-known grid planning projects in post-conquest Granada are Santa Fe and the re-organization of Granada's medina. Granada and Seville would experiment with additional transformations and regularization projects in the 17th century, the most prominent of them being commissioned to the renowned artist, sculptor, and architect Alonso Cano.[48] Repopulation efforts in the 16th century focused primarily on inhabited towns and villages, with Castilian colonists occupying the homes and lands of Muslim Granadans who fled after the end of the war or the following expulsion decrees. This means that the Castilian occupation of Nasrid Granada was primarily executed through already built urban spaces with no colonial plantation involved. However, there are exceptions worth studying that may debunk the idea of a Spanish urban model 'migrating' to the Americas and abandoned in Europe. One of them is the project for creating a group of new plantations in Jaen Sierra Sur, an undertaking ordered directly by the Castilian Crown that pursued the application of early modern planning methods for cities that were not to be fortified or garrison any military detachment.[49]

Sierra Sur is a mountain range of 784,3 km$^2$ situated immediately south of Jaen, in Andalucía. Between the 13th and 15th centuries, Jaen was the nearest Castilian capital to the Granadan frontier, whose border crossed Sierra Sur, Sierra Mágina as well as other natural limits. For this reason, Sierra Sur remained during this period as a territory almost exclusively dedicated to sheepherding. This was no trivial activity since the introduction of the Merino sheep breed in the 1300s, and the increasing demand for Spanish wool were some of the main reasons behind the Castilian dominance of the Iberian political landscape.[50] Given the proximity between Jaen and Granada, Sierra Sur was heavily fortified.[51] Its east side was a narrow valley with several castles and watchtowers, while its west side falls over a fertile farmland dominated by some of the most impressive fortresses in Spain, including La Guardia, Martos, and Alcalá la Real.

After the Castilian crown annexed Granada, Sierra Sur was no longer a borderland and became a desirable space for urban development. Sheep live stockers, represented by an organization known as *Consejo de la Mesta* [Mesta Council], sought to maintain control of their activities, while new settlers were looking forward to colonizing this land. The Castilian Crown was interested in securing the

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[48] Antonio Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad: urbanismo y arquitectura durante el Antiguo Régimen en España* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1978), 29–32.

[49] Virginia Pérez Pérez Rodríguez and Ignacio Henares Cuellar, "Primer urbanismo colonial en la provincia de Jaén, y su implantación como antecedente de diseño urbano para las ciudades hispanoamericanas," *Cuadernos de arte de la Universidad de Granada* XIX (November 10, 1988): 177–205, https://doi.org/10.30827/caug.v0i0.11025; Virginia Pérez Rodríguez, *Nuevas poblaciones y núcleos planificados de trazado regular en la provincia de jaén en el s. XVI y XVII y su influencia en hispanoamérica* (Jaén: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Andalucía Oriental. Delegación de Jaén, 2004).

[50] John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 28.

[51] Jaen is considered one of the regions with more medieval fortifications in the world (230+), at the same level of certain areas in Siria and Palestine.

mountain and avoid its occupation by brigands or Nasrid resistance groups.[52] Moreover, Queen Elizabeth and King Ferdinand had acquired debts and compromised with many agents and stakeholders during the war, and Sierra Sur posed an excellent opportunity to repay them with new lands and concessions. Because of these and other reasons that will be detailed later, in 1508, Queen Juana I ordered the creation of seven new towns following similar rules for urban plantation to those applied in America.[53] The Mesta council resisted this order and maintained a lengthy legal battle with the newly appointed settlers for almost three decades. In 1537, Emperor Charles V[54] enacted an executory order to reactivate the project, and, in 1539, four plantations were finally created: Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares, Mancha Real, and Castillo de Arenas (Figure 3). All four plantations were led by Juan de Rivadeneyra, a judge coming from Valladolid's Royal Chancery in the position of *Juez de Repartimiento* [Distribution Judge]. He was aided by a team formed by a scribe, two surveyors, two *alarifes*, and a sculptor named Juan de Reolid, who was responsible for tracing the plans for all four new towns. Other relevant agents were involved in the process, such as Diego de Iranzo and Francisco de Bobadilla, veterans of the Granada War and Santa Fe's founding.

The process was also connected to Granada's Royal Chancery, an institution created in 1505 as Valladolid's equivalent for the southern regions. Some *Adelantados*[55] and *conquistadores*[56] such as Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, founder of Santa Fe de Bogotá, went through law education in these institutions, including training in urban governance and town planning procedures.[57]

The foundational procedure for each of the four new towns in Sierra Sur was registered through written records. Today, all of them conserve at least a partial copy of them stored in folders known as *libros de fundación* [foundational books] or *libros de repartimiento* [distribution books], hold in their respective council archives and in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén* [Jaen Provintial Archive].[58] However, from the four foundational plans, only the one of Mancha Real

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[52] Something that was already happening in other mountainous regions around Granada, particularly around Sierra Nevada and the Alpujarras. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716*, 39.

[53] Transcribed and published for the first time in Alfredo Cazabán Laguna, "La fundación del pueblo de Valdepeñas, en la sierra de Jaén," *Don Lope de Sosa* 117 (1922): 271–82.

[54] King Charles I of Castile.

[55] *Adelantados*: Representatives of the Spanish Crown who led military operations and held judicial and administrative powers in the New World.

[56] *Conquistador (pl. conquistadores)*: Term applied to Spanish *adelantados* and other leaders in charge of the American conquest. While the rank of *adelantado* was a 16th-century official title with legal effects, to concept of conquistador became most popular in literature written centuries after the conquest..

[57] See chapter 3.

[58] All of them have been studied and transcribed in recent times: Martín Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha* (Mancha Real: Ayuntamiento de Mancha Real, 1998); José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia: fuentes documentales para la historia de Valdepeñas de Jaén (1508-1558)* (Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, Cultura y Deportes, 2009); José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)* (Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2013); José Miguel Delgado

survives today thanks to a copy produced in 1570 and guarded in the archive of Granada's Royal Chancery (Figure 4). Its morphology and distribution are similar to cities founded in the same period and can be directly compared to other plans and foundational acts of Spanish American cities, as well as Mediterranean cities such as Carlentino, settled in the Sicilian domains of Charles V (Figure 5).[59]



**Figure 3: Valdepeñas de Jaén, also known as the "hearth of Sierra Sur". Planted in 1539 in the inner valleys of Sierra Sur between the rivers Susana and Ranera. © Ángel Torres 2019[60]**

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Barrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia, *Fundación, repoblación y buen gobierno en Castilla. Campillo de Arenas, 1508-1543* (Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2011).

[59] Emanuele Romeo, "La ricomposizione dei frammenti delle mura urbiche di Carlentini attraverso l'interpretazione di documenti inediti," *Restauro Archeologico* 26, no. 1 (2017): 20–31, https://doi.org/10.13128/RA-21008.

[60] Valdepeñas de Jaén, 2019. Photography by Ángel Torres, CC.4.0 BY-NC-SA http://www.xn--valdepeasdejaen-4qb.eu/2011/08/fundacion-de-valdepenas-de-jaen.html ©CC.4.0 BY-NC-SA.
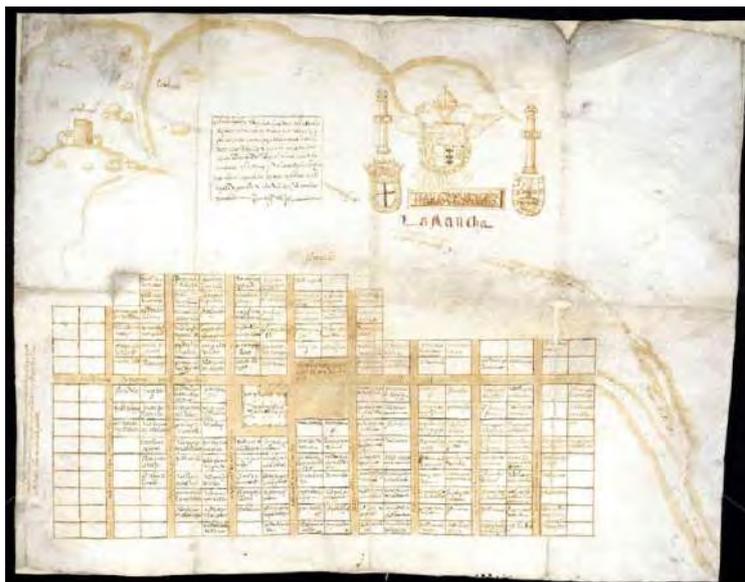
**Figure 4. 1570, distribution plan of Mancha Real, copied by Ruiz de Molina from the original by Juan de Reolid (1539). ARCHGR - Caja 1 - Pergamino 18 © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**[61]
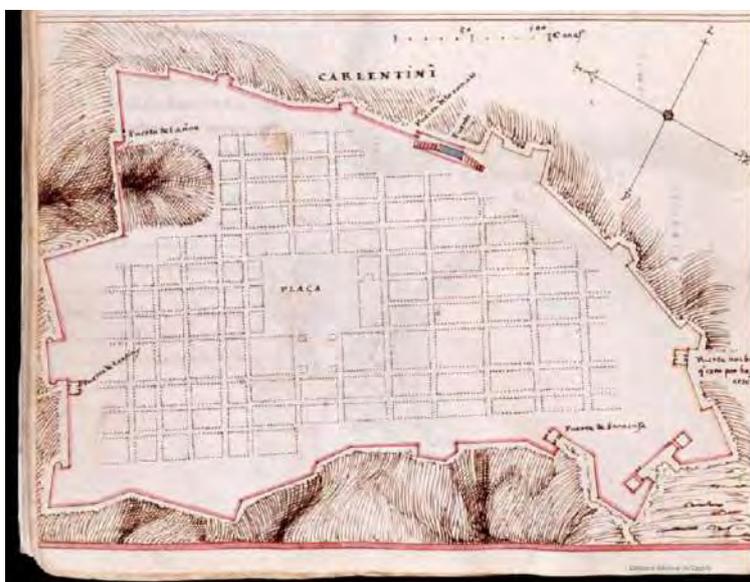


**Figure 5: 1578, 'Parecer sobre Carlentini' descriptive plan and map by military engineer Tiburcio Spannochi in service of King Philip II. In his description, Spannochi summarize the foundation of the city by Juan de la Vega, Viceroy of Sicily between 1547 and 1557. Bne- Mss/788. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**[62]

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[61] Juan de Reolid, *Traslado de un plano de la villa de Mancha Real, en pleito entre Melchor de Vergara, prior de Mancha Real, con Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera y Mari Pérez, su mujer, vecinos de dicha villa [Copia de Luis de Molina en 1570]*, Sin escala (Mancha Real de Jaén, 1570), ES.18087.ARCHGR/059CDFI//MPD nº 21// Caja 1 - Pergamino 8, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada. Item number: Caja 1 - Pergamino 18

[62] Tiburcio Spanoqui, "Descripción de las marinas de todo el reino de Sicilia" (Manuscrito ilustrado, 1578), Biblioteca Nacional de España. Item number: Mss/788.

## El problema historiográfico del urbanismo español en retícula en la Granada de postguerra.

Todavía hoy la mayoría de los trabajos sobre historia urbana iberoamericana se localizan a uno u otro lado del océano Atlántico. Los proyectos que conectan ambas realidades son poco comunes y a menudo costosos en recursos humanos y económicos. Los trabajos que se concentran en el lado americano a menudo se refieren a la grilla española como una 'tradición' medieval que 'reapareció' durante la conquista americana, dada la continuidad natural entre la conquista transatlántica y la andaluza.[63] Por otro lado, los trabajos que se concentran en el lado mediterráneo de la historia no siempre mencionan la realidad americana de su tiempo. Según se argumentará en capítulos posteriores de esta tesis, la ciudad española en retícula ha sido a menudo conceptualizada como una ciudad de guerra, una herramienta de planificación militarizada ejecutada y habitada por soldados veteranos endurecidos a lo largo de su extenso feudo contra los *moros invasores*.[64] Este acercamiento eleva la influencia del castro castellano medieval sobre el urbanismo en retícula y la posiciona en una jerarquía superior al de otras tradiciones legales ya mencionadas. Deja de lado además el urbanismo europeo durante la etapa posterior a 1492, especialmente en los dominios andalusíes recién conquistados. Si no existían conflictos de sangre ni se sucedían invasiones, ¿por qué querrían los españoles plantar más ciudades en Granada? ¿Y qué posibles similitudes podrían tener con sus parientes americanas si su contexto era totalmente distinto? Un marco temporal más amplio puede resultar de gran ayuda para clarificar estas cuestiones. El urbanismo de nueva planta ha sido utilizado tradicionalmente en la Península Ibérica como herramienta para la organización del territorio, la representación política y la creación de imágenes de poder no necesariamente relacionadas con el establecimiento de posiciones militares avanzadas. Su carácter agresivo nació en Aragón del mundo de las ideas del poder y la legitimidad del discurso monárquico católico, siendo más adelante combinado con la lógica de los ejércitos y las fortificaciones de la modernidad temprana. Desde este punto de vista, si ciudades de nueva fundación habían sido creadas en abundancia tras la anexión de Zaragoza (siglo XII), Valencia (siglo XIII), Mallorca (Siglo XIV) y Sevilla (s. XIII), es previsible que se aplicara una estrategia similar tras la conquista de Granada, no solo durante ella.[65]

El proyecto de planeación en retícula más conocido de la Granada de posguerra son Santa Fe y la reorganización de la medina de Granada. Tanto Granada como Sevilla experimentaron transformaciones adicionales y proyectos de regularización durante el siglo XVII, siendo el más prominente en Granada el

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[63] Allan-Randolph Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada* (Caracas: Criteris Editorial, 2006).

[64] Brewer-Carías, 83–84.

[65] Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Granada después de la conquista: repobladores y mudéjares*, 2ª ed. (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993); Rafael Peinado Santaella, *Cómo disfrutan los vencedores cuando se reparten el botín. El reino de Granada tras la conquista castellana (1483-1526)* (Granada: Comares, 2011).

encargado al renombrado escultor, artista y arquitecto Alonso Cano.[66] Los esfuerzos de repoblación efectuados durante el siglo XVI se concentraron primeramente en ciudades y pueblos ya habitados, ubicando colonos castellanos en las casas y tierras de granadinos musulmanes huidos tras la guerra o a causa de los sucesivos decretos de expulsión. Esto significa que la ocupación castellana de la Granada nazarí fue ejecutada principalmente a lo largo de espacios urbanos ya construidos, sin planes de fundación colonial implicados en ella. Sin embargo, existen excepciones merecedoras de atención que podrían desechar la idea de un modelo urbano español 'migrando' a las américas y abandonando Europa en el proceso. Una de ellas es el proyecto para crear un grupo de nuevos asentamientos en la Sierra Sur de Jaén, una empresa ordenada directamente desde la Corona Castellana que perseguía la aplicación de métodos de planificación moderna en ciudades que jamás contarían con fortificaciones ni alojarían destacamento militarizado alguno.[67]

La Sierra Sur es una cadena montañosa de 784,3 km$^2$ situada inmediatamente al sur de la ciudad de Jaén, en Andalucía. Entre los siglos XIII y XV, Jaén fue la capital castellana más cercana a la frontera granadina, cuyo límite cruzaba Sierra Sur, Sierra Mágina, así como otros límites naturales en Andalucía. Por esta razón, Sierra Sur se mantuvo durante este periodo como un espacio casi exclusivamente dedicado al pastoreo. No era esta una actividad trivial ya que la introducción de la raza de oveja merino en Castilla en el siglo XIII supuso, junto a la alta demanda de lana española, uno de los principales pilares del dominio castellano en el escenario político ibérico.[68] Dada la proximidad entre Jaén y Granada, Sierra Sur fue densamente fortificada.[69] Su lado este era un valle estrecho sembrado con castillos y atalayas de pequeña dimensión, mientras que su vertiente oeste caía sobre una amplia y fértil tierra de cultivo dominada por algunas de las fortalezas más impresionantes de España tales como La Guardia, Martos y Alcalá la Real.

Tras la anexión castellana de Granada, Sierra Sur dejó de ser tierra de frontera y se convirtió en una tierra valiosa para el desarrollo urbano. Los ganaderos de la oveja castellana en la región, representados por la organización conocida como Concejo de la Mesta, buscaron mantener el control de sus actividades, mientras que nuevos colonos autorizados por la corona buscaron ocupar estas mismas tierras y convertirlas en espacios agrícolas. La corona castellana estaba interesada a su vez en asegurar la montaña y evitar que fuera ocupada por bandoleros,

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[66] Antonio Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad: urbanismo y arquitectura durante el Antiguo Régimen en España* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1978), 29–32.

[67] Virginia Pérez Pérez Rodríguez and Ignacio Henares Cuellar, "Primer urbanismo colonial en la provincia de Jaén, y su implantación como antecedente de diseño urbano para las ciudades hispanoamericanas," *Cuadernos de arte de la Universidad de Granada* XIX (November 10, 1988): 177–205, https://doi.org/10.30827/caug.v0i0.11025; Virginia Pérez Rodríguez, *Nuevas poblaciones y núcleos planificados de trazado regular en la provincia de jaén en el s. XVI y XVII y su influencia en hispanoamérica* (Jaén: Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Andalucía Oriental. Delegación de Jaén, 2004).

[68] John H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 28.

[69] Jaen es considerada como una de las regions con más fortificaciones medievales en elm undo (más de 230), al mismo nivel que ciertas áreas en Siria y Palestina.

asaltantes de caminos o, aún peor, grupos de la resistencia morisca.[70] Adicional-mente, tanto la reina Isabel como el rey Fernando habían adquirido deudas y com-promisos con los agentes que apoyaron la guerra contra Granada, de modo que la Sierra Sur presentaba una oportunidad excelente para pagar sus favores con nue-vas tierras y concesiones en espacios no urbanizados. Por estas razones y otras que se detallarán más adelante, la reina Juana I ordenó en 1508 la creación de siete ciudades de nueva fundación siguiendo principios similares a los que estaban siendo aplicados en América en ese preciso momento.[71] El Concejo de la Mesta se resistió a esta orden y mantuvo una larga batalla legal durante los colonos nom-brados por la corona durante casi tres décadas. En 1537, el emperador Carlos V instruyó una orden ejecutoria para reactivar el proyecto. En 1539 cuatro nuevas ciudades fueron finalmente creadas: Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares, Mancha Real y Castillo de Arenas (Figure 3). Todas estas cuatro fundaciones fueron coor-dinadas por Juan de Rivadeneyra, juez proveniente de la Real Chancillería de Va-lladolid con el cargo de *Juez de Repartimiento*. Reolid estaba apoyado por un equipo formado por un escriba, dos medidores, dos alarifes y un tallista y escultor llamado Juan de Reolid quien estuvo a cargo de trazar los planos de todas estas ciudades. Otros agentes relevantes estuvieron envueltos en el proceso, incluyendo a los señores Diego de Iranzo y Francisco de Bobadilla, ambos veteranos de la Guerra de Granada y testigos de la fundación de Santa Fe.

El proceso estuvo también ligado a la Real Chancillería de Granada, una ins-titución creada en 1505 como equivalente a la chancillería de Valladolid en las regiones del sur de la Península Ibérica. Algunos adelantados y conquistadores de tierras americanas tales como Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, fundador de Santa Fe de Bogotá, fueron formados en leyes en instituciones como esta, incluyendo principios de gobernanza urbana y metodologías de planificación de ciudades.[72]

El proceso fundacional de cada una de las nuevas ciudades en la Sierra Sur fue registrado por escrito. Todos estos registros se conservan hoy al menos de forma parcial gracias a copias conservadas en legajos conocidos como *libros de fundación* o *libros de repartimiento*, custodiados en sus respectivos archivos mu-nicipales, así como en el Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén.[73] Sin embargo, de los cuatro planos de fundación originalmente elaborados, solo sobrevive el de

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[70] Algo que ya había ocurrido con anterioridad en otras áreas montañosas de la frontera gra-nadina tales como Sierra Nevada y la Alpujarra. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716*, 39.

[71] La orden fue transcrita y publicada por primera vez en: Alfredo Cazabán Laguna, "La fundación del pueblo de Valdepeñas, en la sierra de Jaén," *Don Lope de Sosa* 117 (1922): 271–82.

[72] Ver capítulo 3.

[73] Todos ellos han sido transcritos y publicados recientemente: Martín Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha* (Mancha Real: Ayuntamiento de Mancha Real, 1998); José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia: fuentes documentales para la historia de Valdepeñas de Jaén (1508-1558)* (Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, Cultura y Deportes, 2009); José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)* (Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2013); José Miguel Delgado Ba-rrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia, *Fundación, repoblación y buen gobierno en Castilla. Campillo de Arenas, 1508-1543* (Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2011).

Mancha Real gracias a una copia producida en 1570 y conservada en el archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (Figure 4). Su morfología y distribución es similar a la de ciudades fundadas en el mismo periodo en América, y puede así mismo compararse tanto con actas de fundación americanas como con ciudades mediterráneas como Carlentino, asentada por Carlos V en sus dominios sicilianos (Figure 5).

## Urban parallels and *siblings overseas*

Plantation projects like Sierra Sur and Carlentino, among others, provide original documents that allow direct comparison between them and with their American peers. Although manuals on early modern Spanish urbanism are common in late 20th century literature, not many of them are directly referred to primary sources and even less to written sources.

On the one hand, big volumes and compilations such as F. Chueca's and R.L. Kagan offer a wide array of diverse kinds of maps, plans, and urban representations, all appearing together and conforming an imaginary open to further dissection and exploration.[74] On the other hand, morphological surveys developed by Architectural historians tend to produce new plans and diagrams in their search for parallels. However, these drawings are built over different sources from diverse periods, mixing information that may not be directly comparable.[75] A more precise comparative study between cities settled on both sides of the Atlantic in the 16th century, needs to account some documental precisions. First of all, documents conserved from the second half of the century are much more numerous than the first half. Many of the most important Spanish colonial plantations in the Americas planted in the early 1500s do not conserve any foundational documents, and when they do these are not cartographic. These include some of the more important capitals in the continent, such as Cartagena de Indias (1533), Lima (1535), Santa Fe de Bogotá (1539), or Santiago de Chile (1541). This means that their earliest representations conserved today were not developed by their original founders but by later agents with different interests, techniques, and objectives. One key figure in this process is the military engineer, a role performed by artillery chiefs, designers of fortifications and cartographers at the service of the

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[74] Fernando Chueca Goitia, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, and Julio González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1982), https://granatensis.ugr.es/permalink/34CBUA_UGR/1p2iirq/alma991004754889704990; Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000).

[75] Jaime Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*, Colección textos y manuales (Santafé de Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Fac. de Arquitectura y Diseño: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1996), 34.

Crown.[76] Military engineers were part of Spanish operations in Andalucia, France and Italy since the beginning of the century, and became particularly relevant at a global level after the establishment of the Officina Plantiniana in Antwerp (1579) and the military academy in Madrid (1582).[77] During this second half of the century, engineers like Tiburcio Spannochi and Batista Antonelli developed plans for Carlentino (founded in 1551, drawn in 1578) (Figure 5) and Cartagena de Indias (founded in 1533, drawn circa 1600) (Figure 6). Although the urban structures shown in these maps bear an evident morphological similarity with the grid of Mancha Real, the late is a distribution plan, not a military one. While Spannochi sought to illustrate Carlentino as part of his report on Sicilia cities and ports, and Antonelli presented Cartagena's structure of streets and block as part of his project for a new fortified perimeter, the map of Mancha Real is a *plano de repartimiento*: a layout of standardized plots to be distributed among settlers and institutions. In other words, the grid of Mancha Real is the plan of a city that does not exist yet.

Generally, in both America and Europe, foundational plans are much rarer than military engineer's cartographies, even in the late 16th century. The distribution plan of Mendoza (1561-2, Argentina)[78] is considered the oldest one conserved for an American plantation (Figure 7-8). It has become quite famous over the years, and it can be found often in volumes and surveys on Spanish urbanism.[79] This document, similar to the plan of Mancha Real, is a plan developed in the moment of the foundation to support and officialize the act of distributing equal urban plots among settlers. The name and surnames of the new owners appear written inside each parcel, as well as those destined for the church, the city council, the prison, the butcheries, the marketplace, etc. Four sizable paragraphs surround the plan and describe each stage of the foundational process, ensuring its compliance with every legal requisite.

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[76] Alicia Cámara Muñoz, "La ciudad en los tratados de ingeniería del Renacimiento," in *La palabra y la imagen. Tratados de ingeniería entre los siglos XVI y XVIII*, Lecciones Juanelo Turriano de Historia de la Ingeniería (Segovia: Fundación Juanelo Turriano, 2017), 11–38.

[77] Luis José García Pulido and Antonio Orihuela Uzal, "Nuevas aportaciones sobre las murallas y el sistema defensivo de Santa Fe (Granada)," *Archivo Español de Arte* 78, no. 309 (March 30, 2005): 23–43, https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.2005.v78.i309.206; José Javier de Castro Fernández and África Cuadrado Basas, "Las fortificaciones de la corona hispánica en el Mediterráneo durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1492-1700)" (Salses y la fortificación de transición española, Madrid, 2012), 143–200; Piet Lombaerde, "Castrametatio and the Grid in the Spanish Habsburg World. Contributions from the Low Countries 1550-1750.," in *Early Modern Urbanism & the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context. Exchanges in Theory and Practice 1550-1800*, Architectura Moderna 10 (Turnhout: 129-160, 2011).

[78] Mendoza originally belonged to the Capitanía General de Chile. It later became part of Argentina. See: Jorge Ricardo Ponte, *Mendoza, aquella ciudad de barro: historia de una ciudad andina desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, Ed. corr., mej. y act. (Buenos Aires (Argentina): Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas de Argentina, 2008); José Aníbal Verdaguer, *Lecciones de historia de Mendoza: época colonial (1560-1810)* (Imprenta J. Verdaguer, 1920).

[79] For example: Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada*; Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*.
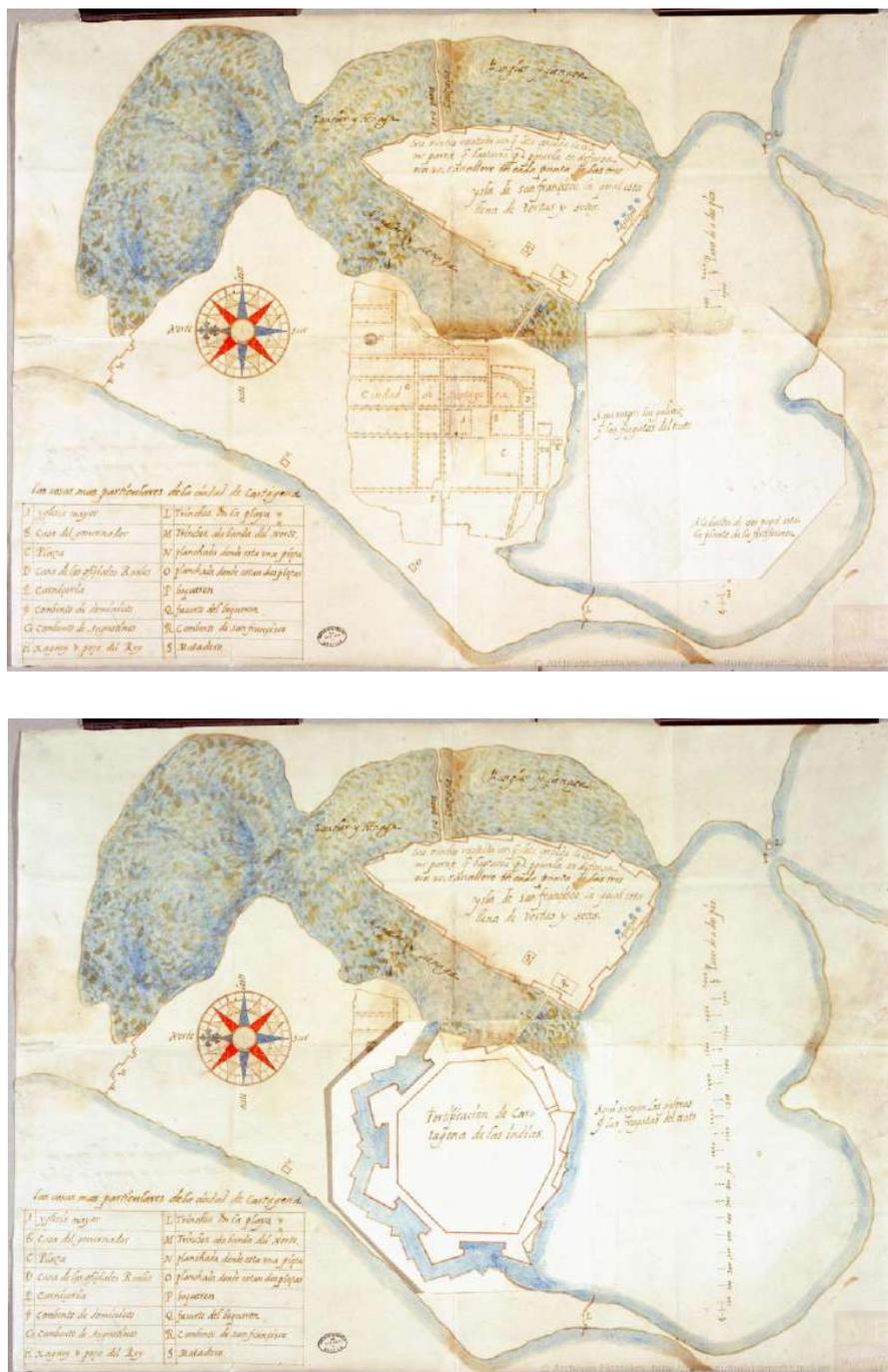
**Figure 6: Top: c. 1600, plan of Cartagena de Indias drawn by military engineer Batista Antonelli in the late 16th century. The bay is covered by a piece of paper where it is written 'A la vuelta de este papel está la planta de la fortificación' [Behind this paper there is the plan for the fortification]. Bottom: Fortification project by Batista Antonelli for Cartagena de Indias, deployed over the city's plan. Only the walls and bastions of the fortification are drawn. The inner structure of the city, its streets and blocks, do not appear. /MP-PANAMA, 20 © Archivo General de Indias[80]**

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[80] Batista Antonelli, *Plano de La Ciudad de Cartagena de Indias y de Sus Fortificaciones*, Escala de 2.000 pasos de á 2 pies los 225 mm (Cartagena de Indias, 1600), Archivo General de Indias, http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/22051. Item number: ES.41091.AGI//MP-PANAMA, 20
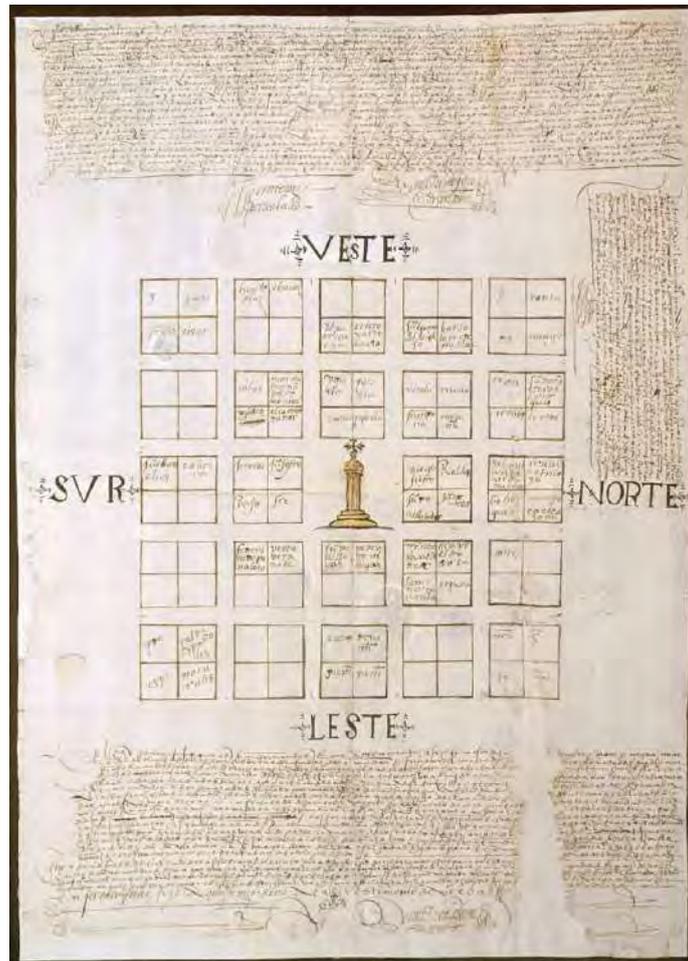
**Figure 7: 1562, the distribution plan of Mendoza (Resurrección), funded by Juan Jufré de Loaysa Montesa in regard of Adelantado Pedro del Castillo. AGI-PATRONATO,121,R.5 © Archivo General de Indias.[81]**



**Figure 8: 1818, detail of Pinkerton Map of La Plata, including the location and foundation years of Valparaíso, Santiago and Mendoza. © John Pinkerton.[82]**

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[81] Juan Jufré de Loaysa Montesa, *Plano de la ciudad de Resurrección (Mendoza), en la región de Cuyo*, Repartimiento (Mendoza, Argentina, 1562), MP-BUENOS_AIRES,10, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos. Item number: PATRONATO,121,R.5

[82] John Pinkerton, *Pinkerton Map of of La Plata (Southern South America, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia)* (Argentina: Thomas Dobson Edition, 1818).
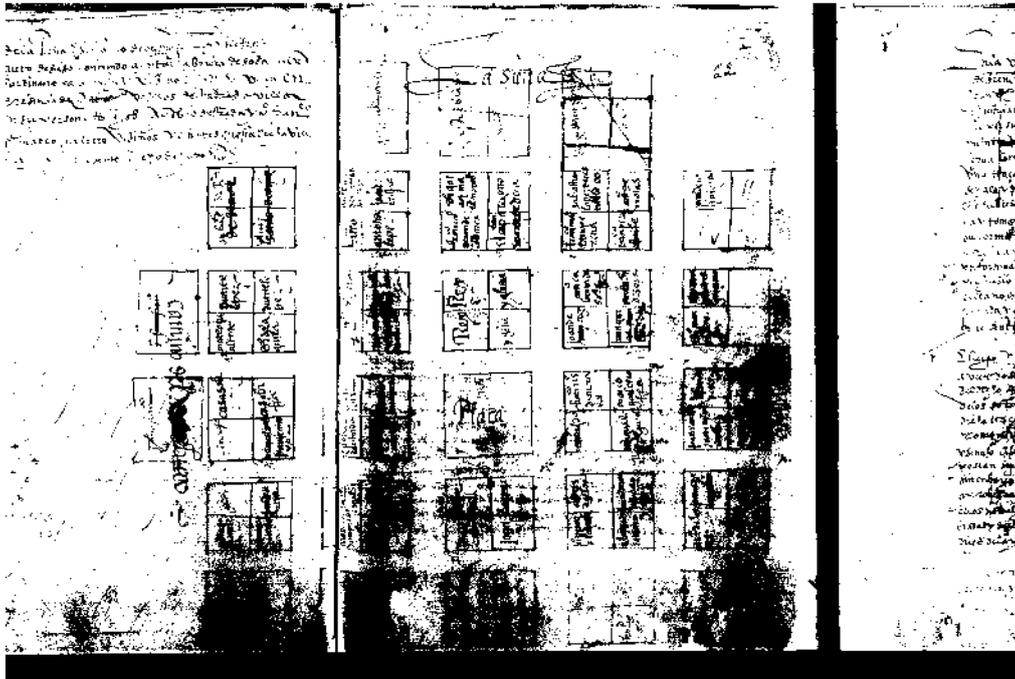
**Figure 9: 1572-82, Distribution plan of Villa de Leyva registered in its foundational act. ©Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia.[83]**



Tunja - provincial capital - 1539
Villa de Leyva - farming settlement and hub of native forced labour - 1562-72
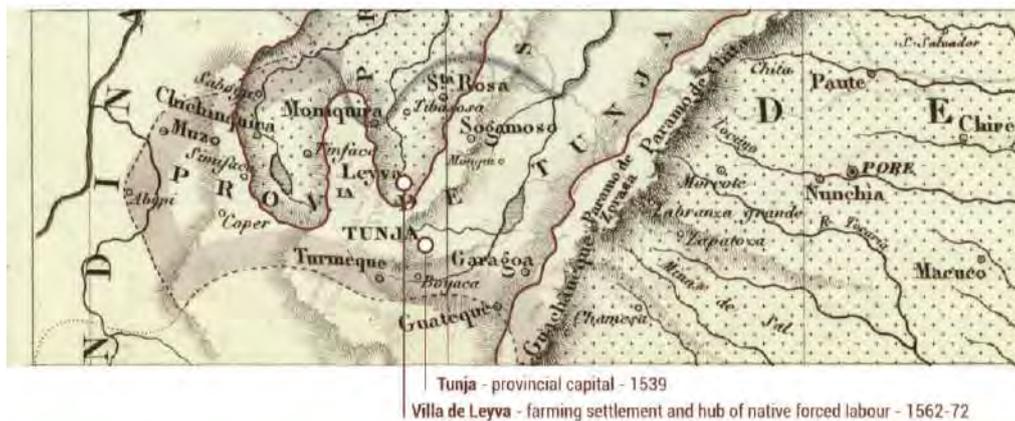
**Figure 10: 1827, map of Boyacá by José Manuel Restrepo. Villa de Leyva is located in a fertile valley near Tunja. It was founded as an agricultural settlement reserved for Castilian settlers. In a similar way to the new towns project in Jaen Sierra Sur, Villa de Leyva had no military garrison or local jury, so it was dependent of Tunja for most legal procedures. © José Manuel Restrepo[84]**

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[83] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo" (Boyacá, 1582 1572), fol. 22, POBLACIONES-BOY:SC.46,2,D.10, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia, Sección Colonia.

[84] José Manuel Restrepo, *Boyacá*, Atlas, 1:2700000 (Colombia: Librería Americana, 1827), David Rumsey Historical Map Collection. Item number: 5597.000

Mendoza's second plan was drawn when the city in 1562, founded initially by Pedro del Castillo in 1561, was moved by Juan Jufré for several reasons.[85] Hence, there are two plans of Mendoza, one for 1561 and another for 1562. Any of them are isolated documents. The plan from 1561 is part of a larger folder written as a *provança* for Pedro del Castillo, a set of documents proving his various achievements to be presented when he travelled back to Spain and reported to the crown. The copy conserved for the plan of 1562 is part of a similar report but developed for proving the merits of Juan Jufré. In the same way, the plan of Mancha Real was part of a voluminous folder containing originals and copies of most relevant documents for the foundation of the city, from the royal order enacted in 1508 to all requirements and demands in the 1520s and 1530s and the official foundational acts in 1539. Another American example is the plan of Villa de Leyva, Colombia, planted in 1572 to host a group of Spanish settlers from the neighbouring city of Tunja, capital of the Boyacá region (Figure 9-10).[86] Between 1572 and 1582, the settlers of Villa de Leyva went through a series of legal conflicts with the local Spanish government and with Muisca *zipas*, indigenous representatives of the area to be colonized. These chiefs had been living along with the Spaniards for more than three decades and were integrated in their legal system, so they have the power to protest and make demands through official channels even though, in the end, they could not stop the foundation of Villa de Leyva in their lands. These demands were one of the causes behind the movement of Villa de Leyva 1572 foundation to a new location in 1582, similar to how Mendoza was moved in 1562. All these actions were registered in detail by scribes and notaries in logs that included plans and urban diagrams. Hence, the plan of Villa de Leyva is not an isolated, cartographic product but a piece of graphic support for a legal procedure that was mainly registered by scribes and notaries. The foundational act for Villa de Leyva includes many documents, orders, lists, and registers, a mechanism of official logs in which the plan is just a tiny part. The same happens for the plans of Mendoza in 1562 and Mancha Real in 1539. Their plans are graphic summaries that synthetize the foundational process but should not be interpreted alone, isolated from the written register to which they belong.

The plans of Mancha Real, Mendoza, and Villa de Leyva, among others, were produced through similar methods and in the same period in different places of the Spanish Empire. They share a series of characteristics and traits that are mainly of legal nature. Their main objective was to provide support for a notarial process, so the regularity of the plan and the order of its streets and public spaces are designed in order to comply with the established norm. Again, these were diagrammatic plans of the city that had just been planted, not urban projects or

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[85] That will be further explored in chapter three.

[86] Diego Arango, "Reflexiones Históricas Sobre La Fundación de Villa de Leyva," *Villa Viva Vive*, 2013, https://www.escritoresyperiodistas.com/NUMERO03/diego.html; Isabel Cristina Trejos V., Diego Arango R., and Adriana Lagos Z, *Memoria Histórica e Imaginarios de Villa de Leyva* (Villa de Leyva, Colombia, 2000), https://villadeleyvapatrimoniohistorico.webnode.com.co/.

construction plans. Formal aspects like order, scale, and geometry were still relevant in them, but in a different sense than in plans and documents developed by military engineers. In other words, early modern foundational plans and urban military plans represent two different documental typologies. They may share protocols, graphic criteria, and other characteristics that may be compared, but at the same time, they have their own fundamental traits.

The main interest of this typological disaggregation in early modern urban plans resides in how it reveals new paths for research. Urban plantations and the anthropological and cultural history of their foundational actions have been part of the field of urban history since its very beginning.[87] However, while historical documents like military plans, urban landscapes, and architectural surveys remain the main object of study, legal acts and registers do not often receive the same level of attention.[88] The dissertation project *Siblings Overseas* proposes that analyzing foundational plans under the light of their notarial nature, jointly with the legal logs and folders where they originally belonged, opens a line of work that enriches the current state of the art.

*Siblings Overseas* delves into the parallel analysis of early modern Spanish plantation plans and distribution books, graphic and written foundational documents whose relationship is not always direct or evident. Were all fundamental urban elements of a given plantation described in its plan and book in the same way? Which features described in the book were included in the plan? Which were not? Why? These and other queries receive an answer through the combination of diverse comparative methodologies to detect convergences and divergences and provide a piece of more detailed knowledge on the agents responsible for creating these new towns: their backgrounds, their objectives, their responsibilities, and the actions they took to meet them. This approach also explores cities where the pair of foundational registers -written and graphic- is missing one of its parts. If a group of towns, planted in the same period by the same agents or by people with similar training, do not conserve their complete set of foundational documents, the data preserved from one can be used to fill the gaps of the others. For example, this logic can be applied to the new town project in Sierra Sur, with four cities created in the same single year of 1539 by the same team of specialists, coordinated by the same judge, all in the same general area. All four conserve their written register, but only one map survives. In this case, a detailed study of the book/plan pair that survives in Mancha Real can provide all sorts of data and

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[87] Some of the most relevant examples of these would be: Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La ciudad antigua*, La historia para todos (Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1864); Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ Pr, 1976); Jean Passini, *Villes medievales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de- Compostelle (de Pampelune a Burgos): villes de fondation et villes d'origine romaine.*, Mémoire 47 (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civiliations, 1984); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, Harvest Book (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1989).

[88] One of the most relevant exceptions is Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London: Lutterworth, 1967).

information potentially useful for building informed and rigorous hypotheses for the remaining three. Another possible case where this methodology may be applied is Santa Fe, the famous city planted in 1492 after the Castilian victory against Granada, whose earliest plan today dates from 1777.[89] [90] Although there is no original distribution plan for Santa Fe, its original foundational book has been conserved entirely, as well as two copies made in the 17th century. Comparing the structure information, data, and actions logged in this book with its equivalents in Sierra Sur would provide new insights on what was the common ground among their foundational protocols and which actions were instead applied because of particular circumstances. The presence of Santa Fe veterans during the plantations in Sierra Sur and their close connection with Granada's Royal Chancery further support this hypothesis.

The basic idea behind this argument is that those cities that conserve their complete foundation act can act as benchmarks to triangulate the missing parts of other plantations. In *Siblings Overseas*, the plan of Mancha Real operates as an anchor to reconstitute the foundational plans of the other three new towns that were founded in Sierra Sur in 1539. At the same time, the documentation in Sierra Sur, along with other documents, provides a basis for the study of the foundational acts of Mendoza in Argentina and Villa de Leyva in Colombia. Thanks to the parallel analysis of these sources, new information is revealed to understand how urban practices were shared between different agents and spaces in the early modern Spanish Empire. Finally, the comprehensive results of analyzing these foundational processes propose a new constellation of coordinates to support the latest theories and hypotheses developed for cities like Santa Fe, whose exact foundational shape is unknown, or Santa Fe de Bogotá, whose foundational book and plans were utterly lost.[91] In this way, *Siblings Overseas* seeks to contribute to state of the art on early modern Hispanic urban history, taking one more step to overcoming the limitations of approaches limited to morphology and form and enriching their many insights with new information born from transdisciplinary exchanges with the fields of law history and human geography (Figure 11).

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[89] Francisco Quintillán, *Plano de Población de Santa Fe, [ca. 1777]*, papel; aguada ; tinta. 416x300 mm, s.e. (Santa Fe, Granada, 1777), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe.

[90] This plan appears in most urban history surveys, including: Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*; Charles Delfante, Ángel Isac Martínez de Carvajal, and Yago Barja de Quiroga, *Gran historia de la ciudad: de Mesopotamia a Estados Unidos*, Lecturas (Madrid: Abada, 2006); Kostof, *The City Shaped*; Antonio García y Bellido, ed., *Resumen Histórico Del Urbanismo En España*, 3ª. ed (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1987); Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada*; Mario Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista: Mappe e Documenti Sulla Transformazione Urbana e Territoriale Nell'America Centrale Del 500*, Interpretazioni e Documenti 1 (Reggio Calabria: Gangemi, 1981); Erwin Anton Gutkind, *International History of City Development. Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*, vol. 3, 7 vols. (New York London: Free Press Collier- Macmillan, 1964).

[91] On Santa Fe's original morphology, see: Rafael G. Peinado Santaella, *La Fundación de Santa Fe (1491-1520): estudios y documentos*, Biblioteca Chronica Nova de Estudios Históricos ; 31 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995). On Santa Fe de Bogota's foundation, see: Germán Rodrigo Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, Historia de Bogotá (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2012).
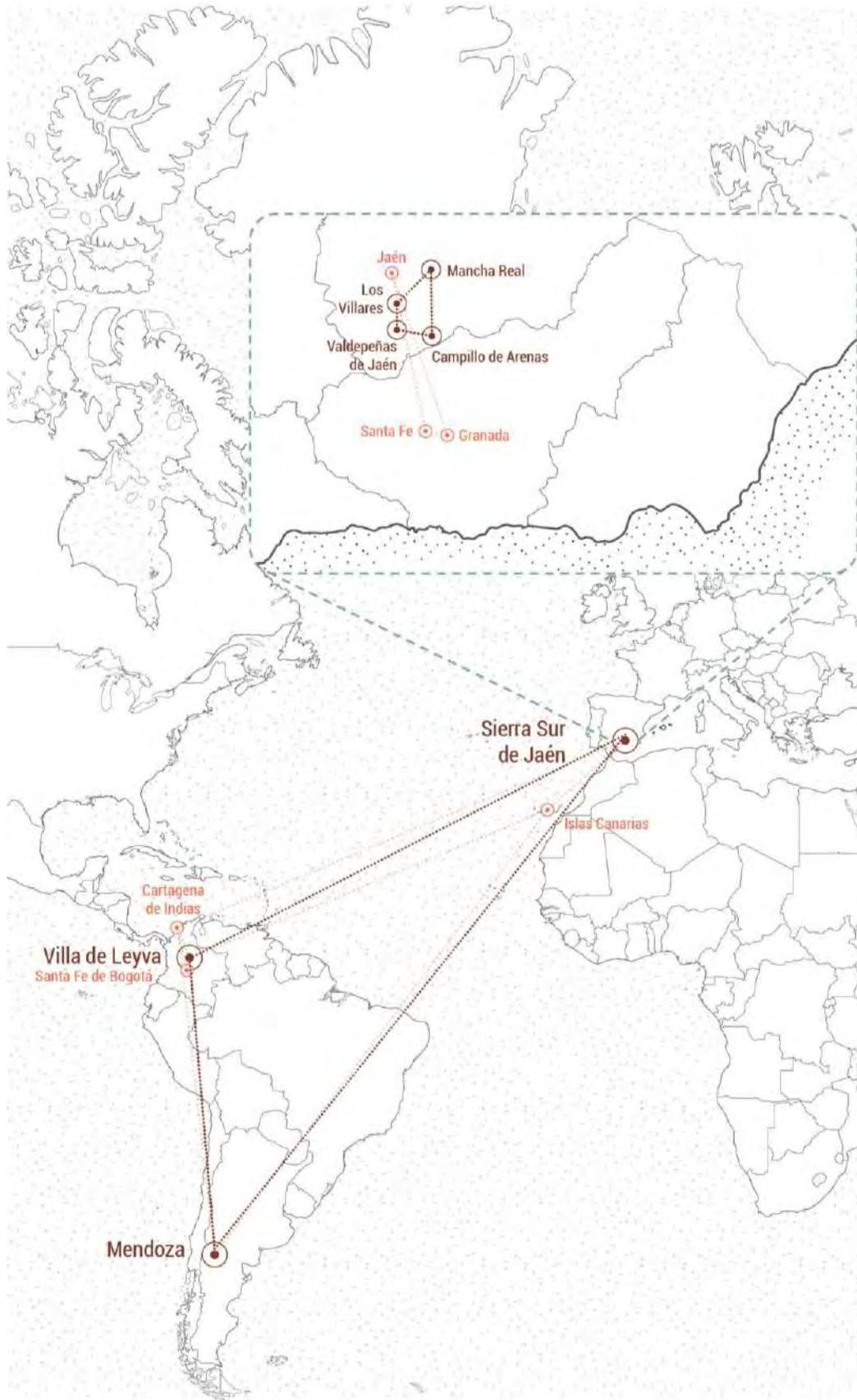
**Figure 11: Triangular connections between siblings overseas. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

## Paralelos urbanos y *Siblings Overseas*

Proyectos de nueva fundación tales como Sierra Sur y Carlentino, entre muchos otros, son fuente de documentos originales que permiten su comparación con sus pares americanos. A pesar de que los principales volúmenes de historia urbana del siglo XX hacen mención a esta similitud, muy pocos de ellos están referidos a fuentes originales, aún menos si estas son de tipo escrito y no gráfico.

Por un lado, compilaciones de gran calado tales como las de F. Chueca y R.L. Kagan ofrecen un amplio y diverso abanico de mapas, planos y representaciones urbanas, todas ellas presentadas en conjunto según un imaginario que sigue abierto a una disección y exploración más profunda.[92] Por otro lado, los catálogos morfológicos desarrollados por historiadores de la arquitectura suelen ofrecer nuevos planes y diagramas producidos por los propios autores de cara a facilitar el estudio paralelo de múltiples casos al mismo tiempo. Sin embargo, estos dibujos suelen ser elaborados a partir de fuentes de muy distintos periodos y tipologías, mezclando informaciones que podrían no ser comparables de forma directa.[93] Un estudio comparativo más preciso entre ciudades fundadas a uno y otro lado del Atlántico durante el siglo XVI necesita atender una mayor precisión documental. Un primer factor a tener en cuenta es que los documentos de fundación conservados de ciudades fundadas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI son mucho más numerosos que en la primera mitad. Muchas de las fundaciones coloniales españolas más importantes en América plantadas durante las primeras décadas del XVI no conservan ningún documento fundacional. Si lo hacen, rara vez el documento es de tipo cartográfico. Esto incluye algunas de las capitales más importantes en el continente tales como Cartagena de Indias (1533), Lima (1535), Santa Fe de Bogotá (1539), o Santiago de Chile (1541). En consecuencia, las representaciones más tempranas de estas ciudades que se conservan hoy no fueron desarrolladas por sus agentes fundadores sino por otros más tardíos, con intereses, técnicas y objetivos diferentes. Una figura clave en este proceso es la del ingeniero militar, rol ejecutado por jefes de artillería, diseñadores de fortificaciones y cartógrafos al servicio de la corona.[94] Los ingenieros militares formaron parte de la mayoría de operaciones modernas ejecutadas en Andalucía, Francia e Italia a principios de siglo, adquiriendo especial relevancia tras el establecimiento de la

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[92] Fernando Chueca Goitia, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, and Julio González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1982), https://granatensis.ugr.es/permalink/34CBUA_UGR/1p2iirq/alma991004754889704990; Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000).

[93] Por ejemplo en: Jaime Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*, Colección textos y manuales (Santafé de Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Fac. de Arquitectura y Diseño: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1996), 34.

[94] Alicia Cámara Muñoz, "La ciudad en los tratados de ingeniería del Renacimiento," in *La palabra y la imagen. Tratados de ingeniería entre los siglos XVI y XVIII*, Lecciones Juanelo Turriano de Historia de la Ingeniería (Segovia: Fundación Juanelo Turriano, 2017), 11–38.

Officina Plantiniana en Amberes (1579) y de la Academia Militar en Madrid (1582).[95] Durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, ingenieros militares como Tiburcio Spannochi y Batista Antonelli desarrollaron planos para Carlentino (fundada en 1551 y dibujada en 1578) (Figure 5) y Cartagena de Indias (fundada en 1533 y dibujada cerca de 1600) (Figure 6). Aunque las estructuras urbanas que muestran estos mapas presentan una evidente similitud morfológica con la grilla de Mancha Real, esta última forma parte de un acta de fundación, no de un diseño militar. Mientras que Spannochi buscó ilustrar Carlentino como parte de su reporte sobre las ciudades y puertos sicilianos y Antonelli presentaba la estructura de calles y bloques de Cartagena como parte de su proyecto para un nuevo perímetro fortificado, el mapa de Mancha Real es un plano de repartimiento: una distribución de solares estandarizados para ser distribuidos entre colonos e instituciones. En otras palabras, la traza de Mancha Real es la de una ciudad que aún no existe.

Generalmente, tanto en América como en Europa, los planos de fundación son mucho menos comunes que las cartografías de ingenieros militares incluso a finales del siglo XVI. El plano de repartimiento de Mendoza en Argentina (1561-1562)[96] es considerado el más antiguo conservado de entre todas las fundaciones españolas en América (Figures 7-8). Ha adquirido cierta fama a lo largo de los años y se le puede encontrar reseñado en la mayoría de volúmenes y catálogos sobre historia urbana española.[97] Este documento, similar al plano de Mancha Real en su naturaleza notarial, es una traza desarrollada en el momento mismo de la fundación para apoyar y oficializar el acta de distribución de parcelas iguales entre colonos castellanos. Los nombres y apellidos de los nuevos propietarios constan escritas dentro de cada parcela, así como aquellas reservadas para la iglesia, la casa del concejo, la prisión, las carnicerías, el mercado, los hornos, etc. Cuatro párrafos rodean al plan describiendo cada una de las etapas del proceso fundacional y asegurando su ejecución en cumplimiento de los requisitos legales aplicables.

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[95] Luis José García Pulido and Antonio Orihuela Uzal, "Nuevas aportaciones sobre las murallas y el sistema defensivo de Santa Fe (Granada)," *Archivo Español de Arte* 78, no. 309 (March 30, 2005): 23–43, https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.2005.v78.i309.206; José Javier de Castro Fernández and África Cuadrado Basas, "Las fortificaciones de la corona hispánica en el Mediterráneo durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1492-1700)" (Salses y la fortificación de transición española, Madrid, 2012), 143–200; Piet Lombaerde, "Castrametatio and the Grid in the Spanish Habsburg World. Contributions from the Low Countries 1550-1750.," in *Early Modern Urbanism & the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context. Exchanges in Theory and Practice 1550-1800*, Architectura Moderna 10 (Turnhout: 129-160, 2011).

[96] Mendoza pertenecía originalmente a la Capitanía General de Chile. Más adelante se convirtió en parte de Argentina. Ver: Jorge Ricardo Ponte, *Mendoza, aquella ciudad de barro: historia de una ciudad andina desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días*, Ed. corr., mej. y act. (Buenos Aires (Argentina): Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas de Argentina, 2008); José Aníbal Verdaguer, *Lecciones de historia de Mendoza: época colonial (1560-1810)* (Imprenta J. Verdaguer, 1920).

[97] Por ejemplo: Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada*; Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*.

Mendoza cuenta con un segundo plano fundacional que fue dibujado en 1562 cuando la ciudad originalmente plantada por Pedro del Castillo en 1561 fue trasladada por Juan Jufré por diversos motivos.[98] Por tanto, existen dos planos de Mendoza, uno de 1561 y otro de 1562. Ninguno de ellos es un documento aislado. El plano de 1561 forma parte de un legajo más amplio escrito como *provança* de Pedro del Castillo, un documento que recoge sus logros y hazañas especialmente desarrollado para ser presentado a la corona en su viaje de regreso a Europa. La copia conservada del plan de 1562 es parte de un reporte similar desarrollado para celebrar los méritos de Juan Jufré. Del mismo modo, el plano de Mancha Real de 1539 formaba parte originalmente de un voluminoso legajo que contenía originales y copias de los documentos más relevantes para la fundación de la ciudad, desde la orden real de 1508 y los requerimientos y demandas presentados en las décadas de 1520 y 1530, hasta los actos de fundación de 1539. Otro ejemplo americano es el de Villa de Leyva, Colombia, fundada en 1572 para alojar a un grupo de colonos españoles provenientes de la vecina Tunja, capital de la región de Boyacá (Figure 9-10).[99] Entre 1572 y 1582, los colonos de Villa de Leyva atravesaron una serie de conflictos legales entre el gobierno español local y los zipas Muiscas, representantes de los grupos indígenas que habitaban el área donde se ubicaría la nueva población. Estos jefes habían convivido ya por más de tres décadas junto a los españoles y estaban bien integrados en su sistema legal, por lo que ostentaban el poder de protestar y realizar demandas a través de canales oficiales a pesar de que, al final, no pudieron detener por completo la fundación de Villa de Leyva. Estas demandas fueron la principal causa responsable del traslado de la fundación de 1572 a un nuevo lugar en 1582, de forma similar a como Mendoza había sido trasladada en 1562. Todas estas acciones y procesos fueron registrados en detalle por escribas y notarios en documentos que incluyen tanto textos escritos como planos y diagramas urbanos. En consecuencia, el plano de Villa de Leyva tampoco es un producto cartográfico aislado sino un ejemplo de apoyo gráfico elaborado para complementar un procedimiento legal que era registrado principalmente por escribas y notarios. El acta fundacional de Villa de Leyva incluye de echo una gran diversidad de documentos, órdenes, listas y registros en los que el plano de fundación constituía apenas una pequeña parte. Lo mismo ocurre con los planos de Mendoza en 1562 y Mancha Real en 1539. Sus trazas son sumarios gráficos que sintetizaban el proceso fundacional pero que no deberían ser nunca interpretados por sí mismos, aislados del contexto escrito al que pertenecen.

Los planos de Mancha Real, Mendoza y Villa de Leyva, entre otros, fueron producidos mediante métodos similares y en el mismo periodo, pero en

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[98] Sobre los que se profundizará en el capítulo 3.

[99] Diego Arango, "Reflexiones Históricas Sobre La Fundación de Villa de Leyva," *Villa Viva Vive*, 2013, https://www.escritoresyperiodistas.com/NUMERO03/diego.html; Isabel Cristina Trejos V., Diego Arango R., and Adriana Lagos Z, *Memoria Histórica e Imaginarios de Villa de Leyva* (Villa de Leyva, Colombia, 2000), https://villadeleyvapatrimoniohistorico.webnode.com.co/.

coordinadas muy distantes dentro del Imperio Español. Comparten una serie de características y atributos que son de naturaleza legal principalmente. Su objetivo principal era apoyar el proceso notarial, de modo que la regularidad del plan y el orden de sus calles y espacios públicos eran diseñados con el objetivo de cumplir las normas previamente establecidas para ello. De nuevo, estos eran planos diagramáticos de ciudades que apenas habían sido fundadas, no proyectos urbanos ni planos de construcción en el sentido moderno. Aspectos formales tales como el orden, la escala y la geometría eran relevantes en su elaboración, pero en un sentido directo al de planos y documentos propios de la ingeniería militar. En otras palabras, el plano de repartimiento notarial y el plano de ingeniería militar representan dos tipologías diferentes de cartografía urbana en la modernidad temprana. Pueden compartir en ciertos casos protocolos, criterios gráficos y otras características dignas de ser comparadas pero, al mismo tiempo, sus atributos fundamentales son completamente distintos.

El principal interés de esta desagregación tipológica de planos urbanos en la modernidad temprana se basa en su capacidad de abrir nuevos caminos para la investigación. Las ciudades de nueva planta y la historia cultural y antropológica de las acciones implicadas en su fundación han sido parte del campo de la historia urbana desde su mismo origen.[100] Sin embargo, mientras que documentos históricos tales como planos militares, vistas de paisajes urbanos y catálogos arquitectónicos continúan siendo objeto de estudio, registros notariales y actas legales conectados a ellos no suelen recibir el mismo nivel de atención.[101] El proyecto *Siblings Overseas* propone que analizar los planos de fundación bajo el prisma de su naturaleza notarial, en conjunto con los registros y legajos a los que pertenecieron originalmente, permite abrir una nueva línea de trabajo que enriquece el estado del arte actual en el campo de la historia urbana.

*Siblings Overseas* profundiza en el análisis paralelo de planos de fundación de ciudades españolas y libros de repartimiento de la modernidad temprana, todos ellos documentos de naturaleza gráfica y escrita cuya relación interna no siempre es directa o evidente. ¿Eran todos los elementos urbanos fundamentales de una fundación descritos en los planos y los libros siempre del mismo modo? ¿Qué características descritas en el libro eran también incluidas en el plano? ¿Cuáles no? ¿Por qué? Estos y otros interrogantes reciben respuesta en *Siblings Overseas* a través del uso de metodologías de análisis comparado para detectar convergencias y divergencias, proporcionando a su vez un mayor conocimiento sobre los

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[100] Algunos de los ejemplos más relevantes en este aspecto son : Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La ciudad antigua*, La historia para todos (Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra, 1864); Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ Pr, 1976); Jean Passini, *Villes medievales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de- Compostelle (de Pampelune a Burgos): villes de fondation et villes d'origine romaine.*, Mémoire 47 (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civiliations, 1984); Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*, Harvest Book (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1989).

[101] Una de las pocas excepciones es: Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London: Lutterworth, 1967).

agentes implicados en el proceso: sus trasfondos, sus objetivos, sus responsabilidades y sus decisiones a la hora de cumplir con ellas. Esta aproximación también explora ciudades donde la dupla de registros fundacionales −gráfica y escrita− ha perdido uno de sus componentes. Si un grupo de ciudades fundadas en el mismo periodo por los mismos agentes no conserva la totalidad de sus documentos de fundación, los datos conocidos de los que sí se conservan pueden ser utilizados para completar los espacios vacíos y proporcionar una hipótesis de aquellos que se perdieron. Esta lógica puede aplicarse por ejemplo al caso de Sierra Sur de Jaén, con cuatro ciudades creados en el mismo año de 1539 por el mismo equipo de especialistas, coordinados por el mismo juez, todas ubicadas en la misma provincia. Todas ellas conservan sus registros gráficos, pero sólo una de las cuatro trazas sobrevive. En este caso, el estudio detallado de la pareja de libro y traza conservada tiene el potencial de aportar datos e información útil para la construcción de hipótesis rigurosas para la reconstrucción de las trazas que se han perdido.

Otro posible caso de interés para esta metodología sería su aplicación a Santa Fe, la famosa ciudad fundada en 1492 tras la victoria castellana contra Granada, cuyo plano más antiguo conservado hoy es de 1777.[102] [103] Aunque no existe ningún plano de fundación de Santa Fe, su libro de fundación original ha sido conservado por completo, así como dos copias realizadas en el siglo XVII. El estudio de la estructura de los datos registrados en ellos junto a acciones y otras informaciones, junto a su comparación con sus equivalentes en Sierra Sur, permitiría la identificación de nuevos hallazgos sobre cual era el marco común de sus protocolos fundaciones y cuales acciones eran aplicadas solamente a casos particulares. La presencia de veteranos de Santa Fe en las fundaciones de la Sierra Sur así como su conexión con la Real Chancillería de Granada soporta esta hipótesis.

La idea básica tras este argumento es que aquellas ciudades que conservan sus registros fundacionales completos pueden funcionar como puntos de referencia a la hora de triangular las partes faltantes de otras fundaciones. En *Siblings Overseas*, el plano de Mancha Real opera como un ancla para reconstituir los planos de fundación de las otras tres ciudades que fueron creadas en la Sierra Sur en 1539. Al mismo tiempo, la documentación de Sierra Sur, junto a otros documentos, proporciona una base para el estudio de las actas fundacionales de Mendoza en Argentina y Villa de Leyva en Colombia. Gracias al análisis paralelo de estas fuentes, nueva información es revelada de cara al entendimiento de en qué

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[102] Francisco Quintillán, *Plano de Población de Santa Fe, [ca. 1777]*, papel; aguada ; tinta. 416x300 mm, s.e. (Santa Fe, Granada, 1777), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe.

[103] Este plano aparece en la mayoría de catálogos de historia urbana internacionales, incluyendo: Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*; Charles Delfante, Ángel Isac Martínez de Carvajal, and Yago Barja de Quiroga, *Gran historia de la ciudad: de Mesopotamia a Estados Unidos*, Lecturas (Madrid: Abada, 2006); Kostof, *The City Shaped*; Antonio García y Bellido, ed., *Resumen Histórico Del Urbanismo En España*, 3ª. ed (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1987); Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada*; Mario Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista: Mappe e Documenti Sulla Transformazione Urbana e Territoriale Nell'America Centrale Del 500*, Interpretazioni e Documenti 1 (Reggio Calabria: Gangemi, 1981); Erwin Anton Gutkind, *International History of City Development. Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*, vol. 3, 7 vols. (New York London: Free Press Collier- Macmillan, 1964).

grado exactamente eran compartidas las diferentes prácticas urbanas aplicadas en el Imperio Español durante la modernidad temprana. Finalmente, el abanico de resultados proveniente del análisis de estos procesos fundacionales propone una nueva constelación de coordenadas capaces de apoyar las últimas teorías e hipótesis desarrolladas para ciudades como Santa Fe, cuya morfología fundacional exacta es desconocida, o Santa Fe de Bogotá, cuyos planos y libros de fundación se perdieron en el tiempo.[104] De este modo, Siblings Overseas busca contribuir al estado del arte actual sobre historia urbana hispana durante la modernidad temprana, dando un paso más de cara a superar las limitaciones de aproximaciones constreñidas por la morfología y la forma al tiempo que enriquece sus muchos aportes con nueva información nacida del intercambio transdisciplinar con los campos de la historia del derecho y la geografía humana (Figure 11).

## Objectives

**The main objective** of *Siblings Overseas* is to develop an in-depth comparative study between European and American urban foundation protocols, focusing on non-military documents and unfortified new towns whose foundational processes evolved during the 16th century.

**The general hypothesis** is that Spanish practices for the foundation of cities in Europe and America present a set of shared aspects based on their shared frame of laws, institutions, agents, beliefs, and, of course, geometrical order. These elements were in constant evolution in both shores of the Atlantic due to their dynamic socio-political situation. Their Spanish urban grid is one of their foundational traits, even an archetypical one; however, it did not operate by itself, neither it synthesized the entire complexity of the city as a political construct. Hence, there was no pre-established model for all new towns around the global Spanish Empire, but a shared set of urban protocols organically applied in different contexts across the early modern world.

The project *Siblings Overseas* has the following **specific objectives:**

- To present the historical context of the Iberian Peninsula during the medieval period, delving on the political context of the Re-conquista and its consequences in specific frontier areas where Aragonese and Castilian grid urban planning traditions were developed between the 11th and 15th centuries.
- To develop a critical argument on urban historiography, providing insights on what elements of Hispanic grid urbanism are presented in

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[104] Sobre la morfología de Santa Fe de Granada, ver: Rafael G. Peinado Santaella, *La Fundación de Santa Fe (1491-1520): estudios y documentos*, Biblioteca Chronica Nova de Estudios Históricos ; 31 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995). Sobre la fundación de Santa Fe de Bogotá, ver: Germán Rodrigo Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, Historia de Bogotá (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2012).

international literature, which are omitted, and which are simply deformed.

- To study the plantation of new towns in the Andalusian frontier during the early modern period, attending territorial elements like landscape and infrastructure with regional analysis on their urban form, their original plans, and the legal protocols, documents, agents, and actions performed in their foundational processes.
- To study the plantation of new towns in Spanish colonial America through the analysis of foundational acts and their regulating laws, delving into their parallelism with their Andalusian peers, and studying the causes behind their similarities and differences.

# Objetivos

**El objetivo principal** de *Siblings Overseas* es desarrollar un estudio comparativo profundo entre protocolos de fundación urbana españoles en América y Europa, concentrándose en documentos no militares y ciudades de nueva planta no fortificadas cuyos procesos fundacionales se desarrollaron durante el siglo XVI.

**La hipótesis general** de este estudio se basa en que las prácticas españolas para la fundación de ciudades en Europa y América presentan un conjunto de aspectos compartidos que se basan en su marco compartido de leyes, instituciones, agentes, creencias y, por supuesto, orden geométrico. Estos elementos experimentaron una evolución constante en ambas orillas del Atlántico, divergente pero regular debido a sus distintos contextos sociopolíticos. Su retícula urbana es una de sus características más relevantes, incluso arquetípica, sin embargo, no operaba por si misma ni sintetizaba la total complejidad de la ciudad como constructo político. Por tanto, no existía un modelo pre-establecido para todas las ciudades de nueva planta en el imperio global español, más un conjunto de protocolos urbanos compartidos aplicados orgánicamente en diferentes contextos geopolíticos a lo largo del mundo moderno.

El proyecto *Siblings Overseas* plantea los siguientes **objetivos específicos**:

- Presentar el contexto histórico de la Península Ibérica durante el periodo medieval, profundizando en el contexto político de la Re-conquista y sus consecuencias en áreas específicas de la frontera donde las tradiciones aragonesas y castellanas para la planeación de ciudades se desarrollaron entre los siglos XI y XV.
- Desarrollar una historiografía crítica sobre historia urbana, proporcionando hallazgos sobre qué elementos del urbanismo ortogonal hispano están presentes en la literatura internacional, cuales son omitidos y cuales, simplemente, deformados.
- Estudiar la fundación de ciudades de nueva planta en la frontera andaluza durante la modernidad temprana, atendiendo a elementos

territoriales tales como el paisaje y la infraestructura mediante el análisis regional de sus formas urbanas, sus trazas originales, sus protocolos legales, así como los documentos, agentes y acciones *performadas* durante sus procesos fundacionales.

- Estudiar la fundación de ciudades de nueva planta en la América colonial española durante la modernidad temprana a través del análisis de actas de fundación y sus leyes reguladores, profundizando en su paralelismo respecto a sus pares andaluces y estudiando las causas tras sus similitudes y diferencias.

## Study Cases

*Siblings Overseas* focuses on three study cases of early modern plantations and foundational processes, one in Europe and two in America. **The leading case of study** is the **foundational process of four new towns in Sierra Sur de Jaen (Andalucía),** which took place between 1508 and 1539 and includes the settlements of Mancha Real, Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares, and Campillo de Arenas. Sierra Sur was the main friction point between the kingdoms of Jaen and Granada during the last centuries of the Reconquista, making it a strategic territory for colonization after the Granada War (1582-92). The Castilian Crown manifested its interest in the project through documents like a first settling order signed by Queen Juana I in 1508 and a royal executive order signed by Emperor Charles V in 1537. All these documents are conserved in four foundational logbooks, one for each new town.[105] The only surviving graphic record is the distribution plan of Mancha Real. Other primary sources available for the study of these cities include written documents such as royal instructions for founding agents, judicial processes, lawsuits over land rights, independence privileges, etc.

This dissertation also features a two major **American study cases**, one in the province of Boyacá in Nueva Granada (Colombia) and another in the province of Cuyo, which was part of Chile in the 16th century and later became an Argentinian region. [106] The Chilean/Argentinian case is **Mendoza, capital of Cuyo, originally settled in 1561 and later moved to a new location in 1562.** The foundational plan of Mendoza is the oldest conserved for any Spanish American plantation. The town was founded in two acts, each of them with its own plans and written records conserved in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville. Between these two

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[105] Held in the following archives: Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Biblioteca Real del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén (AHPJ), Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (ARCHGR), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe, Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén, Archivo Municipal de Mancha Real, Archivo Municipal de Los Villares, Archivo Municipal de Campillo de Arenas.

[106] This inquiry features sources from: Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Biblioteca Real del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén (AHPJ), Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (ARCHGR), Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia (AGN), Archivo Histórico Regional del Departamento de Boyacá (AHRB), Archivo Nacional de Chile (ANC), and Biblioteca Nacional de Chile (BNC9.

foundational actions there is a complex political conflict between aspirants to the role of General Captain of Chile and their subordinates. The second American case study is **Villa de Leyva in the Kingdom of New Granada (Colombia), first founded in 1572 and later re-settled in 1582**. The foundational plans conserved for this city are the oldest of its kind in Colombia. Villa de Leyva depended on the regional capital of Tunja, located forty kilometers away, in the same manner that the new towns at Sierra Sur were under the authority of Jaen. Also, like in Sierra Sur, Villa de Leyva was settled as part of a strategy for improving local agriculture and regional connectivity. These parallelisms will be studied and evidenced through the analysis of primary written sources, historical cartographies, and a graphic assessment of their contemporary urban form. These two American cases are complemented by an inquiry on early colonial endeavors in the Canary Archipelago and the Caribbean, the foundation of Andean capitals such as Santa Fe de Bogotá (1539), and the enactment of the instructions and orders later compiled in 1681 as the Indies Laws.

The timeline presented as Figure 12 shows the events taking place parallelly in Sierra Sur, Cuyo and Nueva Granada, in relationship with the general context of the Spanish Empire. It is of course a very synthetic diagram, but it serves the purpose of showing the chronological relationship between these events. The first chapter of this dissertation focuses on events taking place in the Iberian Peninsula during the medieval ages. It features specific regions and periods in which urban transformations and laws attached to them had a protagonist role. Most of them were frontier territories between Christian and Islamic Hispanic kingdoms, but that general condition should not shadow the particularities of each context and its political nuances. The singular characteristics of each borderland and the games of power of their ruling agents were highly influential over their grid plantations and other urban outcomes.

With the beginning of the 16th-century we witness the issuing of the original order to settle Sierra Sur, signed by Queen Juana I in 1508. At this time, most of the American colonial cities we know today had not been planted. The first city settled in America following specific royal instructions regarding its plan and structure was La Española, planted by Nicolás de Ovando in 1502. There were of course precedents of new towns created in other colonial territories such as the Canary archipelago, but this is indeed a very early stage of the Spanish urban enterprise in America.

The colonization of Sierra Sur would be stalled by a series of lawsuits and legal conflicts for almost 30 years. During that time, the whole Caribbean Sea was conquered and settled, as well as many interior regions in Central and South America. Cities such as Santa Marta, Cartagena de Indias, Lima, Cuzco, Santa Fé de Bogotá, and Santiago were all planted in this period. When the project to create new towns in Sierra Sur was reactivated in 1537, all those other urban experiences were already part of a continuous cultural exchange flowing between Europe and America. The orders issued by Charles V at that point for settling Sierra Sur mirrored many of the instructions and urban planning principles that were already

widespread in America. The documents recording the foundational actions performed at Sierra Sur are highly detailed, particularly for 1539, and even include a foundational plan that follows the Spanish grid model. Thanks to them, it is possible to develop a highly detailed account of how Charles V instructions were applied. Moreover, the documents of Sierra Sur pre-dates most comparable foundational acts of American cities, so they have the potential to act as a triangulation point, a control group to which other foundational documents can be compared.

The two major American cases of foundational acts included in this dissertation have been especially selected to test this idea. A plantation that would have been ideal for this objective is Santa Fe de Bogotá, planted in 1539 simultaneously to Sierra Sur, by the lawyer Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Quesada was in fact closely related to other legal agents and institutions involved in the colonization of Sierra Sur. However, no copies of Bogotá's foundational act survive today, and certainly no foundational plan. As we have argued, the foundational plans of Mendoza are the oldest of their kind conserved for any American Spanish city, so they represent the earliest case comparable to Sierra Sur. Mendoza was planted in 1561, 22 years after the cities in Sierra Sur. This temporal gap is unavoidable if a comparation between American plans and those of Sierra Sur is to be made. However, as we will see, their structure is close enough to provide a set of parallel legal narratives in which differences and deviations hold significant meaning.

Mendoza was planted two times within a year. This duplicity was caused by a tense political situation that transpired through both foundational acts, presenting the new town not only as a tool for territorial colonization and domination but also as an arena in which high ranking officials contested each other's authority. Villa de Leyva was also planted two times but in a longer period of time and for very different reasons. In that case, the conflict that invalidated the first foundational act did not only involve colonial agents but also a strong native community represented by mestizo chieftains, religious indoctrinators and *encomenderos*.[107] There are also differences between how the foundational acts of Mendoza and Villa de Leyva were conserved. The first's were copied by its founders and issued to the Indies Council in well curated reports, while those for Villa de Leyva are part of its original foundational record, conserved at the regional archive of Boyacá and the General archive of Colombia. That foundational book of Villa de Leyva is very similar to the kind of record conserved for Sierra Sur, while the acts of Mendoza are more synthetic and less detailed. They were developed for informing the Crown and obtaining privileges, not as a full record to serve as the documental backbone of the newly planted town and its residents.

This similitudes and differences connect Sierra Sur, Mendoza, and Villa de Leyva in ways worth inquiring, accounting for the geographical and temporal distance between them, but attempting to find the connecting knots that overcome their chronological separation. In this way, the timeline of *Siblings Overseas* does

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[107] Spanish colonists in charge of a certain number of natives who benefited from their forced labor and other kinds of exploitation.

not depict the evolution of a phenomena but its parallel performance in different parts of the world. Each point in the line does not represent an improvement over the previous one. They are just products of a dynamic urban phenomena branching in a sort of rhizomatic structure. In other words: The urban ideas developed in Mancha Real were not later exported to Mendoza and Villa de Leyva. They were just happening, being born, changing, and adapting to the particular contexts of the landscapes they reached.

## Casos de estudio

Siblings Overseas se concentra en tres casos de estudio de ciudades de nueva planta y procesos fundacionales modernos, uno en Europa y dos en América. **El caso de estudio principal es el proceso fundacional de cuatro ciudades de nueva planta en la Sierra Sur de Jaén (Andalucía)**, llevado a cabo entre 1508 y 1539. Este caso incluye los asentamientos de Mancha Real, Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares y Campillo de Arenas. Sierra Sur era el principal punto de fricción entre los reinos de Jaén y Granada durante los últimos siglos de la Reconquista, haciendo de ella un territorio estratégico a colonizar tras la Guerra de Granada (1582-1592). La corona de Castilla manifestó su interés en este proyecto poblador a través de documentos tales como la primera carta puebla firmada por la reina Juana I en 1508 o la orden ejecutoria firmada por el emperador Carlos V en 1537. Todos estos documentos se conservan en cuatro libros de fundación, uno para cada una de las ciudades.[108] El único registro gráfico sobreviviente es el plano de repartimiento de Mancha Real. Existen otras fuentes primarias disponibles para el estudio de estas ciudades tales como instrucciones reales dirigidas a los agentes fundadores, procesos judiciales, demandas sobre derechos de la tierra, privilegios de independencia, etc.

Esta tesis doctoral presenta también **dos casos de estudio americanos**, uno en la provincia de Boyacá en Nueva Granada (Colombia) y otro en la provincia de Cuyo, parte de Chile en el siglo XVI y más adelante integrada en la región argentina.[109] El caso chileno/argentino es la ciudad de **Mendoza, capital de Cuyo, fundada originalmente en 1561 y más tarde trasladada a una nueva localización en 1562**. El plano fundacional de Mendoza es uno de los más antiguos conservados de entre todas las fundaciones coloniales españolas en América. La ciudad fue fundada en dos actas, ambas conservadas con sus planos de

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[108] Custodiados en los siguientes archivos: Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Biblioteca Real del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén (AHPJ), Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (ARCHGR), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe, Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén, Archivo Municipal de Mancha Real, Archivo Municipal de Los Villares, Archivo Municipal de Campillo de Arenas.

[109] Esta investigación incluye fuentes de los siguientes archivos: Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Biblioteca Real del Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén (AHPJ), Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (ARCHGR), Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia (AGN), Archivo Histórico Regional del Departamento de Boyacá (AHRB), Archivo Nacional de Chile (ANC), and Biblioteca Nacional de Chile (BNC9.

repartimiento y registros escritos custodiados en el Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla. Existe un complejo conflicto político entre ambas acciones fundacionales que enfrentaba a los aspirantes a la posición de Capitán General de Chile y a sus subordinados, influenciando los procesos urbanos ejecutados en torno a él. El segundo caso americano es Villa de Leyva en el Reino de Nueva Granada (Colombia), primeramente fundada en 1572 y después trasladada en 1582. Los planos fundacionales conservados para esta ciudad son los más antiguos de su clase en Colombia. Villa de Leyva dependía de la capital regional de Tunja, situada a cuarenta kilómetros, del mismo modo que los nuevos asentamientos de la Sierra Sur dependían de la autoridad regional en Jaén. También como en Sierra Sur, Villa de Leyva fue fundada como parte de una estrategia territorial para mejorar el tejido agrícola y la conectividad regional. Estos paralelismos han sido estudiados y evidenciados a través del análisis de fuentes escritas, cartografías históricas y descripciones de su forma urbana. Estos dos casos urbanos han sido a su vez complementados con un estudio de emprendimientos coloniales tempranos en el Archipiélago canario y en el Caribe, la fundación de capitales andinas como Santa Fe de Bogotá (1539) y el establecimiento de instrucciones y órdenes urbanas contenidas en las Leyes de Indias, recopiladas en 1681.

La línea de tiempo presentada en la figura 12 muestra los principales eventos que tuvieron lugar en Sierra Sur, Cuyo y Nueva Granada durante el periodo de estudio, en relación con el contexto general del Imperio Español. Es, por supuesto, un diagrama sintético, pero sirve al objetivo de mostrar la relación cronológica entre dichos eventos. El primer capítulo de esta tesis se centra en los eventos que tuvieron lugar en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media. Presenta estudios de regiones y periodos específicos donde las transformaciones urbanas y las leyes conectadas con ellas tuvieron un rol protagónico. Si bien la mayoría eran territorios de frontera entre reinos españoles cristianos e islámicos, esta condición general no debería opacar las particularidades de cada contexto y sus especificidades sociopolíticas. Las características singulares de cada tierra de frontera y los juegos de poder entre sus agentes gobernantes ejercieron una gran influencia sobre los asentamientos de planta ortogonal y otros emprendimientos urbanos.

Con el inicio del siglo XVI asistimos a la primera orden de población para Sierra Sur, firmada por la reina Juana I en 1508. En este momento, la mayor parte de las ciudades coloniales existentes hoy aún no se habían fundado. La primera ciudad colonial asentada en América acorde a instrucciones reales específicas en cuanto a su traza y su estructura urbana fue La Española, fundada por Nicolás de Ovando en 1502. Existen por supuesto antecedentes de ciudades de nueva planta en otros territorios coloniales tales como el archipiélago canario pero, en cualquier caso, esta es aún una etapa temprana de la empresa urbana española en América.

La colonización de la Sierra Sur sería retrasada por una serie de demandas y conflictos legales durante casi treinta años. Durante ese tiempo, la mayor parte del Mar Caribe sería conquistado y poblado por los colonizadores, así como muchas de las regiones interiores en América Central y Suramérica. Ciudades como Santa Marta, Cartagena de Indias, Lima, Cuzco, Santa Fe de Bogotá y Santiago

fueron todas asentadas en este periodo. Para cuando el proyecto de crear ciudades de nueva planta en la Sierra Sur de Jaén fue reactivado en 1537, todas estas otras experiencias urbanas eran ya parte del continuo flujo de intercambio de ideas, bienes y personas que conectaba Europa y América. Las órdenes instauradas por Carlos V en este punto para la Sierra Sur reflejaban muchas de las instrucciones y principios de planeación urbana expandidos en América. Los documentos que registran las acciones de Sierra Sur cuentan con un alto nivel de detalle particularmente para el año 1539, incluyendo incluso un plano de repartimiento que sigue la forma de la grilla ortogonal española. Gracias a ellos es posible desarrollar un relato detallado de la aplicación de las órdenes de Carlos V en Sierra Sur. De hecho, si bien los documentos de la Sierra Sur son coetáneos a otras ciudades americanas, los documentos que conservan son más antiguos que las actas fundacionales más tempranas que han sobrevivido en América, de modo que Sierra Sur posee el potencial de funcionar como un punto de triangulación, un grupo de control frente al que pueden compararse otros documentos fundacionales.

Los dos casos de estudio americanos principales que se incluyen en esta tesis han sido seleccionados para poner a prueba esta idea. Una fundación que hubiera sido ideal para este objetivo es Santa Fe de Bogotá, fundada por el licenciado granadino Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada en 1539, el mismo año que las nuevas poblaciones de Sierra Sur. Quesada era de hecho un agente íntimamente relacionado con los agentes legales y las instituciones involucradas en la colonización de Sierra Sur. Sin embargo, ninguna copia del acta fundacional de Bogotá ni ningún plano fundacional sobrevive hoy. Como se ha discutido anteriormente, los planos fundacionales de Mendoza son los más antiguos de su clase conservados para ninguna ciudad española en América, de modo que Mendoza (1561-1562) constituye el más temprano caso de estudio comparable con el proceso de Sierra Sur de Jaén (1508-1539). El salto temporal de 22 años entre ambos casos es ineludible si el objetivo es realizar una comparativa entre documentos y registros de fundación que realmente sean de una misma naturaleza notarial. Sin embargo, como se verá más adelante, la estructura de estas actas es lo suficientemente similar entre si como para proveer narrativas legales paralelas con similitudes y diferencias significativas.

Mendoza fue fundada dos veces en el plazo de un año. Esta duplicidad fue causada por la tensa situación política que transpiran ambas actas de fundación, presentando la ciudad de nueva planta no solo como una herramienta de colonización y dominación del territorio sino también como una arena en la que oficiales de alto rango se batían por la autoridad y los privilegios del otro. Villa de Leyva también fue fundada dos veces, pero a lo largo de un periodo de tiempo mayor y por razones muy diferentes. En este caso, el conflicto que invalidó la primera acta fundacional no sólo involucró agentes colonizadores sino también una comunidad nativa fuerte representada por caciques mestizos, sacerdotes y encomenderos. Existen también diferencias en cuanto al modo en que se han conservado las actas de Mendoza y Villa de Leiva. Mientras que las primeras fueron copiadas por encargo de sus fundadores y enviadas a la corona en informes cuidadosamente

elaborados, lo que conserva Villa de Leyva son sus registros originales escritos por notarios y conservados entre el Archivo Regional de Boyacá y el Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia. Por ello, el libro de fundación de Villa de Leyva resulta muy similar en formato y lenguaje a los libros de fundación de la Sierra Sur, mientras que las actas de Mendoza ofrecen una imagen más sintética y menos detallada dado que fueron elaboradas para informar a la corona y obtener privilegios, no como registro completo y columna documental de la ciudad nuevamente fundada y sus residentes.

Estas similitudes y diferencias conectan Sierra Sur, Mendoza y Villa de Leyva de formas que es necesario interrogar, teniendo en cuenta la separación geográfica y temporal existente entre ellas, pero procurando al mismo tiempo encontrar aquellos nudos y conexiones que trascienden las distancias que las separan. De este modo, la línea del tiempo de *Siblings Overseas* no busca la definición completa de un fenómeno sino su actuar paralelo en diferentes partes del mundo. Cada punto de la línea no representa un paso o una mejora respecto al punto anterior. Son tan solo productos diversos de un fenómeno urbano dinámico cuyas ramas crecen a modo de estructura rizomática. En otras palabras: las ideas urbanas aplicadas en Mancha Real no fueron exportadas más adelante a Mendoza y Villa de Leyva. Ningún caso es consecuencia o referente directo de otro. Sencillamente son procesos, casos que ocurren, nacen, cambian y se adaptan a los contextos particulares de los paisajes donde se insertan.
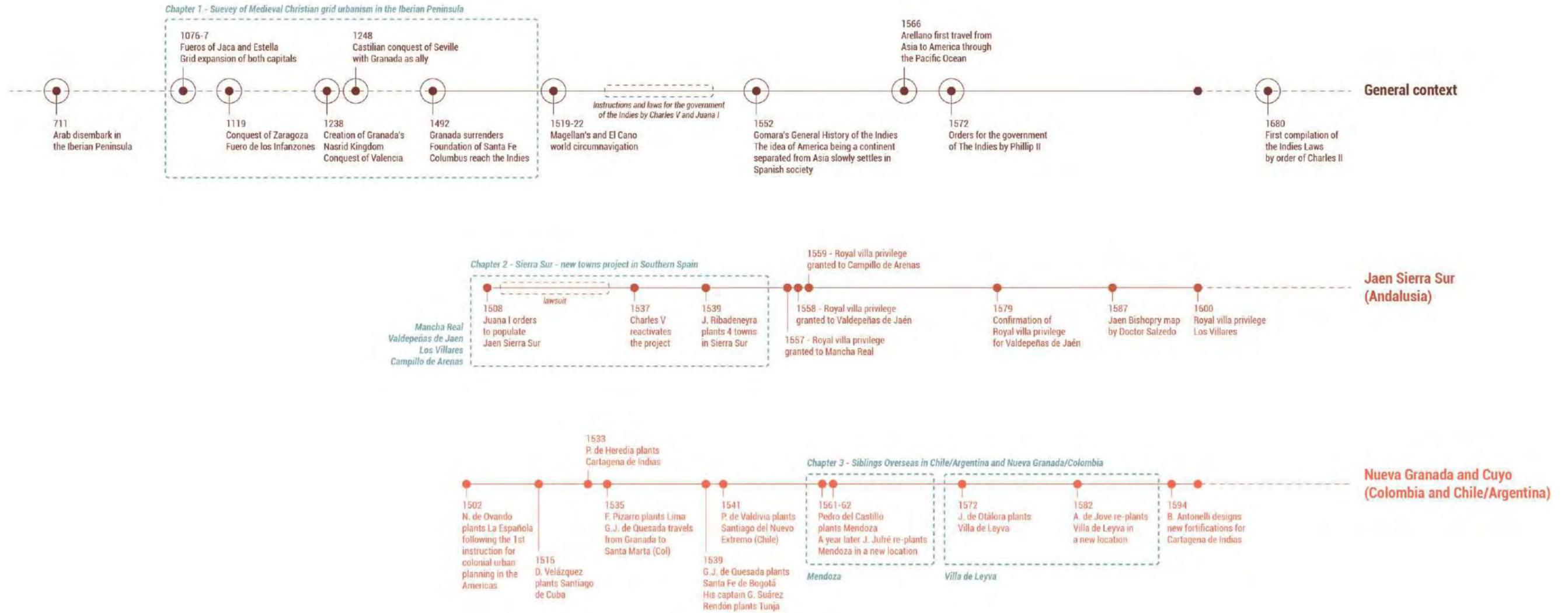
**Figure 12: Timeline of case studies in Sierra Sur de Jaen, Nueva Granada (Colombia) and Cuyo (Chile/Argentina). Other historical events have been included for context. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

## Methodology

Methodologies applied in this dissertation are mainly focused on the analysis of original foundational acts and documents, along with other historical sources. These were complemented with territorial analysis, cartographies and urban surveys informed from contemporary sources and databanks. Foundational documents have been directly consulted in their respective archive when possible. However, the situation provoked by the global COVID-19 pandemic made presential work impossible and forced the cancelation of several research visits planned for 2020 and 2021. This group of documents includes Spanish notarial records from the 16th century, which pose a tough challenge for architectural historians with no previous training in paleography. To overcome this difficulty, *Siblings Overseas* resorted to transcriptions developed by specialized Latin-American and Spanish historians. Most of these scholars were directly consulted and interviewed to contrasts preliminary research results with their expertise in the local context. Some of them stand out for their implication and contribution to *Siblings Overseas*. Professor José Miguel Delgado Barrado, *catedrático*[110] of Modern History at Universidad de Jaén, is one of the researchers who transcribed the foundational documents from three of the four new towns in Jaen Sierra Sur. The full transcriptions were published between 2009 and 2013, along with a series of complementary interpretations, historical essays, and research results. Prof. Delgado supported *Siblings Overseas* from its early stages, shipped three printed copies of his volumes to Turin, and promoted an intense exchange of ideas during a Ph.D. seminar at Universidad de Jaen. Juan Cobo Betancourt, professor at the Department of History in UC Santa Barbara and leader of the archival project Neogranadina,[111] provided access to digitizations and transcriptions that would have been impossible to reach physically due to the pandemic context. Finally, José Manuel Marchal Martínez and Serafín Parra Delgado provided privileged access to all historical documents held at Valdepeñas de Jaen Municipal Archive, including foundational books, royal privileges, construction contracts, among other valuable sources.

This methodology was applied and expanded for the analysis of foundational plans. These plans were subjected to a full graphic analysis, including the redrawing and vectorization of all elements; the study of their composition, proportions, and other geometrical information; the discussion of their materiality, the inks and skills applied in their elaboration; as well as the interpretation of their written parts following previous historical studies and transcriptions (Figure 13). This work used the most recent digitizations for each document, providing not only a wide array of new drawings and graphic elaborations but also a compilation of high resolution figures that have not been widely disseminated yet.[112]

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[110] Highest rank in the Spanish High Education system.

[111] "Neogranadina," accessed July 2, 2021, https://neogranadina.org/.

[112] The foundational plan of Mancha Real is the most notable of them (1539/1570 - Fig. 5).

**Figure 13: Example of graphic analysis performed over the foundational map of Mancha Real (1539/1570). © Manuel Sánchez García, elaborated from the original document held at Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.[113]**



**Figure 14: Example of graphic analysis performed over the Bishopric map of Jaen (1587), the first cartographic document showing Sierra Sur with its four new towns from 1539. This analysis is further detailed in chapter 2. © Manuel Sánchez García, elaborated from the original document held at Biblioteca Nacional de España.[114]**

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[113] Juan de Reolid, "Traslado de un plano de la villa de Mancha Real, en pleito entre Melchor de Vergara, prior de Mancha Real, con Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera y Mari Pérez, su mujer, vecinos de dicha villa [Copia de Luis de Molina en 1570]."

[114] Gaspar Salcedo de Aguirre, *Geographia o description nueua del obispado de Jaen fecha en el 2º anno del Pontificado de Nrô mui Sancto Padre Sixto. V. y del reinado del Rey dô Phillippe el.2º. nro señor en el anno de treintayuno por orden del obispo de Jaen Frâcisco en el anno. 7 de su Obispado y del nascimiento de N. S. Jesuchîo de 1587*, Escala [ca. 1:350.000]. 25 Leguas [=

The study of foundational documents was complemented with a selection of other historical sources ranging from the 16th to the 18th centuries. Most of them are maps and cartographies providing valuable information on the territory where the studied new towns were planted. Again, graphic analyses were elaborated from their most recent digitization, re-drawing and re-elaborating them to delve into the nuances of their composition and the hierarchies between the elements that appear in them and, sometimes, even those that were ignored by the cartographers (Figure 14). Additional written sources were also studied. These were scrutinized for plantation practices, rules, principles, and protocols to be compared with the foundational documents of the main case studied. The most prominent among these documents is the compilation of indies laws.[115]

The resulting insights from studying these documents were subjected to comparative analysis, searching for similarities and dissimilarities among their many protocols, practices, interests, and other details (Figure 15). Comparative analysis was instrumental when one of the sources lacked some or several of its elements due to incompletion or destruction. As explained above, the rest of the sources provided valuable information for developing hypotheses to reconstruct lost or missing documents and plans. These reconstructions were thoroughly informed and discussed with external advisors, who provided feedback and criticism on each of the criteria and decisions that were taken during their elaboration.

Finally, the whole argument of *Siblings Overseas* has been complemented with maps, diagrams, and architectural drawings. These materials have been tested in presentations, lectures, and digital courses, receiving feedback from mentors, peers, and students.[116] While it was possible, field work with students and collaborators was developed on-site the case studies and the territory around them. Between October 2019 and January 2020, the undergraduate course 'Proyectos 6' at Universidad de Granada, instructed by Prof. Rafael de Lacour, involved the project Siblings Overseas into its teaching program, developing a series of case studies in fortified towns in Sierra Sur de Jaén (Figure 16).[117]

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40 cm] (Jaen, 1587), Sala Goya. Cartografía, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid). Item number: MR/42/639.

[115] Studied through its original edition from 1681 and the 1841 reedition. Julián de Paredes and Gregorio Fosman y Medina, "Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias / Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II ..." (Madrid, 1681); Consejo de Indias, *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias: mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Católica Don Carlos II*, 5ª ed (Madrid: Boix, 1841). Item number: 1/18782-1/18783

[116] Including digital lectures and conferences in Italy, Spain, Denmark, Colombia, Chile, Mexico, and the US, among others. Preliminary advances of Siblings Overseas were also applied in one undergraduate course at Universidad de Granada in 2019/2020 and two graduate courses at Politecnico di Torino 2020/2021 and 2021/2022. Additionally, results of *Siblings Overseas* were implemented in one module of digital lectures funded by the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC - MIT) and in one MOOC course funded by Facultad de Creación-Universidad del Rosario (Colombia) and offered through the Edx platform (MIT - US), with more than 3000 students. For a comprehensive listing of these conferences see Appendixes C.

[117] Proyectos 6, group F. Main design course for the eight semester of the Architectural Studies Bachelor Program [Grado en Estudios de Arquitectura] at Universidad de Granada, course 2019/2020

**Figure 15: Elaboration of graphic hypotheses and diagrams mixed both digital and analogical tools, applying architectural and urban drawing techniques for the study of historical phenomena. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 16: 2019, Students in conversation with Professor Eduardo Martin (Universidad de Granada) during a field trip in Sierra Sur de Jaén. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

Graphic products and insights developed in collaboration with students have been included in this dissertation document, supporting the main historical argument on early modern plantations while providing information on their territorial impact and surviving elements. Additional field work was planned to be developed in Colombia during 2020, but the pandemic caused their postponement and eventual cancellation given the time constrains of the project. This absence of direct experience through teaching activities in the Latin-American context remains as an open possibility for *Siblings Overseas* future development: a promise to reinstate its historical findings back to the places where they originated, avoiding extractive scholarly practices, and creating new Ibero-American connections.

## Metodología

La metodología aplicada en esta tesis se concentra mayoritariamente en el análisis de actas de fundación y documentos originales, acompañados de otras fuentes históricas. Este trabajo fue complementado con análisis territoriales, cartografías y estudios urbanos informados a través de bases de datos y fuentes contemporáneas. Los documentos fundacionales se han consultado directamente en sus archivos de proveniencia siempre que ha sido posible. Sin embargo, la situación provocada por la pandemia global de la COVID-19 hizo imposible el trabajo presencial y forzó la cancelación de las visitas de investigación planeadas para 2020 y 2021. El grupo de documentos a estudiar incluía registros notariales españoles del siglo XVI que suponen un reto adicional para investigadores formados en historia de la arquitectura, sin entrenamiento previo en paleografía. Para superar estas dificultades, *Siblings Overseas* recurrió a transcripciones desarrolladas por especialistas latinoamericanos y españoles. La mayor parte de estos investigadores fueron consultados y entrevistados directamente durante el curso del proyecto para contrastar hallazgos preliminares con su experiencia en el contexto local. Algunos de ellos merecen ser destacados por su implicación y contribución al proyecto *Siblings Overseas*. El profesor José Miguel Delgado Barrado, Catedrático de Historia Moderna de la Universidad de Jaén, es uno de los investigadores que transcribió los documentos fundacionales de tres de las cuatro nuevas poblaciones de la Sierra Sur de Jaén. Sus transcripciones completas fueron publicadas entre 2009 y 2013 acompañadas de una serie de ensayos históricos complementarios. El Prof. Delgado apoyó el proyecto *Siblings Overseas* desde sus etapas más tempranas y envió tres copias impresas de sus volúmenes directamente a Turín al tiempo que implicó al candidato en un intenso intercambio de ideas durante un seminario de estudiantes de doctorado en la Universidad de Jaén. Juan Cobo Betancurt, profesor del Departamento de Historia de UC Santa Barbara y líder del proyecto archivístico Neogranadina,[118] proporcionó acceso a digitalizaciones y transcripciones que hubieran sido imposibles de consultar físicamente debido al confinamiento internacional. Finalmente, José Manuel Marchal Martínez y

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[118] "Neogranadina," accessed July 2, 2021, https://neogranadina.org/.

Serafín Parra Delgado proporcionaron acceso privilegiado a los documentos custodiados en el archivo municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén, incluyendo su libro de fundación, sus privilegios reales y contratos de construcción, entre otros documentos valiosos.

Esta metodología fue aplicada y expandida para el análisis de trazas fundacionales. Para ello se utilizaron protocolos de análisis gráfico incluyendo el redibujado y la vectorización de elementos dibujados; el estudio de su composición, proporciones y otros aspectos geométricos; la discusión de sus aspectos materiales, tintas y técnicas aplicadas en su elaboración; así como la interpretación de sus textos escritos apoyada en trabajos y transcripciones publicadas previamente (Figure 13). Este trabajo incluye las digitalizaciones más recientes realizadas de cada una de sus fuentes, presentando no sólo un amplio abanico de nuevos dibujos y elaboraciones gráficas sino también una compilación de figuras en alta resolución que no han sido ampliamente divulgadas hasta el momento.[119]

El estudio de documentos fundacionales ha sido complementado con una selección de otras fuentes históricas originales de los siglos XVI a XVIII. La mayor parte de ellas son mapas y cartografías que proporcionan información valiosa sobre los territorios donde se fundaron las ciudades caso de estudio. Una vez más se realizaron análisis gráficos sobre sus digitalizaciones más recientes, redibujándolas y reelaborándolas de cara a profundizar en los detalles de su composición y en las jerarquías existentes tanto entre los elementos que aparecen en ellas como, en ocasiones, entre aquellos que los cartógrafos decidieron ignorar (Figure 14). Fuentes escritas adicionales fueron estudiadas en búsqueda de prácticas, reglas, principios y protocolos comparables con los documentos fundacionales provenientes de los casos de estudio principales. La más prominente de ellas es la recopilación de las Leyes de Indias.[120]

Los hallazgos resultantes del estudio de estos documentos fueron sometidos a análisis comparativos en búsqueda de similitudes y diferencias entre sus muchos protocolos, prácticas, intereses, etc. (Figure 15). Esta comparación ha sido especialmente fundamental en aquellos casos cuyas fuentes carecían de algunos o muchos de sus elementos debido a que nunca fueron completadas o han sido parcialmente destruidas. Como se ha explicado antes, el resto de las fuentes disponibles proporcionaron información valiosa a la hora de desarrollar hipótesis y explicaciones que completaran los documentos y planos faltantes. Estas reconstrucciones han sido informadas abundantemente y discutidas con especialistas externos cuya retroalimentación y críticas han sido implementadas en las figuras finales incluidas en este manuscrito.

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[119] La más relevante de ellas es el plano fundacional de Mancha Real (1539/1570 - Fig. 5).

[120] Estudiadas a partir de su edición original de 1681 y de su reedición de 1841. Julián de Paredes and Gregorio Fosman y Medina, "Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias / Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II ..." (Madrid, 1681); Consejo de Indias, *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias: mandadas imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Católica Don Carlos II*, 5ª ed (Madrid: Boix, 1841). Item number: 1/18782-1/18783

Finalmente, el argumento de *Siblings Overseas* ha sido complementado con mapas, diagramas y dibujos de elaboración propia. Estos materiales han sido puestos a prueba en presentaciones, clases magistrales y cursos digitales, recibiendo comentarios de mentores, pares y estudiantes.[121] Trabajos de campo fueron desarrollados junto a estudiantes y colaboradores en las ciudades caso de estudio y su región circundante siempre que fue posible. Entre octubre de 2019 y enero de 2020, el curso de Proyectos 6 del grado de arquitectura de la Universidad de Granada dirigido por el profesor Rafael de Lacour involucró al proyecto Siblings Overseas en su programa docente, desarrollando una serie de estudios de caso en ciudades fortificadas de la Sierra Sur de Jaén (Figure 16).[122]

Diversos productos y hallazgos gráficos fruto de la colaboración con estudiantes han sido incluidos en el presente manuscrito, apoyando el argumento principal sobre fundaciones de la modernidad temprana al tiempo que informan sobre su impacto territorial y elementos históricos conservados. Trabajos de campo adicionales en Colombia habían sido planeados para 2020, pero la pandemia causó su postergación y eventual cancelación debido a las restricciones temporales del proyecto de tesis doctoral. Esta ausencia de experiencia directa y actividades docentes en América Latina queda como una posibilidad abierta para el futuro desarrollo de *Sibling Overseas*: una promesa de cara a implementar sus hallazgos de vuelta en el contexto donde se originaron, evitando prácticas académicas extractivas y creando nuevas condiciones iberoamericanas.

## Structure and contributions

*Siblings Overseas* is divided into **three chapters**. **The first focuses on historiography**, following a trail of arguments ranging from the medieval roots of Hispanic grid urbanism to its transitional period between the late 15th and early 16th centuries and its early modern transformations after acquiring a transcontinental reach. This section refers to both canonical and recent works on urban history, signalling the most relevant authors and contributions, correlating the historical facts they present, and providing a critical analysis of what inquiries are underrepresented, misrepresented, or guided by overused topics and myths. This chapter can be read as a **historiographic essay that presents the general context of *Siblings Overseas'* historical interests while contributing to the discussion on Hispanic global urbanism and its highly debated heritage.**

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[121] Incluyendo lecciones magistrales digitales y conferencias en Italia, España, Dinamarca, Colombia, Chile, México y EE. UU., entre otros. Los avances preliminares de *Siblings Overseas* fueron implementados en un curso de proyectos del grado de arquitectura en la Universidad de Granada en el curso 2019/2020 y dos cursos de posgrado en el Politecnico di Torino en los cursos 2020/2021 y 2021/2022. Adicionalmente, los resultados de *Siblings Overseas* fueron implementados en un módulo de lecciones digitales financiado por la Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC - MIT) y en un curso MOOC financiado por la Facultad de Creación de la Universidad del Rosario (Colombia) y ofrecido a través de la plataforma Edx (MIT) que cuenta hoy con más de 3000 estudiantes. Para una lista completa de productos, consultar apéndice C.

[122] Proyectos 6, grupo F. Curso de diseño arquitectónico principal del octavo semestre del Grado en Estudios de Arquitectura de la Universidad de Granada, 2019/2020.

**The second chapter of *Siblings Overseas* focuses on Sierra Sur's new towns project.** It follows its early developments and legal conflicts between 1508 and 1537, the project's reactivation between 1537 and 1538, and the foundational process lead by Judge Juan de Rivadeneyra in 1539. This argument is supported with historical documents and cartographies that depict Sierra Sur's state in the early modern period: its territorial structure, its landscape, its socio-political conflicts, and its general character as a former frontier within a dense network of fortifications.

The study then approaches Mancha Real, the only one of the four new towns that conserve its partition plan. The chapter contributes with a **complete analysis of Mancha Real's plan** and its relationship with its foundational book. The following section of the chapter extends the **urban analysis to the other three new towns -Campillo de Arenas, Los Villares, and Valdepeñas de Jaén-**, studying their foundational books and the actions taken for their plantation in 1539. This information has been used to **develop a reconstruction hypothesis for the foundational plan of Valdepeñas de Jaén**, which was drawn in very similar conditions and almost at the same time as the one of Mancha Real. This hypothesis is discussed in the chapter from several angles, including voices from local and national archivists, scholars, and experts in early modern manuscripts.

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Finally, the chapter offers **a picture of how this new urbanism impacted Sierra Sur's landscape during the following decades**, including modifying its territorial structure, agricultural economy, governance, religious manifestations, and sacred architecture. This argument explores how urban traits commonly associated with Spanish colonial urbanism were also applied in the Iberian Peninsula while establishing a bi-directional circulation of urban ideas for the occupation and control of conquered lands.

**The third chapter of Siblings Overseas continues the argument with a review of 16th-century Latin American colonial history**, following the trails of the leading explorers, *conquistadores,* and *adelantados*, the cities they founded, and the continental structure defined by them. This section details the institutions, legal procedures, and hierarchies established between the Crown and its agents in charge of new towns, creating a governmental structure that conditioned the very concept of what a city was and how it should be planted. Emphasis is given to the

contrast between fortified colonial towns such as Cartagena de Indias and open colonial cities that are the main topic of this dissertation. Although they may share some morphological aspects like their grid structure and housing typology, their legal and socio-economic backgrounds were vastly different. **After that, the chapter explores the Indies' Laws**: a famous compilation of norms for the rule of the indies implemented by the Spanish Crown between the 16th and 18th centuries. This section details which laws were enacted between 1500 and 1539 and compares them to the urban principles applied in the settling of Sierra Sur during that same period. The argument is then expanded by studying chronicles and documents regarding the foundation of American cities during the 1530s such as Santa Fe de Bogotá, planted by the Granadan lawyer and *adelantado* Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada between 1538-1539. In this way, Siblings Overseas provides a more accurate knowledge of how these founding agents operated and which were their priorities when planting new cities, combining legal principles and requirements with the military interests that are often depicted in academic literature.

    **The core of the chapter focuses on the two American case studies.** The first case is Mendoza in Cuyo, Argentina, founded by Pedro del Castillo in 1561 and refounded by Juan Jufré in 1562. Its partition plan is the oldest one conserved in the Archivo General de Indias. Secondly, Villa de Leyva in Boyacá, Colombia, founded by Juan de Otálora in 1572 and re-founded by Antonio Jove in 1582, whose partition plan is the oldest conserved of any Spanish city in Colombia. The main interest of these two cities and their foundational documents and plans is, apart from their own regional histories, the fact that they can be directly compared to those in Sierra Sur de Jaen. They belong to the same documental typology as *libros de repartimiento*, including plans that precede the construction of the city and whose main interest is the distribution of urban plots to Spanish settlers. This study has been expanded through a comparative analysis between the foundational processes of all the six new towns depicted in this dissertation: four in Spain and two in South America. The results show how urban principles were developed simultaneously in Spain and the Indies, providing insights on how agents with similar backgrounds, separated by just 23-43 years, performed similar plantations in opposite places of the world. The chapter details which practices were common to every city, which were different, and why.

    Summarizing, **the structure of Siblings Overseas works in the way of an hourglass: Wide on the top, narrow and focused on the midpoint, and open once more on the lower basis.** The first chapter is the wide opening: It sets the stage for this research, delving into the historical context and historiographical debates or medieval and early modern Spanish grid urbanism. Then, the second chapter focuses solely on the case study of Sierra Sur and its four new towns, presenting primary sources and original research outcomes. The third and final chapter opens the argument once more, reaching the global scale of the Ibero-American connection, relating the new Andalusian insights with the Indias Laws Compilation, the settlement practices of Spanish colonial cities in the early 16th

century, and the two American case studies in Chile/Argentina and Colombia. In this way, this document starts the argument of *Siblings Overseas* by presenting a general historiographic challenge and them responding to it from the analysis of Sierra Sur as an early case study, delving into its nuances and gradually connecting them to the trans-oceanic scale of the Habsburg empire in the Americas.

Ultimately, *Siblings Overseas* seeks to support the theory that Spanish colonial urbanism was not imported from Europe to America, nor created in America in isolation, but developed in both continents at the same time through the continuous exchange of practices, protocols, and ideas.

## Estructura y contribuciones

*Siblings Overseas* **se divide en tres capítulos. El primero de ellos se concentra en el estudio historiográfico**, siguiendo el rastro de argumentos que van desde las raíces legales del urbanismo ortogonal hispano a su periodo de transición entre las últimas décadas del siglo XV y las primeras del XVI, hasta sus transformaciones modernas tras adquirir alcance intercontinental. Esta sección está referida tanto a trabajos canónicos de historia urbana como a contribuciones más recientes, señalando aquellos autores y trabajos más relevantes, correlacionando los hechos históricos que presentan y proporcionando un análisis crítico acerca de qué cuestiones han quedado infrarrepresentadas, mal representadas o guiadas por tópicos y mitos ya agotados. Este primer capítulo se presenta como un **ensayo historiográfico que presenta el contexto general de los intereses históricos de *Siblings Overseas* al tiempo que contribuye a la discusión sobre el urbanismo global hispano y su siempre discutida herencia.**

**El segundo capítulo de Siblings Overseas se centra en el proyecto de nuevas poblaciones en la Sierra Sur de Jaén**. Esta sección sigue su desarrollo temprano y conflictos legales entre 1508 y 1537, la reactivación del proyecto entre 1537 y 1538, así como el proceso fundacional capitaneado por Juan de Rivadeneyra en 1539. Este argumento se apoya en documentos históricos y cartografías que muestran el contexto de Sierra Sur durante la modernidad temprana: su estructura territorial, su paisaje, sus conflictos sociopolíticos, así como su carácter general como antiguo espacio fronterizo custodiado por una densa red de fortificaciones medievales.

Una vez atendido el contexto territorial, el argumento se concentra en Mancha Real, la única de las cuatro nuevas poblaciones que conserva su plano de repartimiento. El capítulo ofrece un **análisis completo del plano de Mancha Real** y sus conexiones con su libro de fundación. La siguiente sección del capítulo **extiende el análisis urbano a las otras nuevas poblaciones −Campillo de Arenas, Los Villares y Valdepeñas de Jaén−**, estudiando sus libros fundacionales y las acciones llevadas a cabo para su asentamiento en 1539. Esta información ha sido utilizada para **desarrollar una reconstrucción hipotética del plano de fundación de Valdepeñas de Jaén**, el cual fue originalmente dibujado en condiciones muy similares al de Mancha Real y por la misma persona. La hipótesis ha sido

discutida en el capítulo desde diversas perspectivas, incluyendo voces de historiadores y eruditos locales, así como de expertos en la elaboración de manuscritos de la modernidad temprana.

Finalmente, el capítulo dos ofrece **una descripción de cómo este nuevo urbanismo impactó el paisaje de la Sierra Sur y lo modificó durante las décadas posteriores**, incluyendo modificaciones en su estructura territorial, su economía agrícola, su gobernanza, sus manifestaciones religiosas y su arquitectura sagrada. Este argumento explora cómo los atributos urbanos normalmente asociados con el urbanismo colonial español fueron también aplicados en la Península Ibérica, confirmando la existencia de una red de comunicación bidireccional entre ambos lados del Atlántico por la que circulaban ideas urbanas para la ocupación y el control de tierras conquistadas.

**El tercer y último capítulo de Siblings Overseas continua el argumento mediante una revisión de la historia urbana colonial en América Latina durante el siglo XVI**, siguiendo las huellas tanto de exploradores, conquistadores y adelantados como de las ciudades que fundaron y las estructuras continentales que establecieron. Esta sección ofrece detalles sobre las instituciones, procesos legales y jerarquías establecidas entre la corona y sus agentes encargados de las nuevas poblaciones, creando una estructura gubernamental que condicionó tanto el concepto mismo de qué era una ciudad como el modo en que debía ser creada. Se ha hecho énfasis en el contraste entre ciudades coloniales fortificadas tales como Cartagena de Indias y las ciudades de planta abierta que constituyen el objeto de estudio principal de esta tesis. Aunque comparten ciertos aspectos morfológicos similares como su estructura reticular y la tipología de su vivienda tradicional, sus contextos legales y socioeconómicos fueron muy diferentes. **Después de esto, el capítulo explora la recopilación de Leyes de Indias**: una famosa compilación de normas para el estudio de las Indias implementadas por la corona española entre los siglos XVI y XVIII. Esta sección detalla qué leyes fueron instauradas entre 1500 y 1539 y las compara con los principios urbanos aplicados en la Sierra Sur de Jaén durante el mismo periodo. El estudio se expande después al estudio de crónicas y documentos relativos a la fundación de ciudades americanas en la década de 1530 tales como Santa Fe de Bogotá, fundada por el licenciado granadino y adelantado Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada entre 1538 y 1539. De este modo, *Siblings Overseas* ofrece un relato integral y preciso de cómo estos agentes fundacionales operaban y cuales eran sus prioridades a la hora de asentar nuevas ciudades, combinando principios legales y requerimientos con los intereses militares que han sido descritos más abundantemente en la literatura académica.

**El núcleo del capítulo se concentra en los dos casos de estudio americanos** anteriormente referidos. El primer caso de estudio es Mendoza en Cuyo, Argentina, fundada por Pedro del Castillo en 1561 y refundada por Juan Jufré en 1562. Su plano de repartimiento es el más antiguo conservado en el Archivo General de Indias. En segundo lugar está Villa de Leyva, fundada por Juan de Otálora en 1572 y refundada por Antonio Jové en 1582, cuyo plan de repartimiento es el más antiguo conservado de entre todas las ciudades españolas en Colombia. El

principal interés de estas dos ciudades y sus registros de fundación reside, además de en su historia local, en su capacidad para ser comparados de forma directa con el caso de Sierra Sur de Jaén. Todos ellos pertenecen a la misma tipología documental del libro de repartimiento, incluyendo planos que preceden al momento de la construcción de la ciudad y cuyo principal interés es la distribución de solares urbanos entre colonos españoles. Este estudio ha sido expandido a través de un análisis comparativo entre procesos fundacionales de todas las seis ciudades presentadas *Siblings Overseas*: cuatro en España y dos en América del Sur. Los resultados muestran el desarrollo de principios urbanos paralelos en Espala y las Indias, presentando evidencias de cómo agentes con trasfondos similares, separados en el tiempo entre 23 y 43 años, llevaron a cabo fundaciones similares en coordenadas opuestas en el mundo. El capítulo detalla qué prácticas fueron comunes a todas estas ciudades, cuáles no y el porqué de dicha diferencia.

En síntesis, **la estructura de Siblings Overseas se asemeja a la de un reloj de arena: ancha en la parte superior, estrecha y concentrada en su centro, abierta una vez más en su base inferior**. El primer capítulo constituye la apertura amplia. Establece el escenario de esta investigación, profundizando en el contexto histórico y el debate historiográfico del urbanismo español medieval y moderno. Más adelante, el segundo capítulo se concentra únicamente en el caso de estudio de la Sierra Sur de Jaén y sus cuatro nuevas poblaciones, presentando fuentes originales y resultados de investigación inéditos. Tras ello, el tercer y último capítulo abre el argumento para alcanzar una escala global que conecta con el espacio iberoamericano, relacionando los nuevos hallazgos andaluces presentados en el capítulo dos con las instrucciones urbanas de las Leyes de Indias, las practicas fundacionales coloniales más tempranas y los dos casos de estudio de mediados y finales del siglo XVI seleccionados en Chile/Argentina y Colombia. De este modo, el presente manuscrito comienza el argumento de *Siblings Overseas* presentando un reto historiográfico general que es más adelante respondido desde el análisis situado de Sierra Sur como caso de estudio temprano, profundizando en sus particularidades y conectándolas gradualmente con la escala transoceánica del Imperio de los Habsburgo en las Américas.

Finalmente, *Siblings Overseas* **busca apoyar la teoría de que el urbanismo colonial español no fue totalmente importado desde Europa a América, tampoco del todo creado en América en aislamiento, sino desarrollado en ambos continentes al mismo tiempo a través del intercambio constante de prácticas, protocolos e ideas.**

# Chapter 1

# Legal roots. Late Medieval and Early Modern Spanish practices for the foundation of new towns.

## 1.1   Chapter presentation

### *Introduction*

This first chapter in *Siblings Overseas* presents the general context of medieval and early modern Spanish urban history, along with the historiographical discussions and debates that nurture new research approaches. The Reconquista, a conflict of deep religious significance that comprises more than eight centuries of history, was also the seedbed for Spanish grid urbanism's development from a fragmented Iberian practice to an imperial tool for colonization. The plantation of Santa Fe in Granada in 1492 is often presented as a paradigmatic example of this, but behind its grid plan there is a much wider and complex set of medieval cities and urban traditions.

To explain the roots of the Spanish grid planning practices, the following sections develop a historical survey beginning with the dynamic frontier setting between Al-Andalus, Castile, and Aragon in the 10th and 11th centuries, and continuing with the evolution of the conflict and its urban impacts all through the Aragonese conquest of the Iberian east coast and the fall of Seville to Castile in the 13th century. The argument then focuses on the creation of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada and the conditions of its vassalage accord with Castile, which motivated the migration of Muslim population seeking haven from recently conquered territories. To regain density in these emptied lands, Castile promoted a series of repopulation projects to create new plantations all along the frontier, as well as

fortifications to defend it, especially in the region of Jaen.[123] The gradual urban densification in both sides of this frontier stablished the setup for later urban conflicts, including the Granada War between 1482-1492, the Sephardic Jewish expulsion in 1492, the Christian occupation of Granada's capital and other towns in its domain, and the successive morisco[124] rebellions all through the 16th century until their final expulsion in 1609-1613.

Every primary case study analyzed in this dissertation is related, in one or another way, to this specific stage of the Andalusian border and the Granadan conflict. On the one hand, the new towns project in Sierra Sur of Jaen began in 1508 as a post-conflict operation to populate a profitable farming area in the Granadan former frontier. When its four plantations were finally executed in 1539, their founders used planning methods that had already been applied extensively in the Spanish Americas. On the other hand, Mendoza (1562-3) and Villa de Leyva (1572-82) present the same kind of foundational protocols as Sierra Sur applied in vastly different frontiers: Mendoza in the eastern expanses of Chile that are now part of Argentina, and Villa de Leyva in the hinterland of the new kingdom of Granada. All these three cases are linked through the similarity of their plantation protocols, their connections with Castilian law-enforcement and their politic role as seats of colonial power, strongly influenced by the war against Al-Andalus and its Catholic ideology.

### *Structure*

Before delving into the specific aspects of these towns in chapters two and three, chapter one develops a more general survey that allows a better understanding of the planning tools involved in the process of planting a city from scrap in early modern Spain.[125] At the same time, this chapter also delves into the

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[123] More than 230 castles, watchtowers and other fortifications have been identified in Jaen, either because they have been well conserved or through archaeological remains. Today, Jaen is considered one of the regions with the most fortifications in the world. See: Diputación de Jaén and Junta de Andalucía, "Castillos y Batallas," Castillos y Batallas, accessed September 9, 2019, http://castillosybatallas.com/; Francisco Cerezo Moreno and Juan Eslava Galán, *Castillos y Atalayas del Reino de Jaén* (Jaén: Riquelme y Vargas, 1989); Gabriel Alomar i Esteve, "Discurso sobre los castillos de Jaén," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, no. 79 (1974): 111–22.

[124] Morisco: refers to Andalusian Muslim citizens after their homeland's Christian conquest. This term is usually used for Granadan citizens who were forcefully converted to Christianism and/or expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the 16th and 17th centuries. Still, it can also refer to Andalusians displaced during earlier conflicts like, for example, the conquest of Seville and the creation of the *banda morisca* in the 13th century. Christian descendants of converted Andalusians and mixed marriages also are often referred to as *moriscos*. This adjective can also be used for cultural production (*cultura morisca*), art (*arte morisco*), migrations (*éxodo morisco*), uprisings (*rebellion morisca*), along with most aspects of Granadan early modern culture as the product of its mixed Muslim-Christian heritage (*legado morisco*).

[125] The survey presented in this chapter builds upon previous material published by the author, including the master's thesis "Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana", presented at Universidad de los Andes (Bogotá) in 2016, worthy of maximum grade and *cum laude* honors, and published in 2018: Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana*. It also uses material and images compiled by the author and the PhD supervisor Prof. Juan Calatrava during the development of the teaching module 'Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism" for the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative

historiographical debate regarding Spanish urban history, specifically on the roots of Hispanic gridiron planning practices and their development until becoming what has been conceptualized as a global urban model. Most global urban historians present this whole process in just a few lines, establishing the French bastides[126] as precedent for the Hispanic grid and presenting Santa Fe in Granada as the most important referent that connects European and Hispanic-American planning practices, a sort of master blueprint or cast from where all future Spanish colonial cities were to be born. Santa Fe is also often described as the ultimate Spanish embodiment of Renaissance influences and Utopian ideas for town planning. However, these descriptions often lack support in local sources while disregarding local literature and studies that have advanced in the topic in the last decades. There is today a much stronger scholarship on the diversity of medieval Spanish planning practices and their inheritances, however, unspecialized international authors still fall to overused stereotypes and plain interpretations, influenced by and Eurocentric academia and its notion of expansion from north to south.

This discussion is developed in the following sections, combining historic descriptions with a critical discussion on the main historiographical problems that *Siblings Overseas* aims to face, as well as the most relevant authors, new methodologies, and frameworks that have informed this dissertation's approach to Imperial Spanish history. The chapter starts by presenting the category of Reconquista, a vital concept in Hispanic history that is, at the same time, one of its most controversial. Untangling its specificities is mandatory to present the general context of medieval Spanish urbanism and its combination/opposition of Christian and Islamic elements: a complex relationship of emulation and destruction, love and hate, alliance and war, that changes over time and space. Through these descriptions, chapter one builds up the argument's density and its conceptual load until reaching a solid basis, clear enough to sustain the research contributions presented in chapters two and three.

## 1.2  Reconquista: a problematic category

Every aspect of Spanish medieval society is influenced to some extent by the combined presence of Islamic and Christian groups in the Iberian Peninsula over eight centuries, a unparallel phenomenon in the European context. The historical

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(GAHTC), based in MIT (USA). This module received a 'Targeted Acquisition Grant' in 2019 and was developed as part of this dissertation project. The module was published digitally in November 2020: Sánchez García and Calatrava, "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism: Spaces of Conflict and Cultural Exchange during the Reconquista and Its Aftermath."

[126] Unique typology of fortified new towns created in southern France, England, and Wales. Most of them date from the 13th and 14th centuries, although some earlier examples exist. Their main characteristic is their grid plan, central square and fortified limit, with a stablished set of rules and measures for the construction of houses, streets, churches, etc. See: Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*.

process behind this condition is known today as *Reconquista*, one of the most internationally disseminated and, at the same time, controversial terms in Hispanic history. It covers a broad period between 711, when the Umayyads occupied most of the Iberian Peninsula, to the year 1492, when the Castilian conquest of Granada ended the last Islamic kingdom in Western Europe (Figure 17). Hence, most of the Spanish medieval period is conditioned by this circumstance, affecting all sort of aspects in everyday life including not only religion or war but also commerce, industry, art, architecture, literature, science, communication, education, etc.[127]

The term Reconquista is charged with religious zeal and ideology as it assumes the existence of an Iberian Christian territory that was 'conquered' by Muslim invaders in the eight century and had to be 'reconquered' for the sake of Christian restoration. At a conceptual level, the idea of Reconquista builds upon aspirations that existed in Christian Spanish culture since the 9th century, as it is shown in documents such as royal logs in the early Asturias kingdom[128] and claims from Aragonese and Castilian agents against their southern Muslim neighbours.[129] For example, the religious and political aspirations that are today identified with the term Reconquista appear clearly in the words of Ferdinand I, king of Leon and count of Castile in the 11th century, when he addressed the Andalusian citizens and governors in Toledo to announce the imposture of new tributes and frontier taxes:

> *Nosotros hemos dirigido hacia vosotros [sufrimientos] que nos procuraron aquellos de los vuestros que vinieron antes contra nosotros, y solamente pedimos nuestro país que nos lo arrebatasteis antiguamente, al principio de vuestro poder, y lo habitasteis el tiempo que os fue decretado; ahora os hemos vencido por vuestra maldad. ¡Emigrad, pues, a vuestra orilla [allende el Estrecho] y dejadnos nuestro país!, porque no será bueno para vosotros habitar en nuestra compañía después de hoy; pues no nos apartaremos de vosotros a menos que Dios dirima el litigio entre nosotros y vosotros.*[130]

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[127] Although quite romantic and academically unorthodox, Titus Burckhardt writings still are some of the more interesting work that introduce this mixture from a historical point of view but with a narrative and argumentative style. Titus Burckhardt, *La civilización hispano-árabe* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1970); Titus Burckhardt, *El arte del Islám: lenguaje y significado*, Ediciones de la tradición unánime 34 (Palma de Mallorca: José Jde Olañeta, 1988).

[128] One of the few territories not totally controlled by the Islamic advance in the 8th century.

[129] Alexander Pierre Bronisch, *Reconquista y guerra santa: la concepción de la guerra en la España cristiana desde los visigodos hasta comienzos del siglo XII*, trans. Máximo Diego Hernando, Monográfica: Biblioteca de humanidades Chronica nova estudios históricos 99 (Oviedo, Granada, Valencia: Universidad de Oviedo; Universidad de Granada; Universitat de València, 2006).

[130] Fragment of the medieval Spain chronicle *al-Bayan al-Mugrib* by Ibn 'Idari al-Marrakysi (13th century), cited in Francisco García Fitz, *Relaciones políticas y guerra: la experiencia castellano-leonesa frente al Islam, siglos XI-XIII* (Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), 58; Alejandro García Sanjuán, "La Reconquista, un concepto tendencioso y simplificador," *Al-Andalus y la Historia* (blog), September 10, 2018, https://www.alandalusylahistoria.com/?p=508. Ibn 'Idari chronicle has been transcribed and translated over the 20th century by authors several authors such as Felipe Maillo Salgado: Ibn 'Idari al-Marrakusi, *La Caída Del Califato de Córdoba y Los Reyes de Taifas*

> [We have imposed onto you [sufferings] inflicted to us by those of yours who came before against us, and we just ask for our country what you took once, in the beginning of your dominance, when you lived through the time decreed for you; now we have beaten you because of your wickedness. Emigrate, then, to your shore [beyond the Strait][131]and leave us our country!, because it will not be good for us to live in our company after today; hence we will not set aside from you unless God decides the litigation between us and you.][132]

This sentiment would slowly escalate over the centuries, with peaks and valleys, until reaching its pinnacle during the Granada War (1482-1491). Before the 15th century, military campaigns involved mixtures of Christian and Islamic regional groups and cross-cultural alliances. For example, in 1247-1248, the king Alhamar[133] of Granada provided troops and support to king Ferdinand III of Castile for the siege of Seville as part of the vassalage conditions agreed between both mandataries.[134] The Granada War, on the contrary, was the first national conflict where different faiths meant different sides: the alliance between all the main Christian kingdoms in the Peninsula against a much smaller Islamic domain in the south.[135] This campaign reached considerable relevance also at the continental level, involving external Mediterranean agents and receiving the category of crusade from the Catholic Papacy in Rome.[136] After the Castilian Victory, queen Elizabeth Castile and king Ferdinand of Aragon gained great renown among their Christian European peers, along with the title of *Reyes Católicos* [Catholic Monarchs] from the Hispanic pope Alejandro VI.

Despite these facts and even though the Christian idea of 'taking back' Andalusian lands was present in most Iberian territories and conflicts, using the term Reconquista holds a quite anachronistic twist. The main problem with it is that it is not a medieval concept, but a contemporary one. It would not be coined until much later when, in the mid-20th century, the republican historian Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz popularized it.[137]

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*(al-Bayan al-Mugrib)*, trans. Felipe Maillo Salgado (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, Estudios Arabes e Islámicos, 1993).

[131] Strait of Gibraltar.

[132] English translation by the author.

[133] Muhammad ibn Yúsuf ibn Nasr (1194-1273), founder of the Nasrid dynasty and first king of Granada.

[134] Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Granada, historia de un país islámico: (1232-1571)*, 2ª ed. rev., Biblioteca universitaria Gredos. 14 (Madrid: Gredos, 1979).

[135] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *La Guerra de Granada (1482-1491)* (Granada: Publicaciones Diputación de Granada, 2001); J. H. Elliott, *La España Imperial: 1469-1716*, 5ª ed., 6ª reimp. (Barcelona: Alianza Editorial, 1998), 27.

[136] José Fernando Tinoco Díaz, "La cruzada en las fuentes cronísticas castellanas de la Guerra de Granada. Tese de Doutoramento em História apresentada à Universidade de Extremadura (Espanha), Julho de 2017. Orientação do Professor Doutor Manuel Rojas Gabriel," *Medievalista. Online*, no. 24 (December 1, 2018), http://journals.openedition.org/medievalista/1710.

[137] Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1956).
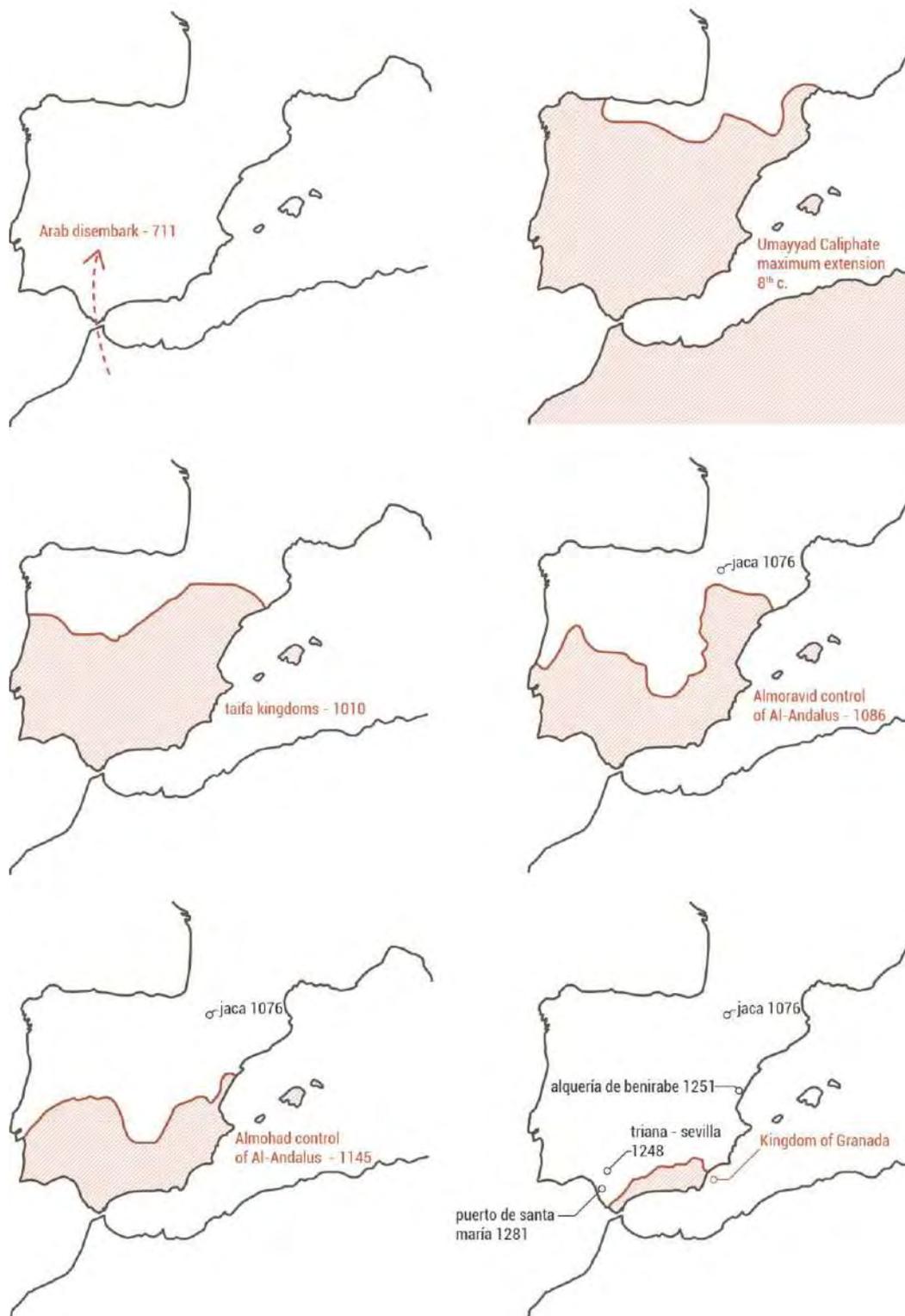
**Figure 17: Stages of Andalusian territorial control in the Iberian Peninsula from 711 to 1492. Based on © Manuel Sánchez, 2018.**[138]

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[138] Published in: Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana*, 99.

Sánchez-Albornoz suggested that the Hispanic identity was all based in the ramifications of the medieval conflict between the 'Islamic Spain' and the 'Christian Spain', an idea that still today resonates with supremacist ideologies and maintains a relevant position in the current Spanish right-wing political discourse. Although Sánchez-Albornoz proposed other innovative and better-aged arguments, such as the identification of Al-Andalus as a singular political body linked to the Islamic world but with its own Iberian identity and particular characteristics, their discussions have not reached the intensity and heat of the arguments that scholars maintain, still today, around the idea of the Reconquista.[139]

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[139] Alejandro García Sanjuán, "Al-Andalus en la historiografía nacionalcatólica española: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz," *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, no. 37 (2017): 305–28; García Sanjuán, "La Reconquista, un concepto tendencioso y simplificador."

[140] Muhammad ibn Yúsuf ibn Nasr (1194-1273), founder of the Nasrid dynasty and first king of Granada.

[141] Ladero Quesada, *Granada, historia de un país islámico*.

[142] Ladero Quesada, *La Guerra de Granada (1482-1491)*; Elliott, *La España Imperial*, 27.

[143] Díaz, "La cruzada en las fuentes cronísticas castellanas de la Guerra de Granada. Tese de Doutoramento em História apresentada à Universidade de Extremadura (Espanha), Julho de 2017. Orientação do Professor Doutor Manuel Rojas Gabriel."

[144] Sánchez-Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*.

innovative and better-aged arguments, such as the identification of Al-Andalus as a singular political body linked to the Islamic world but with its own Iberian identity and particular characteristics, their discussions have not reached the intensity and heat of the arguments that scholars maintain, still today, around the idea of the Reconquista.[145]

One of the main points of discussion is the anachronism implicit in the identarian categorization of Iberian Christian cultures as a single group through more than eight hundred years. The Visigoths kingdoms that inhabited the Iberian Peninsula before the Islamic invasion in the 8th century had a different culture, political structures, and religious imagery than Christian kingdoms like Pamplona, Aragon, or Castile, all stablished around the 11th century.[146] These later monarchies were also different between them, reflecting the cultural diversity and mixture of heritages that distinguish the Iberian Peninsula since the Ancient period. Another anachronistic practice is to link Christian monarchs' strategies and aspirations all along the medieval period, as if 11th-century Castilian actions against Islamic Toledo could be unequivocally related with the conquest of Murcia by king Jaume I of Aragon 13th century, or the Granadan campaigns in the 15th. More rigorous research shows how each of these events occurred in much differentiated contexts and involved their own networks of agents, conflicted interests, and alliances. Christian kings and queens did not have any shared plan or common mind frame maintained for centuries. Moreover, different Christian domains like Castile, Aragon, Asturias, Navarra, Leon, or Cataluña had different government systems, legal traditions, and demographic structures, so a given confrontation against an Andalusian territory could carry widely diverse meanings depending on the time, the context and the groups involved.

This same argument applies to the Islamic kingdoms in Al-Andalus. 10th-century Cordoba Umayyad Caliphate poses great differences with, for example, the independent taifas of the 11th century or the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in the 13th. Between 1085 and 1212 Al-Andalus was part of the North-African Almoravid and Almohad empires and held a close relationship with Maghreb's politics and cultural trends, while in other periods Hispanic Muslims maintained strong grievances with their South-Mediterranean neighbours (Figure 18). Hence, there is no simple category or label able to address and identify all Islamic groups and cultures in the Iberian Peninsula. Moreover, the line between 'Christian' and 'Islamic' is often blurry. Treaties and alliances were common across the frontier, grouping kingdoms from both sides against common enemies. External influences can also be found, including invasions from the African side, European conflicts across the Pyrenees, even Norse raids in both Christian and Andalusian shores.[147]

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[145] García Sanjuán, "Al-Andalus en la historiografía nacionalcatólica española"; García Sanjuán, "La Reconquista, un concepto tendencioso y simplificador."

[146] José María Monsalvo Antón, *Historia de la España medieval*, Estudios Históricos y Geográficos 158 (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2014), 77–98.

[147] Including the Viking siege of Algeciras in 859 as well as the raids in Galician shores, common between the 11th and 13th centuries. See: Francisco Franco-Sánchez, "Los ataques

The Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula has also been object of discussion. Arguments range from how the Visigoth political weakness and lack of stability motivated a quick invasion with almost no major battles, to the radical and fraudulent proposal that the invasion is a false myth and the first Umayyad Caliphate in Cordoba was formed from the cooperation between Muslim groups already present in the Peninsula before 711.[148]

Another of the problematics aspects of the term Reconquista is how it reinforces the relevance of the conflicts and military campaigns from the Christian side against the Muslim one, disregarding periods of peace, commercial accords, cultural and artistic exchanges, among many other aspects. A historical process that involved an eight hundred years must not be defined just through tales of war and conquest. Of course there were regular trends that permeate the whole period, but these have to be carefully considered along with their regional contexts, weighting their territorial conflicts, cultural diversity, inner conflicts, etc. The main agreement around the Reconquista is that, despite its many nuances and historical complexities, the whole period is characterized by the existence of a dynamic frontier between Christian and Muslims; a frontier that is movable, permeable, engaged in a permanent but irregular process of expansion and contraction.[149] The constant succession of exchanges, alliances and aggressions across this frontier for more than eight centuries had an great influence upon the cultures around it, shaping an unique historical process.

In synthesis, above any historiographical agreement, the term Reconquista still poses several problematic issues, the main one being that it points to a false fact. Every available historical fact indicates that there was no 'Reconquista' by Christian Hispanic kingdoms. The people who 'lost' dominance against Islamic external forces in the 8th century were not the same who advanced against their descendants in the 1200s, in the same way that they were not the same who forcedly converted all remaining Muslim population in the 16th and 17th centuries. Although the idea of recovering lost territories existed as an aspiration shared among many and diverse Christian powers along the whole medieval period, the term 'Reconquista' was not used at the moment. It is based on nineteenth century nationalistic logics and mind frames that fog its historical accuracy.

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normandos a las costas de Šarq al-Andalus en el siglo IX. Consecuencias militares y sociales," in *Los vikingos en la historia*, vol. 3 (Universidad de Granada. Grupo de Investigación HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales, 2017), 121–54, http://rua.ua.es/dspace/handle/10045/74748.

[148] Alejandro García Sanjuán, "La creciente difusión de un fraude historiográfico: La negación de la conquista musulmana de la Península Ibérica," *Vínculos de Historia*, no. 7 (2018): 173–93.

[149] Francisco García Fitz, *La Reconquista* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010).
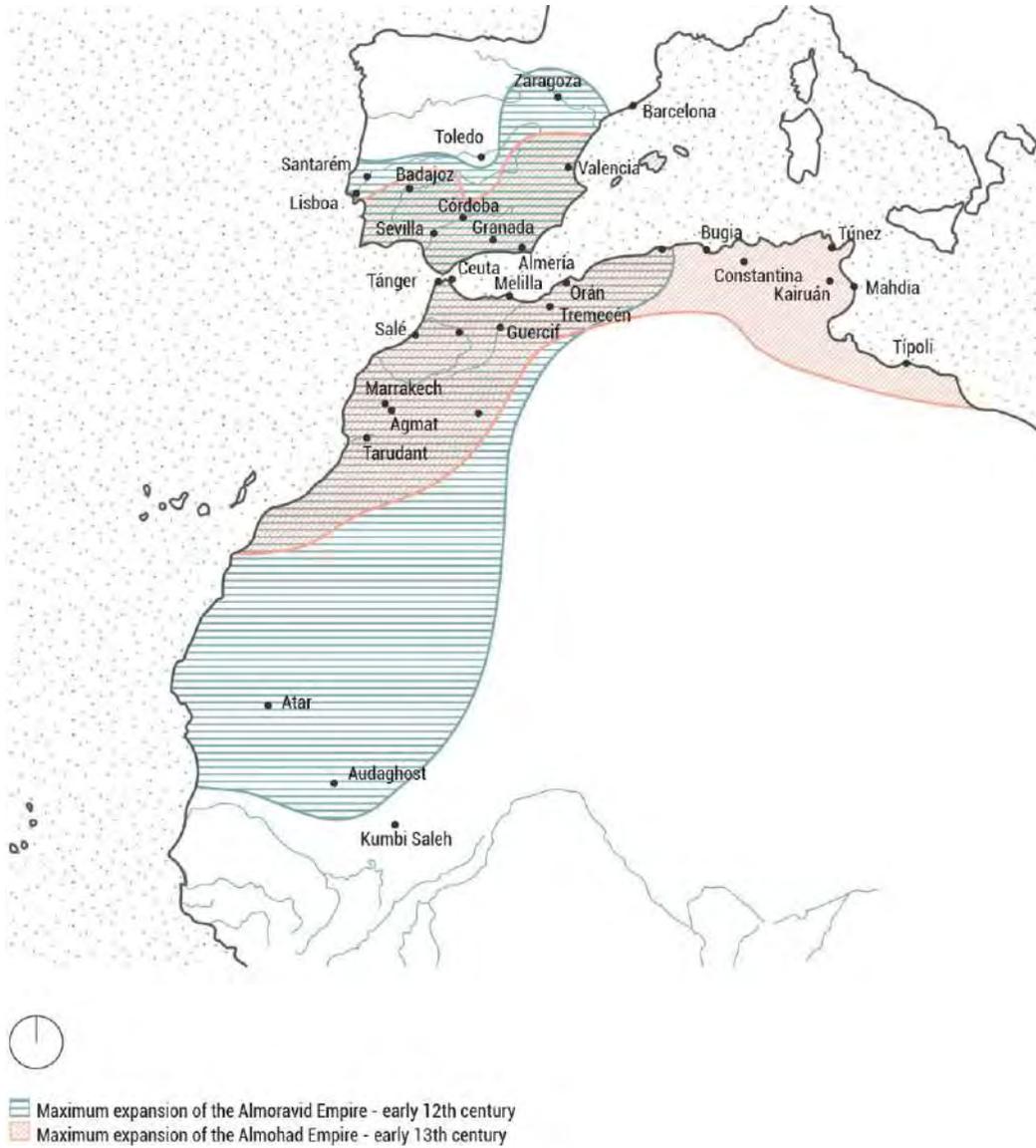
**Figure 18: Left: Almoravid Empire in the beginnings of the twelfth century. Right: Expansion of the Almohad Empire during the twelfth century. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Rowanwindwhistler**

The main points in favour of using the term are its wide dissemination and the lack of a better substitute. The voice 'Reconquista' is widely known among academics of every field and discipline, unique and distinct enough to avoid any confusion with other historical phenomena. It is present in most international scholarship and known by anyone who has approached Hispanic history, even superficially. Although it still bears the ideological weight and anachronistic misconceptions described before, not using it has proven a real challenge for historians all around the world. Spanish scholars, when writing in their mothertongue, often use alternative terms like *expansión* [expansion] or just *conquista* [conquest].[150] Others prefer to use formulae like Re-conquista or (Re)conquista, retaining the original term while implying their criticism and recognizing the lack of a better option. Decolonial and postcolonial approaches tend to minimize the use of the term, encouraging regionalized approaches where it is not necessary.[151] Still, when addressing the whole Spanish medieval period, the Reconquista will be there as a diverse, conflictive process still open to interpretation.

## 1.3 Aragonese grid urbanism during the (Re)Conquista. 11th - 14th centuries

### Formation of the medieval frontier in Aragon and Navarra

#### *Frontier politics and foral law*

One of the main characteristics of Hispanic grid urbanism is its relationship with frontier politics. Newly planted towns were used to stablish positions in conquered areas and house settlers migrating from core territories. Widely known authors point out how this practice shaped a singular relationship between the act of founding a town, its new citizens, and the territory around it, presenting the urban realm as a tool for governmental and religious control.[152] This fact is especially evident in, for example, the 13th century Castilian repopulation of Seville and the territories around it. However, a more detailed look to previous events and frontiers reveals how this strategy was not only used for the offensive but also in a defensive manner, strengthening towns and strategic locations close to the border. Another interesting fact is that older grid plans were not necessarily used for creating new towns but also for expanding already existing burgs with expansions that may not be densely fortified or have extensive military quarters. In other

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[150] M. Ríos Salmona suggests options such as *expansión military* [military expansion] or *restauración de la organización eclesiástica* [restoration of the church organization]. None of these have proven to be appropriate substitutes. Martín F. Ríos Saloma, "La Reconquista: génesis de un mito historiográfico," *Historia y Grafía* 30 (2008): 216.

[151] For example: Luìsa Trindade, "A Malha. Fazer cidade no Portugal medieval: agentes, programa e execucao," in *Os Elementos Urbanos*, Cadernos Morfologia Urbana. Estudos da cidade portuguesa 1 (Lisboa, Portugal: Argumentum, 2013), 58–81; Guillermo García-Contreras et al., "Landscapes of (Re)Conquest project: investigando la perspectiva socioambiental de las fronteras medievales en el suroeste de Europa," *Debates de Arqueología Medieval* 8 (2019): 223–32.

[152] Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469 - 1716*, 45.

words, the first seeds of grid plantation practices in Spain were not as close to war and the management conquered lands than to political tactics, religious representation, and other strategies aimed to dynamize and strengthen borderland positions. Hence, before presenting and defining the circumstances around the 15th-century Jaen-Granada and its post-conquest grid new towns, it is mandatory to analyse their historical background through a series of relevant cases, each of them situated in a specific frontier situation.

Without taking in account any pre-medieval example, it can be said that one of the older cases of grid urbanism in Spain -the oldest according to V. Bielza de Ory- took place in Jaca in the 11th century.[153] Jaca had been one of the Christian cities nearest to the Andalusian border since the first Islamic invasions between 711 and 732, holding the northern frontier with the Pyrenees at its back (Figure 19). This town held a middle ground between the cities of Pamplona in the west, Huesca in the south, and the region of Cataluña in the east. Between 711 and 721 the Arabs had advanced from Gibraltar Strait to Huesca and from there into the Catalan coast, eventually crossing the Pyrenees and entering into Roussillon. In 732 the current Umayyad *valí* [governor] al-Ghafiqi[154] took on a campaign advancing to Pamplona and the pass of Roncesvalles into Frank territory, ending with his defeat that same year at the battle of Poitiers against the army commanded by Carlos Martel.[155] This battle, where al-Ghafiqi lost his life, also marked the end of the Islamic expansion to the north and the establishment of several Christian kingdoms and counties (Figure 20).

The western Christian area, with a more ample territory, became the cradle of the kingdoms of Asturias, Leon, and the County of Castile, which would eventually annex its neighbours and expand to the south, conquering Seville in the 13th century and Granada in the 15th. A considerable no-man's land known as *Extremadura* [Extreme and harsh] was set to their south, operating as a buffer between them and the Andalusian northern cities of Coria and Toledo. In the eastern area the situation was much different. The kingdom of Pamplona and the Aragonese and Catalan counties all where close to the frontier, with the Andalusian cities of Zaragoza, Lérida, and Tarragona pressuring from the south. To add even more diversity in the area, Aragon and Cataluña were dependant on the Frank Carolingian empire forming a territorial structure known as the *Marca Hispánica* [Hispanic Mark]. These territories formed a zone of control where marquises and governors enjoyed a certain set of privileges in exchange of defending the Andalusian frontier and exposing themselves to potential invasions. Jaca was the capital of the county of Aragón, performing as a central hub for these privileges and the

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[153] Vicente Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal," in *El Fuero de Jaca.*, 2 vols., Fuentes para la historia del Pirineo (Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 2003), 269–318.

[154] Abd al-Rahaman ibn Abd Allah al-Ghafiqi, governor of the al-Andalus region in representation of the Umayyad Califate in Damascus.

[155] Battle of Poitiers: October 10th, 732.

feudal lords who benefited from them. Although the following centuries would not see additional Islamic campaigns expanding the northern borders, life at the frontier was difficult for both sides. Horseman raids (known as *cabalgadas* or *razias*) and small-scale pillage incursions were common in these territories, with Lower classes -especially farmers- taking the worse part of their consequences.

In the Muslim side, the subordination of Al-Andalus to the Umayyad Califate of Damascus ended abruptly after the Abbasid revolution overthrew their rule in 750. In the following years, a new sovereign Umayyad government would breed in the Iberian Peninsula, achieving their political independence in 756 as an emirate with capital in Cordoba. In 929, the Umayyad Abderramán III declared the Califate of Cordoba, raising its spiritual independence and stablishing its position as an equal of other califates in Middle East (Figure 21: Territorial articulation of the Iberian Peninsula during the Ummayyad Califate in Cordoba, 929-1031. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional). The Umayyad Andalusian territory was divided in *coras* [provinces] with a certain level of self-governance and provincial centers of power like Zaragoza, Toledo, Valencia, Murcia, Granada, Seville, among many others. After the collapse of Cordoba's Califate in 1031, these cities would operate as capitals of independent Andalusian kingdoms known as *taifas*, each of them with their own cultural traits and identities, until their annexation to the Almoravid Empire in 1086 (Figure 22).

From 756 to 1086 the Andalusian frontier only experienced considerable changes in the westernmost regions of the Peninsula most of which are today part of Portugal. The Aragonese county and its border with the Cora of Zaragoza, later Taifa of Zaragoza, remained unscathed until the 12th century. This means that, during almost four hundred years, battles and sieges kept a relatively small scale on both sides. The most important transformations experienced in the period happened at the political level, with Zaragoza changing from being a province of an Umayyad Arab Emirate, of a Califate later, then stating its own independent power as a taifa, and finally being reabsorbed back to a unified Al-Andalus under the Almoravid Bereber rule.[156] In the Christian side of that border, royal houses and dynasties appeared, evolved, and mixed with each other, giving birth to the political structures that would take root and growth over later medieval stages. Military confrontations ended with the establishment of tributes called parias, extracting resources from Zaragoza and reactivating the Aragonese and Pamplonese economy.[157]

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[156] Bereber: ethnic group originally from north Africa, Islamized in the seventh century. Bereber were known for their nomadic traditions and warring fervour, described by authors such as Ibn Khaldun in the 14th century.

[157] José María Lacarra, "Aspectos Económicos de La Sumisión de Los Reinos de Taifas (1010-1102)," in *Homenaje a Vicens Vives*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1965), 255–77. Referenced in Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Ramírez, Rey de Aragón, y Su Tiempo. 1064-1094* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1994), 16.

**Figure 19: Islamic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, 711-756.
© Manuel Sánchez García Based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional.**[158]



**Figure 20: Andalusian frontier and political articulation in the Iberian Peninsula, 756-929. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional.**[159]

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[158] Scientific compilation: José Antonio Álvarez Castrillón and Isidoro González Gallego. Instituto Geográfico Nacional, *España en mapas. Una síntesis geográfica* (Madrid: Centro Nacional de Información Geográfica, 2019), 158, http://www.ign.es/web/ign/portal/libros-digitales/espana-en-mapas.

[159] Scientific compilation: José Antonio Álvarez Castrillón and Isidoro González Gallego. Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 159.

**Figure 21: Territorial articulation of the Iberian Peninsula during the Ummayyad Califate in Cordoba, 929-1031. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional**[160]



**Figure 22: Territorial articulation of the Iberian Peninsula during the first taifa period between 1031 and 1086. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional**[161]

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[160] Scientific compilation: José Antonio Álvarez Castrillón and Isidoro González Gallego. Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 159.

[161] Scientific compilation: José Antonio Álvarez Castrillón and Isidoro González Gallego. Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 159.
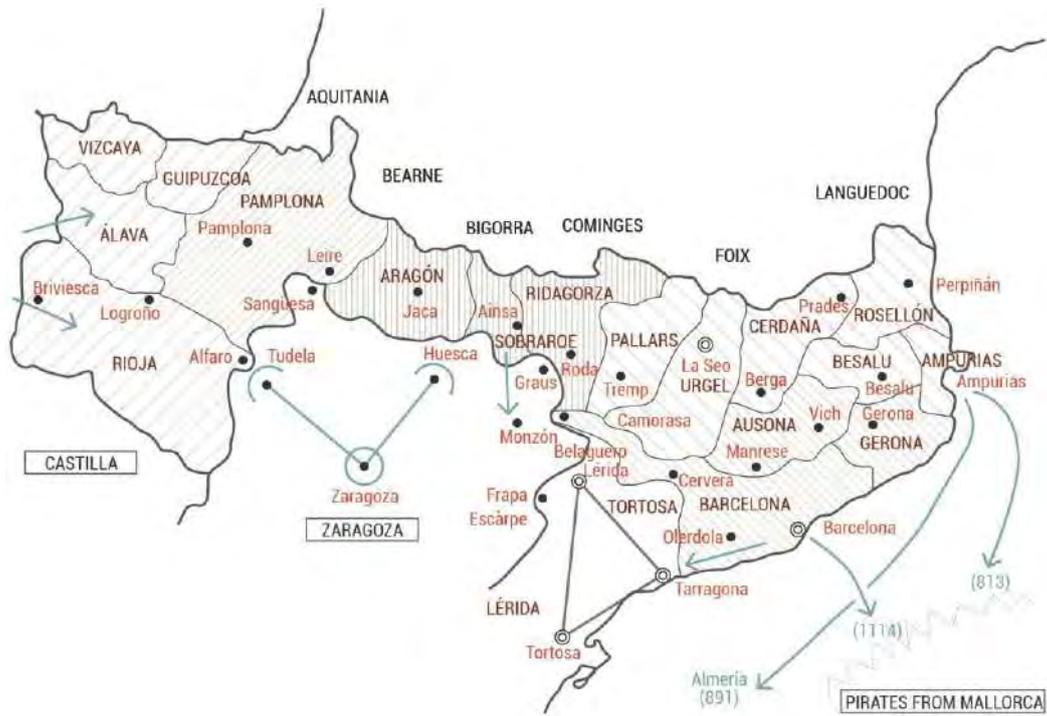
**Figure 23: Al-Andalus northern frontier in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Vicens Vives[162]**

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[162] Jaime Vicens Vives, *España; geopolítica del estado y del imperio* (Editorial Yunque, 1940). Referenced in José Ramón Castro Alava, "La reconquista de las tierras del Ebro," *Príncipe de Viana* 7, no. 25 (1946): 657–94.

The earliest seeds of Hispanic grid urbanism can be found in this context during the 1070s, a period of particular importance for the kingdoms of Aragon, Pamplona (Navarre), and their capitals. Since the early 10th century, Aragon and Pamplona had been linked to the Jimena Dinasty as dominant family on charge of the government, with fluctuating relationships with local counts and among their own family members who acted as mandataries of one or another kingdom. In 1063 Sancho Ramírez, heir of the Jimena family, inherited the crown of Aragon from his father and, after a short series of conflicts,[163] also acquired the kingdom of Pamplona in 1072, becoming monarch of both realms.[164] Before that moment, Aragon was not really a kingdom, just a minor frontier domain. It is only after 1076 that Sancho Ramírez started naming himself *rex* [king] in official documents and acts. It is the origin of what Esteban Sarasa calls '*conciencia de estirpe regia*' in Aragon.[165]

Sancho Ramírez inherited a complex system of frontier territories, each of them with their own nobiliary houses and internal disputes (Figure 23). Moreover, while the neighbouring taifa had Zaragoza as a well stablished and fortified capital with a long, prestigious history,166 Aragon and Pamplona had no equivalent. This circumstance coincides with an increasing interest from the Catholic church in the Iberian frontier, with Pope Alejandro II appointing representatives to Hispanic courts and enacting crusades against their Muslim neighbours. In 1068, Sancho Ramirez travelled to Rome, met with the Pope, and officially converted to Catholicism, abandoning the Mozarabic/Visigoth Christian rites that had prevailed in the peninsula in the centuries before.167 This action strengthened the influence of Roman and European politics into realms like Aragon, Pamplona, and Cataluña that had previously been quite isolated from what was happening north of the Pyrenees. The main infrastructure connecting each side was the Jacobean route or Camino de Santiago, a complex structure of branching roads and paths leading from most European capitals to the mausoleum of the Apostle Santiago, in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela (Figure 24). The construction of this cathedral started in 1075, the same year that the city had been named Episcopal see of the Catholic Church in Castile as a location of the uttermost strategic importance for the Papacy's European aspirations.

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[163] The most important of them being the 'Guerra de los tres Sanchos' [War of the Three Sanchos] in 1067. It involved the simultaneous participation of the kings of Castile, Pamplona, and Aragón, all named 'Sancho'.

[164] Sancho I of Aragón, Sancho V of Pamplona.

[165] Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Ramírez, Rey de Aragón, y Su Tiempo. 1064-1094*, 18.

[166] Zaragoza, known as Saraqusta or '*Medina Albaida*' (white city) during the Andalusian period, was originally founded in the year 14 b.C. as '*Caesar Augusta*', in honour of the first Roman Emperor Augustus.

[167] Sarasa Sánchez, *Sancho Ramírez, Rey de Aragón, y Su Tiempo. 1064-1094*, 15, 49.
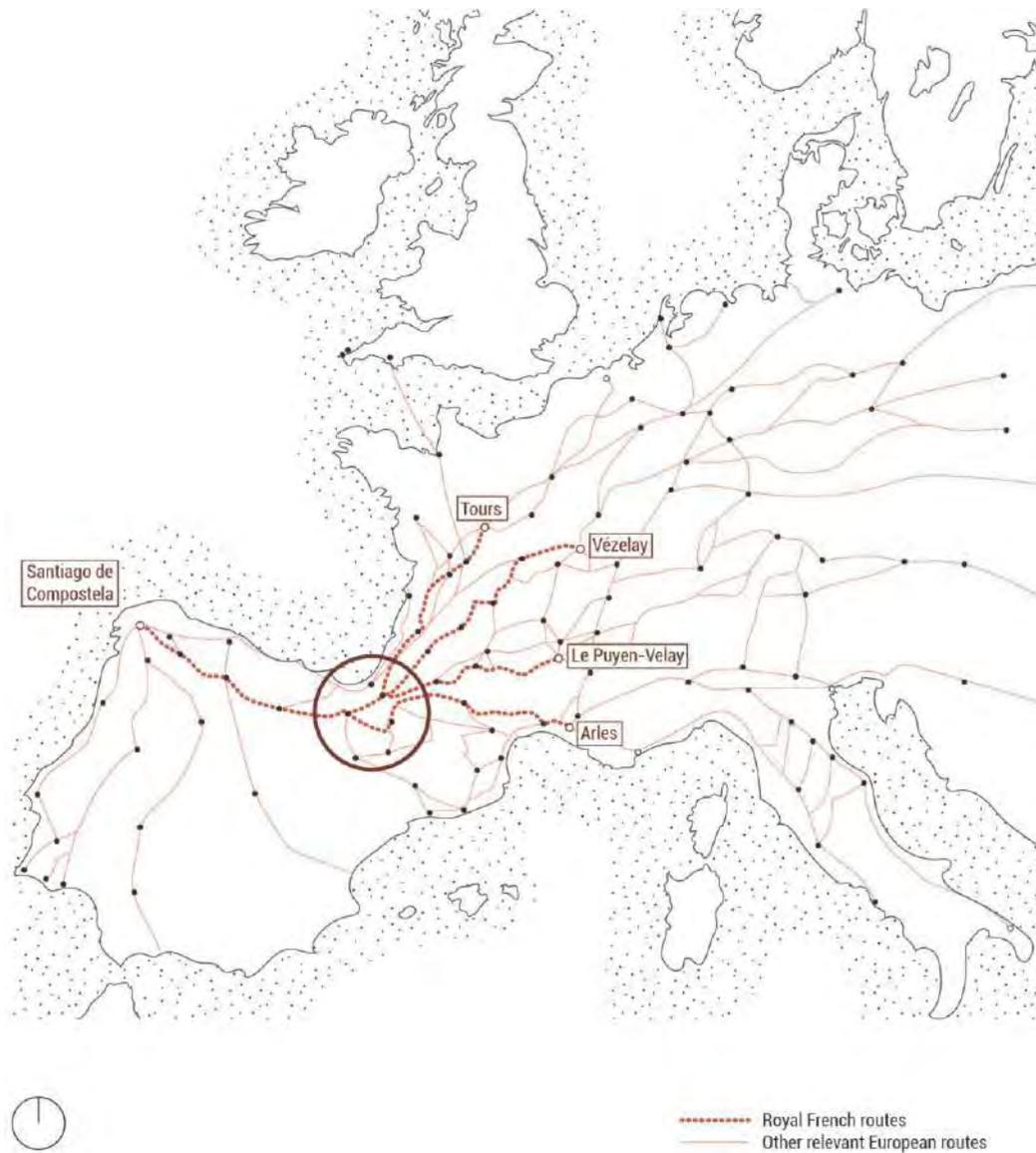
**Figure 24: Camino de Santiago and its main branches in southern France and the Iberian Peninsula. The kingdoms of Aragon and Pamplona appear highlighted as well as their capitals Jaca and Estella/lizarra. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Vicente Bielza de Ory.**[168]

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[168] Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal," 275.

### *Jaca, first example of foral grid urbanism*

The new political stage in the north of the Iberian Peninsula had a great impact on the Aragon and Pamplona's territorial politics. European connections and their Catholic character brought new life to the Camino de Santiago, opening the economy to new markets, and posing great opportunity to noble houses interested in supporting the Christian advance against Al-Andalus. However, the borderland was still a dangerous place where local disputes could rapidly escalate to confrontations between opposing faiths. To compensate this risky endeavour, Sancho Ramírez applied a series of local charters called *fueros*, providing privileges and special treatment to citizens of specific cities. The first and most relevant of these fueros is the fuero of Jaca, conceded in 1077 (Figure 25). Before that, Jaca was just a royal villa, not a real city. After the fuero, Jaca became the new capital of the newly created kingdom of Aragon, housing the new royal palaces, a new seat for the archiepiscopate, and a cathedral, among other institutions. The fuero of Jaca provided access to land property just by showing proof of their occupation and without taxes. The acquisition of new lands was forbidden for nobles and clergy, grating access to real state for regular citizens and merchants. At the same time, Jaca neighbours were exempted of military levy except in case of siege. They were free to shepherd their livestock in any place around the city where they could go back and forth from the city on one day, stablishing a royally protected pasture area around Jaca.[169] Other measures included additional tax exemptions for the exchange of goods and money, fines against the alteration of official weights and balances, or the privilege for Jaquese inhabitants to only be judged at Jaca for crimes committed in other cities. These benefits attracted new population coming mainly from the Loira valley, revitalizing the local economy with new merchants and workers dedicated not only to agriculture or livestock but also for a whole new set of services related with the now active Camino de Santiago: artisans, coin exchangers, moneylenders, among others.[170]

All these factors combined transformed the urban form of Jaca, elevating its category to that of a royal capital, strengthening its connection with the Camino de Santiago, and constructing new institutional buildings, temples, and fortifications. Moreover, the newly enacted fuero operated under the principle of '*parcelas iguales para hombres iguales*' [equal plots for equal men] distributing royal lands equally among incoming citizens on top of the aforementioned privileges. Jaca needed to be expanded through an urban morphology representing, simultaneously, the new status of the city, its Catholic condition, its frontier character and its opposition to the neighbouring Andalusian capital (Figure 26).

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[169] Jesús Delgado and Mª Carmen Bayod, *Los Fueros de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 2000), 10–12.

[170] Vicente Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior," *Aragón en la Edad Media*, no. 16 (2000): 35.
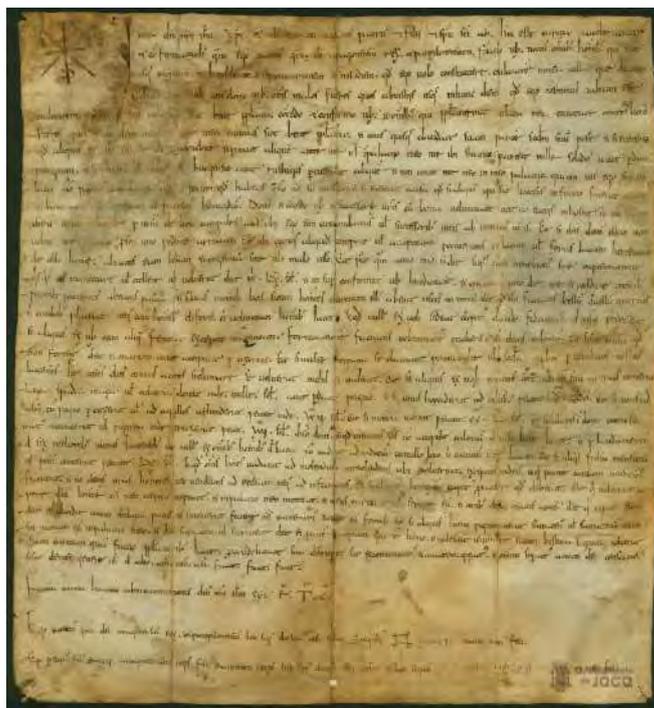
**Figure 25: 12ᵗʰ century copy of the original fuero of Jaca, 1077, signed by Sancho Ramírez. ES/AMJ - P1-1/23 ©Archivo Municipal de Jaca.**[171]
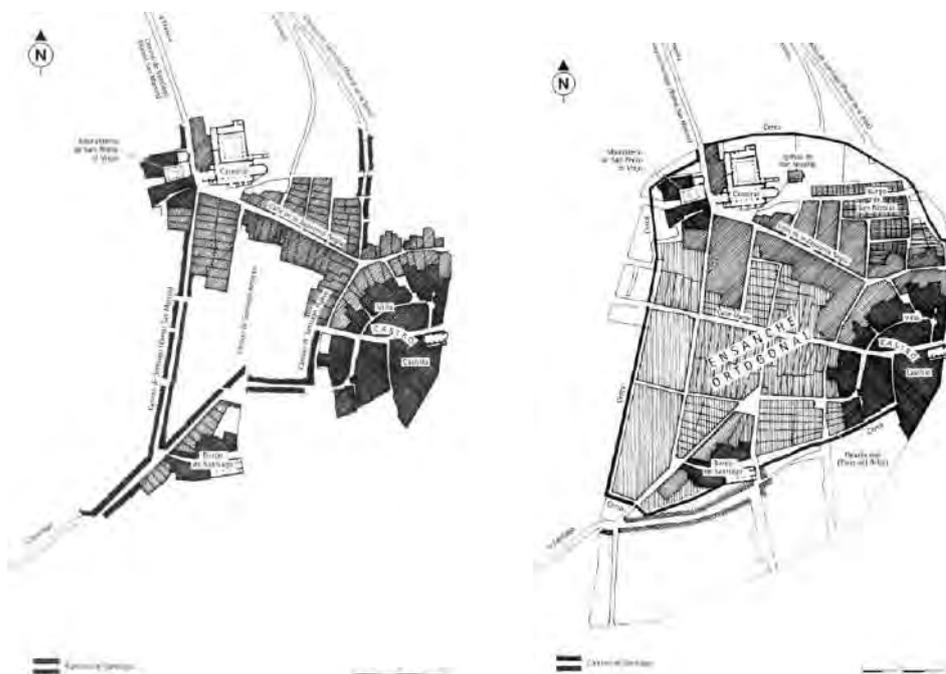


**Figure 26: left: Jaca before the fuero. Right: Jaca orthogonal expansion and fortified perimeter built after 1077. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Ramón Betrán**[172]

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[171] Cabildo de Jaca, "Sancho Ramirez, rey de Aragón y Pamplona, otorga fueros a todas las personas que fuesen a poblar a Jaca, que se convierte por este motivo en ciudad" (Jaca, 12th century), Archivo municipal de Jaca. Item number: ES/AMJ - P1-1/23

[172] Ramón Betrán, *El Camino de Santiago y la ciudad ordenada en Aragón* (Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1999). Referenced in Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal," 281.

The urban structure of pre-1077 Jaca included a medieval burg or villa on the upper area with two smaller burgs downhill, one around the monastery of San Pedro el Viejo [Saint Peter the old] and another one named Burgo de Santiago. The Jacobean Route crossed the city south to north, split at the Burgo de Santiago into three branches: the branch of San Marcos connecting the lower burgs, the 'old' route in the middle, and the 'new' path surrounding the royal villa uphill. Sancho Ramirez and his urban surveyors could have planned the new city distributing plots along these three branches, following the 'fishbone' shape that already existed in other medieval towns in the Jacobean Route, the south of France, and other European domains.[173] However, this would have created a longitudinal structure with no clear center, with no representative urban space operating as seat of the monarchy, its royal power, and its new religious affiliation.

At that time, the main urban referent with the appropriate symbolism was the concept of the Celestial Jerusalem, an ideal, orthogonal structure whose urban elements held great relevance in the biblical narration of Saint John's Apocalypse in the new testament (Figure 27).[174] According to Bielza de Ory, the Celestial Jerusalem was a 'cubic city, walled, perfectly orthogonal, harmonic, and conceived from the influence of the old testament and the hypodamic model that could be perceived at the Island of Patmos'.[175] The new urban expansion of Jaca would follow this structure, including the three Jacobean branches as north-south axis while also stablishing a main east-west street connecting the upper castrum to the lower and newer areas of the cities. The royal palace was located in an oddly shaped triangular square, heir to the oblique incision of the Camino de Santiago as it enters the city from the south. Although it is clear that this first example of orthogonal Spanish urbanism does not present the geometrical finesse of later plantations, it already had its main and most defining elements: a territorial intention, a strong connection with the crown and its interests, an urban structure filled with symbolic religious presence, and a clear legal support in the form of a fuero, an order, a law, or a combination of them.[176]

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[173] Passini, *Villes medievales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de- Compostelle (de Pampelune a Burgos): villes de fondation et villes d'origine romaine.* Edith Ennen categorized their form as 'Juxtaposition morphology' in comparison with new towns created in the surroundings of a previous monastery or castle ('aggregation') or continuing an older trace, like the Roman example of Zaragoza. Edith Ennen, *Storia della città medievale*, Grandi opere /Laterza (Roma: Laterza, 1983).

[174] Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal."

[175] '*Así, la Jerusalén Celestial del Apocalipsis de San Juan es una ciudad cúbica, amurallada, perfectamente ortogonal, armónica y concebida desde la influencia vetero testamentaria y del modelo hipodámico que se podía percibir desde la isla griega de Patmos*'. Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior," 27.

[176] The relationship between new plantations and celestial cities has been greatly influential in the last decades. It has been further explored by authors such as Titus Burckhardt, Joseph Rykwert, Jaime Salcedo Salcedo, or Keith D. Lilley. Titus Burckhardt, *Símbolos*, Sophia Perennis 90 (Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta, 1980); Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1976; Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*; Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009).

**Figure 27: 1047, Representation of Celestial Jerusalem in the illustrated manuscript of the Apocalypse by Beato de Liébana, copied in the 11th century and owned by Fernando I, king of León and count of Castile, and queen Dña. Sancha. BCE: VITR/14/2 © Biblioteca Nacional de España[177]**

[177] Beato de Liébana, "In Apocalipsin. Beato de Liébana: códice de Fernando I y Dña. Sancha" (Manuscrito, Valladolid, 1047), Biblioteca Nacional de España. Item number: VITR/14/2

### *Estella, foral sister of Jaca. Seed of the plaza mayor.*

One of the most interesting aspects of Jaca and its foral urbanism is that it had a sister, a mirror application executed at the same time, in a similar context, ordered by the same king. This other city is Estella, the new capital of the kingdom of Pamplona appointed in 1077 via fuero in the exact same manner than Jaca.[178] In fact, this city did not only change its category from A royal burg to the kingdom's capital, but also changed its naming, substituting the original Basque 'Lizarra' to Stella or Estella.[179] At the time, Estella already had two medieval walled burgs, the older Burgo de San Martín in the south side of the Ega river, and the more recent Burgo de San Miguel on the north (Figure 28). The both of them were organized around the Camino de Santiago, using it as a central axis in a similar way to other settlements along this route. After the fuero, a new burg was planned to the west around a new road that crossed the river's meander and occupying the lower part of the valley. This new section of the city was arranged in long blocks divided in equal parcels, following a similar principle than Jaca's. The foral expansion of Estella did not only have a main street (Calle Mayor) operating as an axis but, differently to Jaca, it also created an ample and monumental main square name after the fuero (Plaza de los Fueros) (Figure 29). This highly representative space has one of the city's main churches in its corner (Iglesia de San Juan Bautista) which was remodelled and intervened on several occasions in the 14th, 16th, and 19th centuries. The plaza was used as a new market, larger than the original in the burg of San Miguel, attending the needs of a growing city and its incoming Frank population.

The main institutional spaces in Estella remained in the burg of San Martín, including the royal palaces and the church of San Pedro *de la Rúa* [Saint Peter of the road, referring to the Jacobean Route], around Plaza San Martín (Figure 30). This means that the new main square in the foral expansion was not a new urban center in the same way as early modern foundational plazas in Ibero-America. It was an important public and commercial theatre, of course, but its design was not to become the main hub of public, political, and religious life, nor did it group the town hall, the foundational church, and other relevant buildings.

However, even though Estella's Plaza de los Fueros holds many differences with later *plazas mayores*, it can be considered one of the first planned main squares forming part of a medieval grid plantation. According to Sebastian de Covarrubias, author of the first dictionary of the Spanish language in 1611, a plaza was a '*Lugar ancho y espacioso dentro del poblado, lugar público, donde se venden los mantenimientos, y se tiene el trato común de los vecinos y comarcanos*' ['Place long and wide inside the town, public place, where supplies are sold,

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[178] Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior," 30.

[179] Its current official name is Estella-Lizarra, a combination of both voices.

and where the common folk and neighbours stablish their relationships'].[180] Covarrubias follows his description mentioning how foreigners met there for trade and business ['*adonde concurriá los forasteros a los negocios y tratos*'] and, more significantly, how official trials and hearings took place at the plaza in a public manner ['*Los juezes tenian los tribunals en las puertas de la ciudad, do estava estas plaças para hacerles justicia*']. Bonet Correa defends that Covarrubias' definition states a clear difference with other spaces in new towns and plantations like those dedicated to agriculture (*ejido* or *exido*), urban squares exclusively dedicated for bullfighting (*coso*), and, of course, spaces for military operations like *campo de marte*, *plaza fuerte,* or *plaza de armas*.[181] A *plaza de armas* was an open space at the center of a castle or a military encampment designed for military exercises and operations. While the *plaza de armas* had a close relationship with the earlier Roman *castrum* model and the later military engineering principle of *castrametatio*, the *plaza mayor* was an entirely different thing.[182] In the *plaza mayor*, the emphasis was put on its legitimacy, on the institutions it housed, and the urban legitimacy it represented. Even if the *plaza mayor* could also be the stage for eventual army parades and even bullfights, its main purpose was to spatialize royal hierarchies, legal procedures, religious events, commercial exchanges, and other public affairs at the core of urban life.

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[180] Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española / compuesto por ... Sebastian de Cobarrubias Orozco ...* (En Madrid: por Luis Sanchez ..., 1611), 590, http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000178994.

[181] Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad*, 38.

[182] Antonio Bonet Correa, "Reflexiones en torno a las Plazas Mayores españolas, hispanoamericanas y filipinas" Sapientia libertas: escritos en homenaje al profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (2007): 807–14; Lombaerde, "Castrametatio and the Grid in the Spanish Habsburg World. Contributions from the Low Countries 1550-1750."
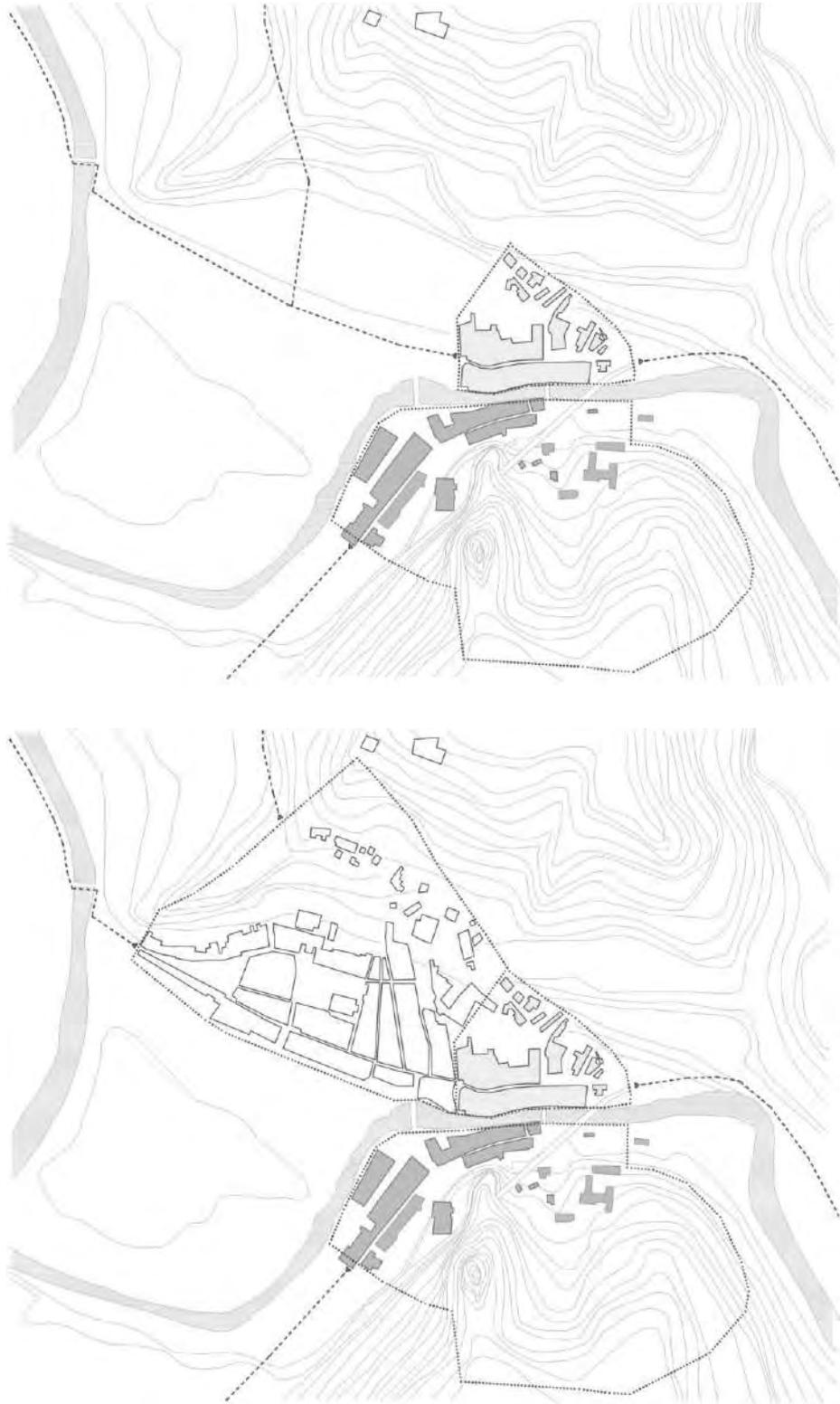
**Figure 28: plan of Estella-Lizarra before the fuero (top) and after it (bottom). The new foral expansion continues the main Jacobean branch and, instead of creating a fishbone structrue, expands uphill creating an orthogonal plan and an ample, central square. © Manuel Sánchez García Based on Passini[183]**

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[183] Passini, *Villes medievales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de- Compostelle (de Pampelune a Burgos): villes de fondation et villes d'origine romaine.*, 29.

**Figure 29: 1992, 'Plaza de los Fueros' [square of the fueros], also known as 'Plaza de San Juan' or 'Plaza del Mercado Nuevo'. The church, devoted to San Juan Bautista, was The plaza was recently re-modeled by Spanish architect Patxi Mangado, born in Estella. © Javier Itúrbide Díaz[184]**



**Figure 30: Palace of the kings of Estella (left) from the stairs leading to the church of San Pedro de la Rúa, Estella. Plaza San Martín can be seen between the two buildings. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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[184] Javier Itúrbide Díaz, *Estella*, Panorama 21 (Pamplona, España: Fondo de Publicaciones del Gobierno de Navarra, 1992), 55.

### *Foral urbanism expansion through the Jacobean Route*

Sancho Ramirez, as monarch of both Aragon and Pamplona, utilized the fuero as a common strategy for both realms and created two new urban hubs that, through their new economic and military activities and their connection with its European Catholic allies, could rival both its Christian and Muslim neighbours. Contemporary authors dispute if the fuero of Estella was written and enacted some years after than Jaca's, at the same time, or even earlier than the Aragonese capital.[185] Whichever the case, what is widely accepted is their systemic character, creating a new set of legal frames and planning practices that would quickly disseminate through the urban network of the Camino de Santiago (Figure 31).

In the same way than Jaca and Estella, most of the cities that received new fueros in the following decades were not new plantations but already existing towns in the Jacobean Route. Their plan was already sensibly regular given their distribution of long parcels along the Camino de Santiago, following the same morphology of other medieval towns in France and England. Puente la Reina is a good example of this: a small medieval settlement near a bridge crossing the Agra River that appears in documents from at least 1085.[186] In 1122 Puente la Reina received foral privileges from king Alphonse I of Aragon and Pamplona, son of Sancho Ramirez, following the same principles applied in Estella and Jaca by his father. Not only the city grew in a regular arrangement after the fuero was enacted but it also received a new walled perimeter and, more importantly, a main square grouping most governmental organisms and commercial activities (Figure 32). Besides its fortification, the focus was on creating an urban form that supported the institutionalization of the city and its legal frame.

Sangüesa is another example of this dynamic. It is also a riverside settlement, this time along the shores of the Aragón River. Sangüesa's original settlement or '*Burgo Niejo*' was re-settled between 1077 and 1094 by order of king Sancho Ramírez, receiving the same fuero as Jaca among with its privileges. In 1122 the new southern section of Sangüesa or '*Burgo Nuevo'* also received the same foral protection, this time from Alphonse I, at the same time than Puente la Reina. Likewise, the old, longitudinal, fishbone structure of Sangüesa along the Camino de Santiago receiver a walled perimeter and new institutional spaces such as the main square and a series of churches and parishes guarding its cardinal accesses (Figure 35).

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[185] Xavier Irujo and Amaia Álvarez Berastegi, eds., *Los fueros de Estella y San Sebastián*, Humboldt 6 (Donostia: Fundación para el Estudio del Derecho Histórico y Autonómico de Vasconia, 2020), 8.

[186] José Javier Uranga, "Puente la Reina, del Puente al Fuero (1085-1122)," *Scripta theologica: revista de la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad de Navarra* 16, no. 1 (1984): 473–84.
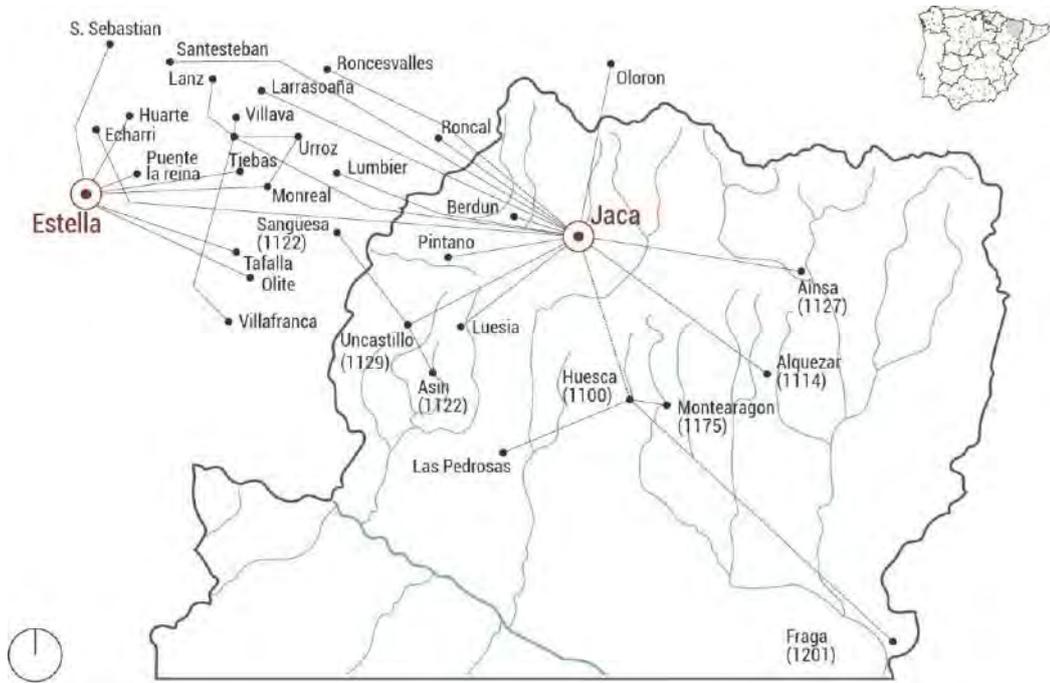
**Figure 31: Expansion of the fueros of Jaca and Estella.**
**© Manuel Sánchez García Based on Antonio Ubieto Arteta.[187]**

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[187] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, *Aragón. Comunidad Histórica.* (Zaragoza: DGA, 1991). Referenced in Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal," 299.
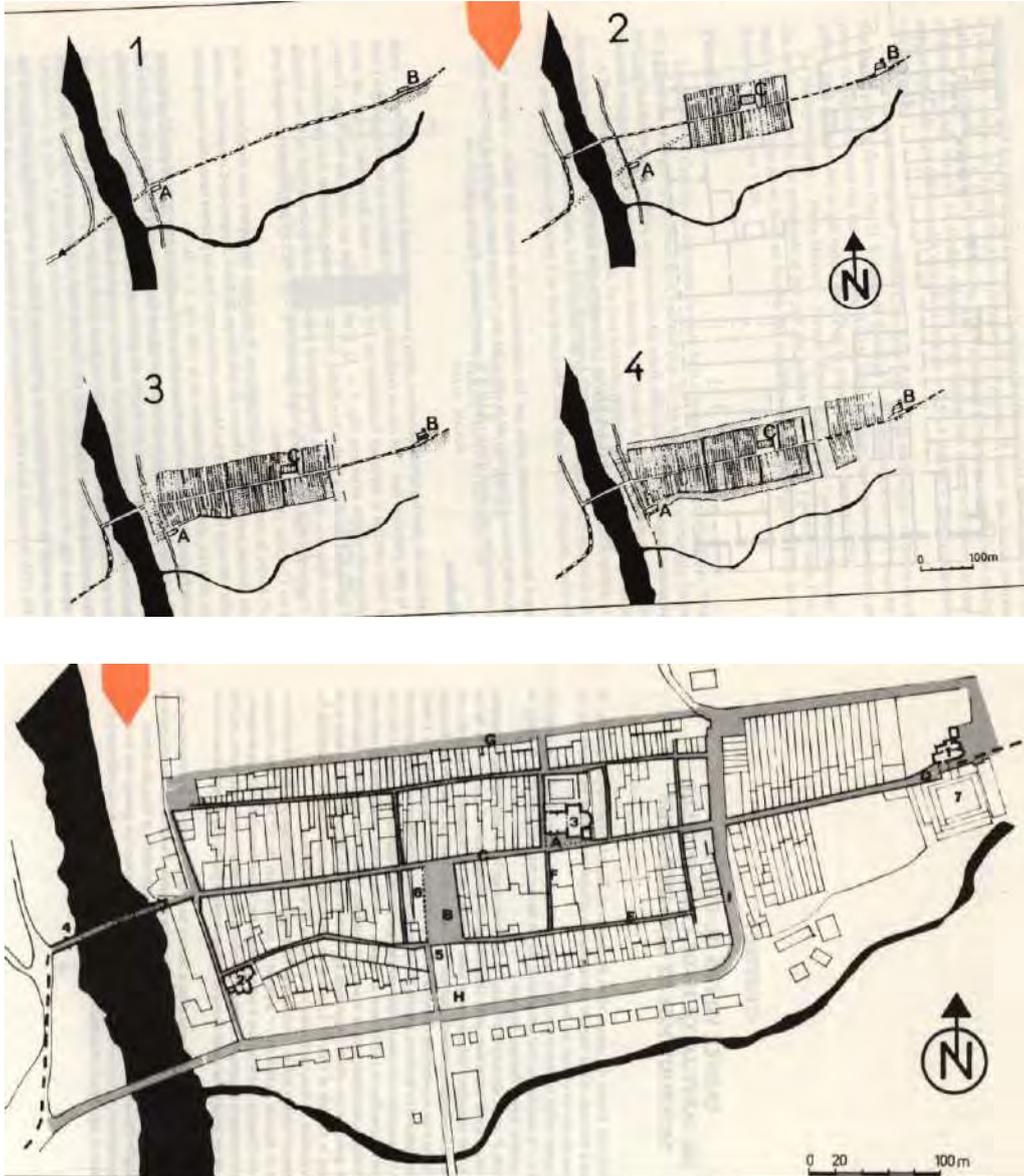
**Figure 32: Top: Hypothesis of Puente la Reina urban evolution prior to the fuero of 1122. Bottom: Trace of Puente la Reina after the fuero, including its main square, walled perimeter and outer-wall urban growth. Based on © Pierre Lavedan.[188]**

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[188] Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1952), 12–18.

**Figure 33: 2015, Entrance to Puente la Reina through the bridge that gives the city its name.
© Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 34: 2015, Main square of Puente la Reina. The building on the right is the city's hall.
© Manuel Sánchez García.**

It is quite interesting how the squares of Estella, Puente la Reina, and Sangüesa are all positioned on a side of the main street, and not on its central axis. In the cases of Puente la Reina and Sangüesa seems to be a natural decision since these were already existing settlements. The resultant squares have a long rectangular shape, following the structure of narrow parcels that was traditional in these medieval cities. In Puente la Reina the square is open on its short sides, with the council building placed on a lateral and occupying all its side with a long arcade (Figure 34). In Sangüesa the town hall is located on the shorter side of the square (Figure 36). It is also elevated over an arcade but this time it is traversable, providing access from the main street to the square. In this way, the council building has two façades and two balconies, one open to the Calle Mayor and the other overseeing the main square (Figure 37). In Estella, the whole new burg was settled after the fuero, hence the Plaza de los Fueros did not follow any pre-stablished urban structure. Having the square to the side of the main street was a deliberate decision, probably influenced by other cities in its context, but distanced from the organic growth of previous medieval towns. All three examples, among others in their area, belong to a novel generation of foral urban planning practices and opened new public spaces designed with the clear purpose of housing a new kind of Christian society in the Andalusian frontier. One that was now communicated with Europe through Catholicism as a common faith, through the Camino de Santiago as a common territorial connection, and through the fueros and other legal innovations as a way to organize their society. It is clear that, although these first prototypes of Spanish grid urbanism were born from a context of frontier conflict and religious opposition, their main emphasis was not on militaristic elements but on legal, hierarchical, religious, and symbolic.



**Figure 35: Satellite view of Sangüesa, Navarra. © Google Earth, 2008.**

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**Figure 36: 2015, Sangüesa's main square, with the city hall and its arcade on the back. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 37: 2015, Sangüesa's Calle Mayor, branch of the Camino de Santiago that crosses the city from east to west and became its main street. On the left there is the city hall's balcony over an arcade that gives access to the main square. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

### *Zaragoza and the expansion of the Aragonese frontier, 12th century*

The examples of foral laws and urban extensions presented up to this moment were applied to already existing towns. While some were of a bigger hierarchy like Jaca and Estella and others humbler like Puente la Reina or Sangüesa, all of them had been on the Christian side of the frontier for a long time. This dynamic started to change in the 12th century when king Alphonse I '*El Batallador*' [The Battler] expanded the border through a series of campaigns between 1104 and 1134 (Figure 38). One of the peaking points in this expansion was the conquest of Zaragoza in 1119, the main capital of the neighbouring Andalusian taifa and the strongest Muslim city in that territory since the 8th century.

One of the first official acts that the king applied upon Zaragoza after its conquest was to extend privileges to it, starting with the Fuero de los *Infanzones* [lesser nobles] in January, 1119.[189] The main principles of the fuero of Jaca were also active there between 1119 and 1129 when the same king proclaimed a new official fuero for Zaragoza.[190] The main objective of these operations was to attract new Christian population to the new Aragonese capital, in a similar fashion to Jaca and Estella but this time in a conquered city. The traditional castrum of Zaragoza also received a new foral extension, once more following previous foral practices but with some variations worth detailing.

The foral expansion of Zaragoza was a new burg connected to the old one but separated from it, growing the city along the Ebro River shore (Figure 39). Its grid had five main avenues in the east-west direction, each of them connecting to one of the axes in the original castrum. North-south streets were less organized and have changed over centuries. The result is similar to the foral burg of Estella in the sense that it was not a 'filling' of a disperse structure such as Jaca nor a modification of a previous fishbone plan in the Jacobean Route, but a whole new district expanding a previous walled town without emptying it. In fact, it was unlikely that any urban intervention would empty the urban center of Zaragoza, inhabited continuously since Roman times and still a very potent city filled with monuments and representative places. While the main spaces for public life and institutional operations remained in the old center, the new district provided a regularly plotted structure to be distributed among Christian settlers. Therefore, the foral district had no main square big enough to be compared to Plaza de los Fueros of Estella. Its center was occupied by a parish that eventually would come to be the church of San Pablo (Figure 40). Its construction started way after the fuero, in the 13th century, and applied traditional elements of the mudejar[191] style

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[189] Vicent García Edo, "El Fuero de Zaragoza en el siglo XII (aproximación a su estudio)," *Revista de Dret Històric Català*, no. 15 (2016): 168.

[190] García Edo, 172.

[191] Múdejar: Literally meaning 'tamed' or 'domesticated' in Arab, this term applies to Muslim artisans and builders working for Christian commissioners, as well as their production. Their production is particularly relevant in capitals near the Andalusian frontier like Zaragoza, Toledo, and Seville from the 13th to the 15th centuries. The term is also used for later hybrid art and architecture, including several examples in early modern Granada and Latin America. For more on this topic, consult: Manuel Toussaint, *Arte mudéjar en América* (Mexico: Porrua, 1946); Rafael J.

like the use of brick fabric instead of stone, with round arches and Gothic horse-shoe arches. The tower shows signs of Almohad influence like the sebka,[192] also present in Seville's Giralda (Figure 41).

As the Aragonese frontier expanded to the south during the following decades, new foral privileges were applied to conquered cities as a means to attract northern settlers and ensure their repopulation (Figure 42). Every time a burg was taken, one of the first actions taken was to provide legal coverage under the fuero so its Aragonese and Pamplonese colonizers received enough protection and motivation to move closer to the frontier. The enactment of a fuero for a city, whether it was recently conquered or not, always entailed an urban transformation involving some sort of grid pattern. These structures did not follow a common rule but a more superficial sense of regularity, adapting to the political and morphological particularities of each city. Territorial fueros appeared later in the century, providing especial treatment to not just cities but whole regions. In this way, the systemic foral urban protocol that had already proven useful for the Christian side of the frontier, was also applied for the Christianization of Andalusian territories, providing a new sense of 'ordered form' to their societies and the cities that housed them.

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López Guzmán and Sergio Zaldívar Guerra, *Arquitectura y carpintería mudéjar en Nueva España.*, Arte novohispano: 7 (México D.F.: Grupo Azabache, 1992); Ernesto Ballesteros Arranz, *Arte mudéjar*, Cuarta edición., Historia del arte español 23 (Madrid: Hiares Multimedia, 2015).

[192] Sebka: Architectural element characteristic of Almohad architecture in North Africa and Al-Andalus (12th-13th cc.), consisting on layers of oblique bricks conforming patterns, crossed arches, and other decorations.
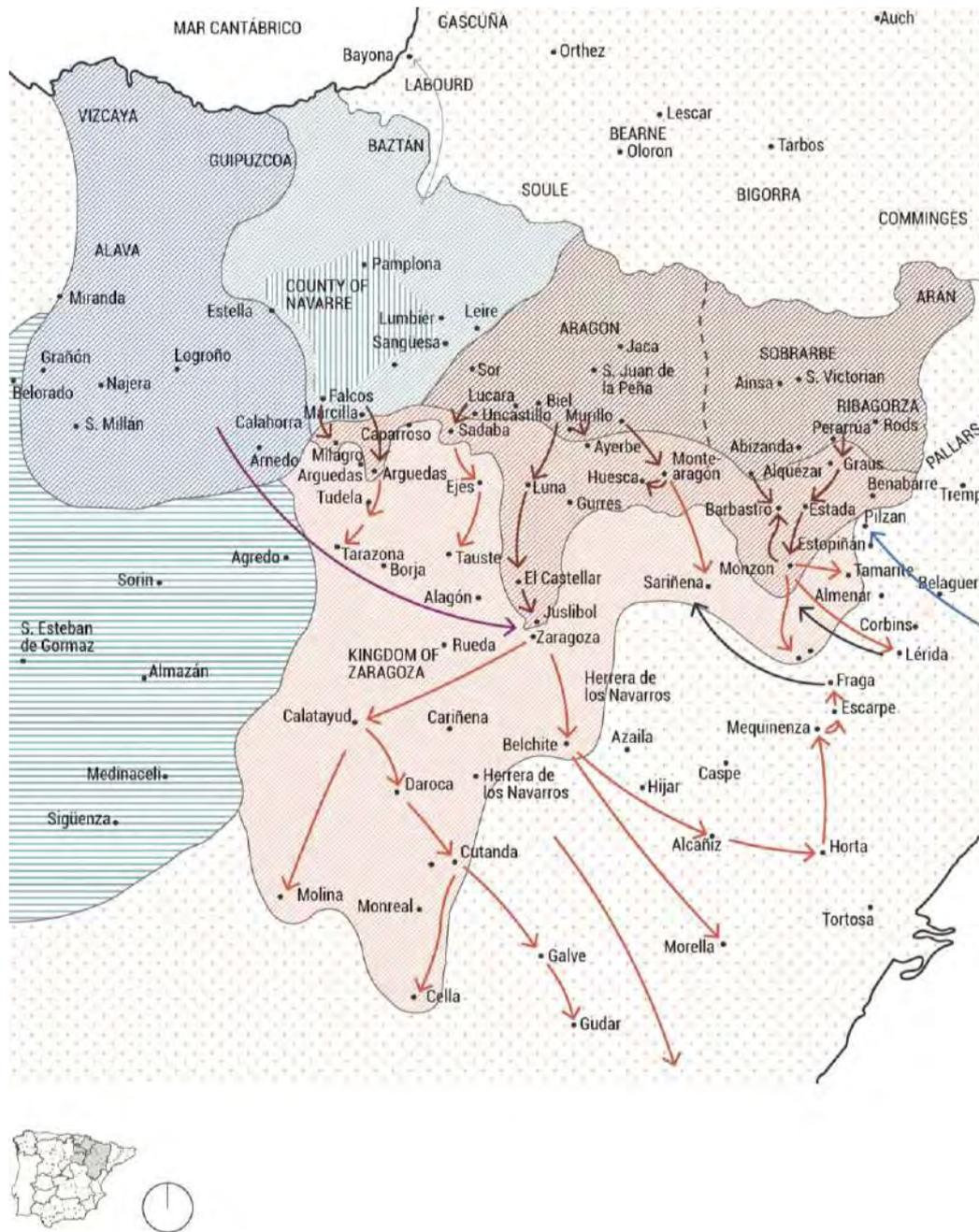
The union with Aragon and the Reconquista of the Ebro Valley (1076-1134)

▨ Area governed by the Aragonese monarch Sancho Ramírez as new King of Pamplona, after the decease of Sancho of Peñalén (1076)
▨ Domains of Sancho of Peñalen annexed to Castile by Alfonso VI
▥ County of Navarra recognized by Alfonso VI of Castile in 1087
▨ Area inherited by King Sancho Ramírez
▨ Area conquered by the kings of Aragon and Pamplona Sancho Ramírez (1076-1094) and Pedro I (1094-1104)
Area conquered by the king of Aragon and Pamplona Alfonso I el Batallador (1104-1134)
= Castilian domains recognized by Alfonso I el Batatallador

— War actions by Sancho Ramírez and Pedro I
— War actions by Alfonso I el Batallador
— Expedition by Alfonso I to Bayona (1130-1131)
— Area conquered by the counts of Barcelona
— Failed advance by Alfonso VI (1086) towards the central Ebro Valley
— Andalusian counter-attacks

**Figure 38: Frontier of Aragón, Navarra and Zaragoza between 1076 and 1134. © Manuel Sánchez García[193]**

**Figure 39: Plan of Zaragoza's foral expansion in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Vicente Bielza de Ory.[194]**

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**Figure 40: 1850, engraving of San Pablo's church in the series 'España artística y monumental' by Genaro Pérez de Villa-Amil. © Public Domain.[195]**



**Figure 41: Tower of San Pablo's church in Gothic-Mudéjar style. © Escarlati.[196]**

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[195] Genaro Pérez de Villa-Amil and Patricio de la Escosura, *España Artística y Monumental, Vistas y Descripción de Los Sitios y Monumentos Más Notables de España* (París: Casa de Alberto Hauser, 1850).

[196] Photograph by Escarlati, via Wikimedia Commons ©Attribution-ShareAlike 2.5 Generic. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Torre_y_linternas_de_San_Pablo.jpg
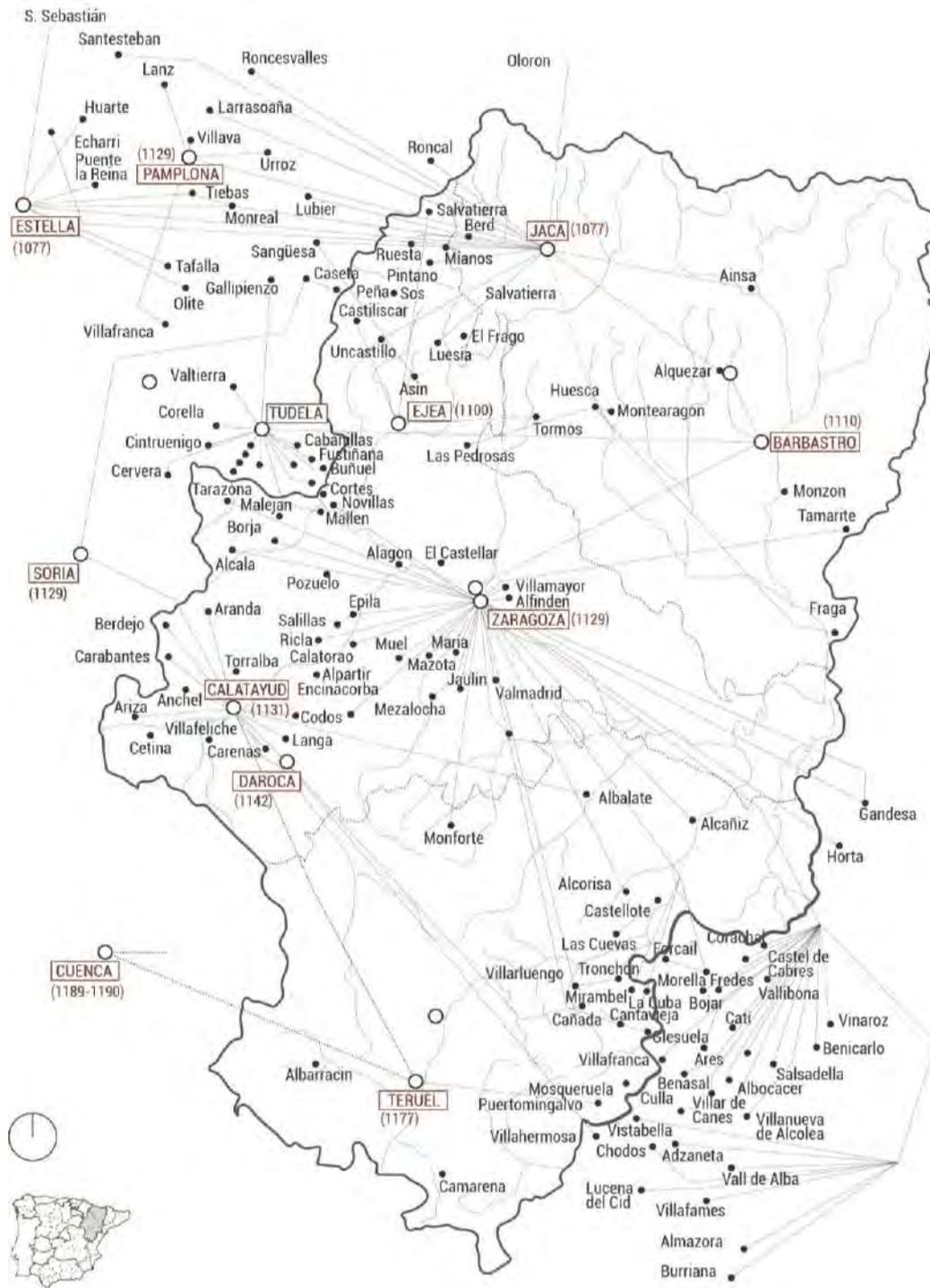
**Figure 42: Foral law spread from Jaca and Estella to other cities in Aragon and Navarra, including Zaragoza and other regional centers such as Ejea, Babastro, Tudela, Calatayud, Teruel, and Cuenca. © Manuel Sánchez García based on Vicente Bielza de Ory and Antonio Ubierto Arteta.[197]**

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[197] Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal," 310; Ubieto Arteta, *Aragón. Comunidad Histórica.*

## Foral Aragonese urbanism in the 13th and 14th centuries. The Iberian east coast and the Balearic Islands.

### *General legal aspects of the Valencian conquest and re-population*

Further changes in the Iberian political configuration during the 13th century would bring additional developments to the already stablished Aragonese planning practices. This period is marked by the military campaigns of king Jaume I '*El Conquistador*' [the Conqueror], mandatary of Aragón, Barcelona, Montpellier, and other territories in the south of France. Between 1229 and 1245, Jaume I expanded his kingdom over the Andalusian territories of the Balear Islands, Valencia, and Murcia, the latter being ceded to Castile and later reincorporate to the Aragonese Crown (Figure 43). New foral charters were applied in cities and towns, following the tradition already stablished by Jaume's ancestors.[198] However, there were a few innovative measures that affected how legislative principles and urban spaces merged in conquered Valencia.

The first of them is the fact that Valencia was a proper kingdom, annexed to the Aragonese crown and under its monarchic rule, but legally separated from the Aragon. This made the legislative scene totally different from what had happened before in Zaragoza in the 12th century, when the city and its territories were included into the kingdom of Aragon as an extension of it, basically becoming a southern Aragonese region. Because of this, the territorial and urban organization of Zaragoza had to abide to Aragonese earlier laws and privileges. Valencia, on the contrary, was a newly created kingdom where the king was free to stablish a foundational law without being pressured by his noble houses or other influential agents. One of the principles in this new kingdom was that all conquered territories, cities, and buildings were on first instance property of the king, who had the right of distributing them how he considered best. This was done quickly and in a strategic manner. For example, after the conquest of Valencia's capital on September 29th of 1238, and the entrance of the king on October 9th, only three days were necessary to distribute houses and lands among its Christian conquerors.[199] This procedure was thoroughly registered as it was legally binding for the new owners, and logged in folders commonly known as distribution books, *Llibre del Repartiment de València* in Valenciano*, in Spanish *libros de repartimiento* (Figure 44). These documents have received considerable scholarly attention in the last decades providing information such as, for example, the origin of the

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[198] Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior," 38.

[199] Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, "El Llibre del Repartiment de València," Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 2015, https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/archivos-aca/actividades/documentos-para-la-historia-de-europa/llibre-del-repartiment-de-valencia-1237-1252/el-llibre-del-repartiment-de-valencia.html.

Aragonese settlers of Valencia, coming mainly from Zaragoza, Tarazona, Calatayud, Daroca, and Teruel.[200]

Later in 1239 it was proclaimed the *Costum de Valencia*, a civil and judicial code tailored by Aragonese jurists, reinforcing the royal rule over the whole kingdom.[201] In following decades the *Costum* would be developed and become a territorial fuero for the whole kingdom, specifying rights and obligations for all its citizen in either *realengos*, judicially independent royal cities, or *señoríos*, settlements under feudal lordship. In this way, territorial fueros, local fueros, and distribution processes were applied across Valencia during its conquest, shaping its political organization and arranging its new hierarchies. While these legal operations inherited previous Aragonese practices and customs, they were independent and, in several ways, more developed and adapted to the new dynamics and shifts in the Andalusian conflict.



**Figure 43: Jaume I campaigns along the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula and the Balear Archipielago. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Instituto Geográfico Nacional.[202]**

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[200] Maria de los Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, ed., "La repoblación de los aragoneses en Valencia," in *Bajar al reino: relaciones sociales, económicas y comerciales entre Aragón y Valencia : siglos XIII-XV* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2017), 16.

[201] Enric Guinot Rodríguez, "La construcción de una nueva sociedad feudal: la repoblación del Reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII," in *La Península Ibérica en tiempos de Las Navas de Tolosa* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2014), 378.

[202] Instituto Geográfico Nacional, *España en mapas. Una síntesis geográfica*, 161.

### *New plantations and pobles in Valencia: Mosqueruela and Villarreal*

A second differentiating aspect is that when conquered cities in Valencia received foral privileges and their lands were re-distributed, new urban expansions not always followed the structure of previous Muslim burgs and settlements. The disperse arrangement of Andalusian *alquerías* [farmhouses] and crops were substituted with a more centralized urban network, abandoning many of them and destroying others to create new Christian towns planned from scratch.[203] These new plantations were distributed in more or less regular plots, loosely following the structure of a grid without the geometrical precision of later settlements in America. However, they operated in a similar way to some extent, providing legal powers to founding agents who were in charge of plotting the land, distributing it to new settlers, stablishing the town council and consecrating its main temple.

The new town of Mosqueruela, planted in 1263, is a good example of this (Figure 45). Mosqueruela is a small village located in Sierra del Maestrazgo, a mountain range in the province of Teruel. Today it counts only 558 inhabitants.[204] Its structure is an interesting mix between several elements. It is a walled town with traditional narrow streets but laid out in a grid structure with an open main square in its center. Although the settlement was walled, there was no previous castle or monastery in this area, nor was it planned along a main road, inheriting a previous foundation, or based on a military encampment, avoiding traditional categorizations in medieval urbanism.[205] It was a city founding for agriculture and rural activities whose main objective was to activate farmlands after a period of war an conquest not only for an economic interest but also to prevent void pockets in the territory and the instability they entailed. Distributing land plots and farming lands to Aragonese settlers was a strategy to attract them to isolated areas like these, even though they could be quite insecure during the post-war period. The structure of the city is quite simple, with two axial main streets that crosses the main square by its side in the south-north direction, and by its middle in the east-west. Four more secondary streets were laid out east to west, conforming long block transversally divided in narrow, long lots. This lotting structure of 'slices' with short façades to one or two streets was already present in Jaca, Estella, and previous regular plantations in the Jacobean route. The settlement was surrounded by walls -later absorbed by attached houses- with doors under stone arches closing each of them. Doors on the main axes indicated directions to neighbouring capitals like Teruel or Valencia. Some secondary gates still remain today (Figure 47).

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[203] Guinot Rodríguez, "La construcción de una nueva sociedad feudal: la repoblación del Reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII," 388.

[204] Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2017.

[205] Such as: Ennen, *Storia della città medievale*; Yves Barel and Christiane Arbaret, *La Ciudad Medieval: Sistema Social-Sistema Urbano*, Hombre, Sociedad, Ciudad 4 (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1981).
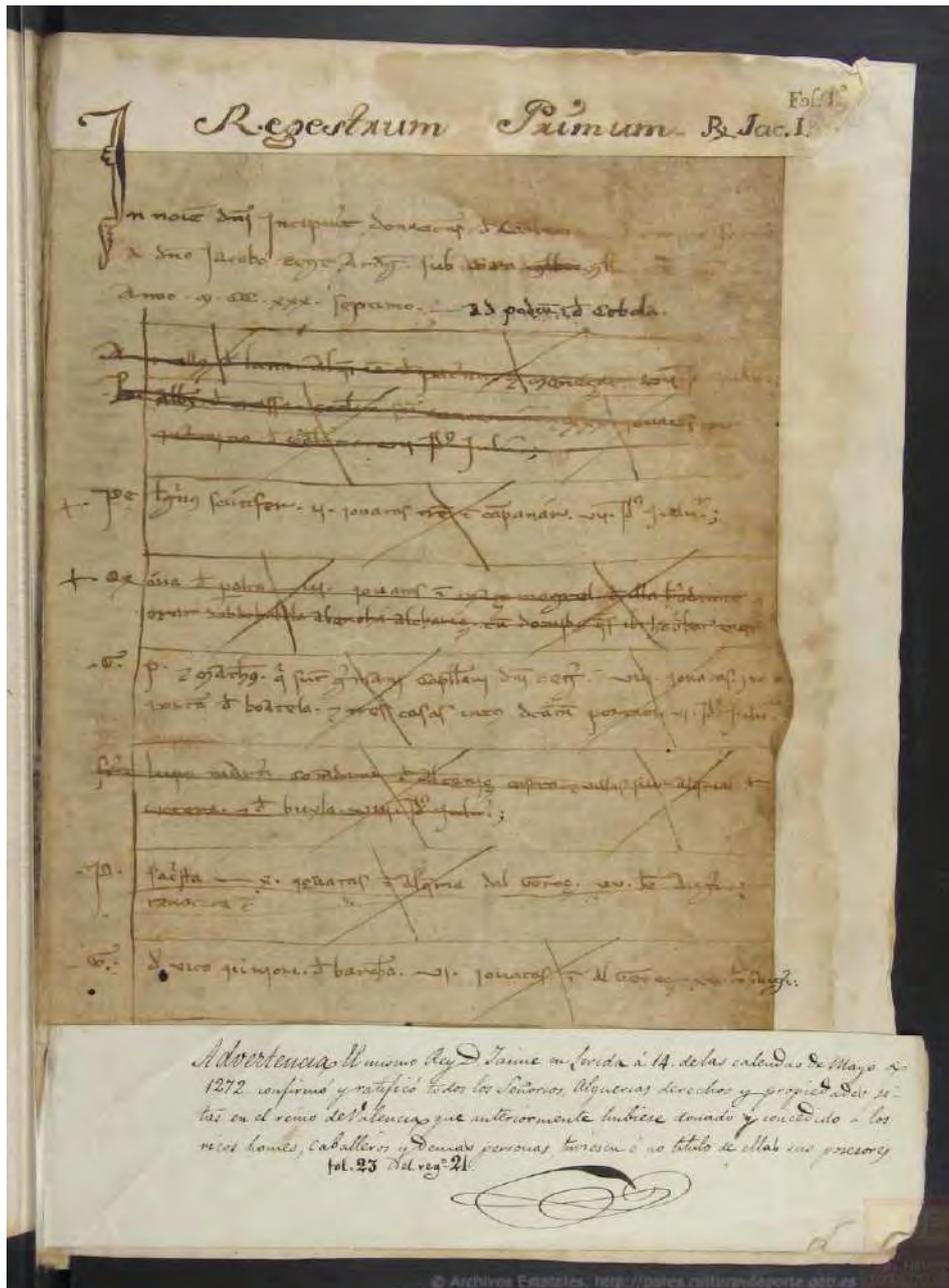
**Figure 44: 1237-1245, 'Donationum regni Valentie', also known as 'Llibre del Repartiment de València'. The period between 1237 and 1238 includes 'future promises' and 'verbal donations' awarded by the king even before Valencia was conquered. ACA, Cancillería, Registros, NÚM 5. © Archivo de la Corona de Aragón.**[206]

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[206] Real Cancillería de los Reyes de Aragón, "Donationum Regni Valentie" (Manuscrito, Valencia, 1237 1245), Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, http://pares.mcu.es:80/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/3907143.

**Figure 45: Satellite view of the foundational district of Mosqueruela (1263). © Google Earth.**



**Figure 46: Mosqueruela foundational plan according to the fuero of 1263. © Manuel Sánchez García based on Vicente Bielza de Ory and Ramón Beltrán Abadia.[207]**

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[207] Bielza de Ory, "De la ciudad ortogonal aragonesa a la cuadricular hispanoamericana como proceso de innovación-difusión, condicionado por la utopía."

**Figure 47: 2011, Calle San Cristobal in Mosqueruela. © Calafellvalo.[208]**



**Figure 48: 2014, Church of Nuestra Señora de La Asunción, Mosqueruela. © Fran Ara[209]**

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[208] Calafellvalo, via Wikimedia Commons *Mosqueruela (Teruel) (4)*. 2011. Photo. https://www.flickr.com/photos/calafellvalo/5453404526/. ©CC2

[209] Ara, Fran, via Wikimedia Commons. ©Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0).
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iglesia_de_la_Asunci%C3%B3n_(Mosqueruela).JPG.

The most interesting aspect of Mosqueruela's plantation is its central square, a public space holding the main church and, in front of it, the city council. This kind of plaza is indicative of the status of the town as a newly founded *repartimiento* and *villa de realengo*, this means, a royal town whose settlers were royally appointed and had the privilege to elect their own mayors, and councillors, their own judges, and other public charges. Unlike Zaragoza or Estella, subordinated to older spaces of political representation, in Mosqueruela the foral plaza was the main space for civil life and foundational legitimacy, taking one step ahead in the relationship between frontier law and urban form.

Another relevant example is Villareal de Burriana, planted in 1272 and segregated from Burriana in 1274.[210] Villarreal is also located near another foral plantation, Castellón de la Plana (1251), urbanizing and re-structuring the farmlands of a total of 18 Andalusian *alquerías*.[211] Villareal has been present in Spanish urban history literature since the 1950's through the works of Leopoldo Torres Balbás, being later reproduced in international works as an example of fortified settlement in the Spanish Reconquista.[212] However, as previous cases show, its urban tradition was mainly civil, not military, occupying productive areas and positioning settlers in strategic locations. Villarreal was distributed and received foral privileges in a similar way to Mosqueruela and other new towns in the region. Its foundational structure was similar, with two main axes crossing the central square by its mid-sides and sensibly oriented to the cardinal directions (Figure 50). Fortified gates guarded each of these main streets, while there were also other minor doors in several points of the perimeter. Two secondary streets completed the grid in each direction, with other minor alleys introducing some irregularity to the plan. The foundational grid of Villarreal is still visible today although it bears several transformations (Figure 51). First of all, its original architecture has been erased and substituted in most places, replacing it with multi-stored buildings. The north entrance of the city was opened to build a new church in the 18th century, connecting the walled center with the outer district that eventually grew. Streets still conserve some of its original flavour thanks to their narrowness and the fact that many have closed to traffic. Its main square was enlarged and has recently been redesigned in a contemporary style, conserving archeries only in one of its corners.[213] The city hall is still in this main plaza but is now housed in a 20th-century rationalist building. Only one of the four round-towers survives today in the south-west corner, partially rebuilt for its conservation (Figure 52).

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[210] Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior," 38.

[211] Guinot Rodríguez, "La construcción de una nueva sociedad feudal: la repoblación del Reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII," 388.

[212] Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "La edad media," in *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en españa* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1954), 67–160; Gutkind, *International History of City Development. Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*.

[213] Re-design project by Fernandez-Vivancos Architect, finished in 2016. Fernandez-Vivancos Architect, "Plaza Mayor de Vila-real," Fernandez - Vivancos, October 22, 2016, http://www.fernandez-vivancos.com/articles/plaza-mayor-de-vila-real/.
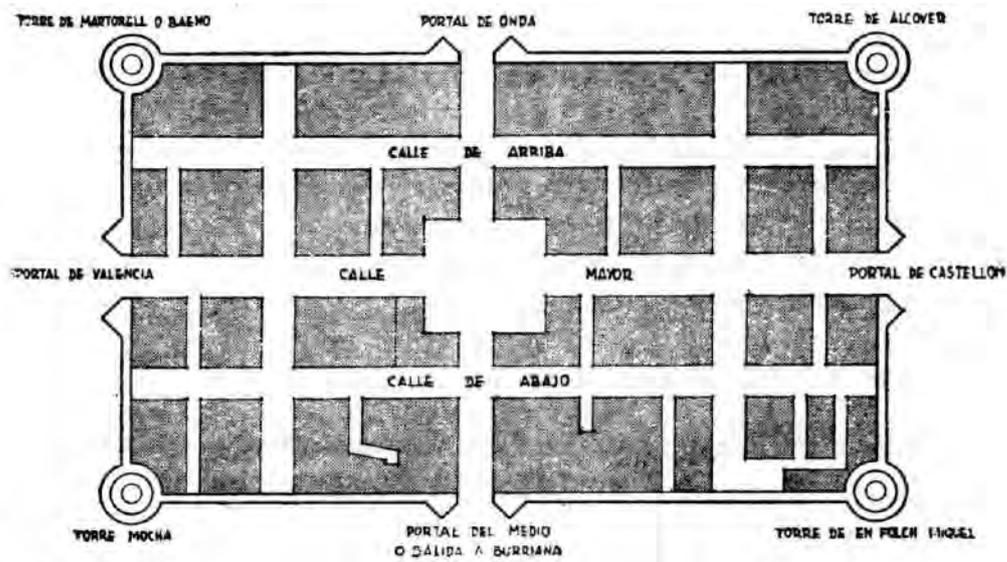
**Figure 49: 1954, plan of Villareal de Burriana in the sixteenth century by Leopoldo Torres Balbás. © Leopoldo Torres Balbás.**[214]



Square
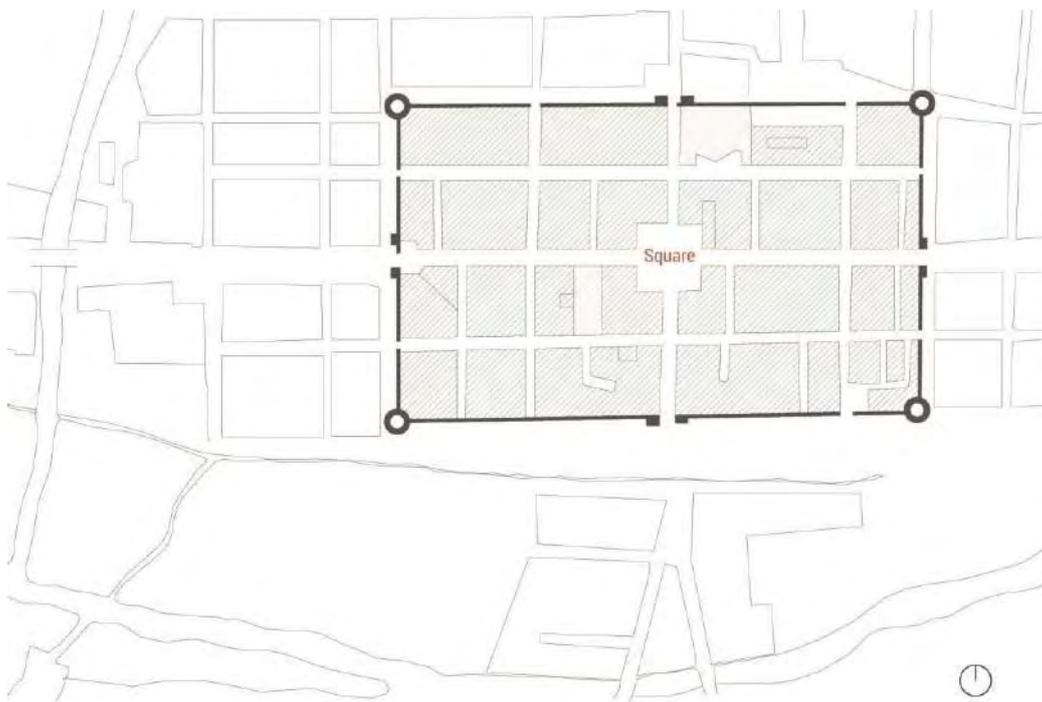
**Figure 50: Villarreal de Burriana foundational center. © Manuel Sánchez García based on Vicente Bielza de Ory.**[215]

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[214] Torres Balbás, "La edad media," 125.

[215] Bielza de Ory, "De la ciudad ortogonal aragonesa a la cuadricular hispanoamericana como proceso de innovación-difusión, condicionado por la utopía."

**Figure 51: Satellite view of the foundational structure of Villarreal de Burriana, Castellón. © Google Earth**



**Figure 52: 2007, Motxa tower, 13th century. The only surviving tower from Villarreal de Burriana original walls, located in the south-west corner. © Public Domain.[216]**

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[216] Millars. *Torre Motxa. Torre de La Muralla Medieval de La Población Española de Villarreal (Castellón)*. 25 November 2007.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Torre_Motxa.jpg.

### Petra and the colonization of the Balear Archipielago

While these cities were being planted in the Iberian east coast, the Balear islands were also being taken from their Andalusian rulers and colonized by Aragonese settlers. The redistribution of goods and lands was also managed through legal procedures but some decades later under the rule of Jaume II, son of Jaume I and heir of the kingdom of Mallorca and the counties of Rosellón, Cerdaña and Montpellier.[217] The main document on this regard are the '*Ordinacions per la creació de viles*' [Orders for the creation of towns], enacted in 1300 for the repopulation of the islands.[218] These orders authorized royal representatives to plant new towns in certain territories, distributing urban lots and farming lands among settlers.

One of the most prominent examples of this practice is Petra, founded that same year of 1300 (Figure 53).[219] Its structure is an almost perfect squared grid divided into long, narrow, and rectangular lots, adapting the traditional lotting practice to a different kind of block. The most singular element in this town is its central square subdivided into four quarters, two occupied with buildings and two open as plazas (Figure 54). The church is not located in this space but further north, occupying one of the outer parcels in the grid. The town hall is also in a different place, voiding the main plaza of its political and religious significance. The streets have no hierarchy with the exception of the two central axes, especially the east-west that connects with one of the provincial roads. These streets are wider than those in Mosqueruela or Villarreal, paved in stone with small sidewalks. Houses and buildings conserve their original medieval morphology, with one or two stores supported by walls made of irregular stone fabric and roofs covered with ceramic tiles (Figure 55). The church, enlarged between the 16th and 18th centuries, acts as an imposing landmark dominating the neighbouring farminglands (Figure 56). Its original parish dates from the 1200s explaining, at least partially, why this location was chosen in 1300 and why the church appears displaced to the north and not in the central plaza. It may have been a concession to pre-existent conditions, attending to the demands of the small community settled in this place since the Christianisation of Mallorca in the 1230s. In sum, Petra's grid shows a remarkable similarity with early modern colonial settlements, even more than its predecessors in Valencia, but its built form and its representative spaces are naturally rooted to medieval practice.

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[217] Currently French territories.

[218] Antoni Mas-Forners, "Les Ordinacions d'en Jaume II (1300): La Segona Colonització Del Reialenc de Mallorca," in *Els Caràcters Del Paisatge Històric Als Països Mediterranis. Territori i Societat: El Paisatge Històric. Història, Arqueologia, Documentació.*, vol. VIII (Lleida, 2018), 147–99.

[219] Jaume Andreu Galmés, "Les ordinacions de Jaume II de Mallorca per a la creació de viles (any 1300): planificació urbana en quadrícula i dotació de serveis. El cas de Petra," in *El món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als decrets de Nova Planta: XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, vol. 3 (Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), 11–28.

Figure 53: Satellite view of Petra's foundational district. © Google Earth.
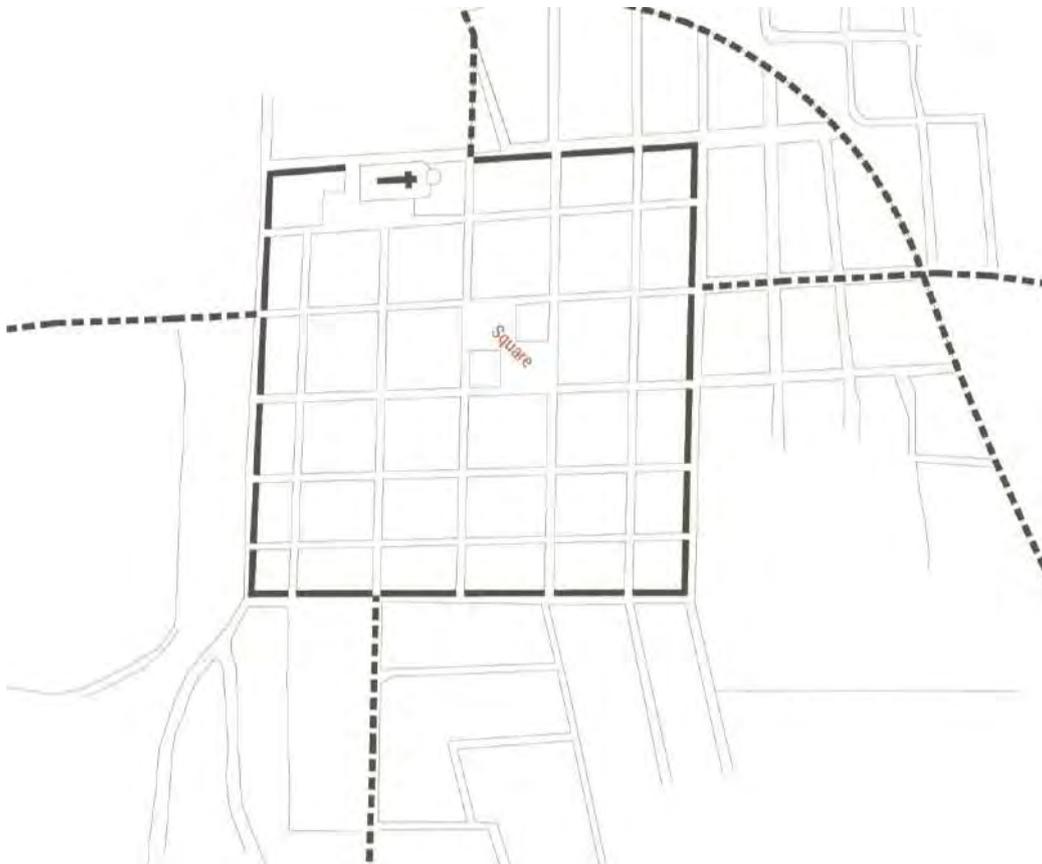


Figure 54: Petra's foundational plan of 1300. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Vicente Bielza de Ory.[220]

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[220] Bielza de Ory, "De la ciudad ortogonal aragonesa a la cuadricular hispanoamericana como proceso de innovación-difusión, condicionado por la utopía."

**Figure 55: 2007, foundational street in Petra. © Steffen Gera Löwe.[221]**



**Figure 56: 2015, view of Petra from its north outskirts. Saint's Peter church dominates over the landscape. © Trolvag.[222]**

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[221] Löwe Gera, Steffen. *Petra, Mallorca*. 30 March 2007. Fotografía. Wikimedia Commons. ©Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0).
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mallorca_Petra.JPG.

[222] trolvag. *Petra, Balearic Islands, Spain*. 25 July 2015. Fotografía. https://web.archive.org/web/20161031232954/http://www.panoramio.com/photo/124992451. ©Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0).
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Petra,_07520,_Balearic_Islands,_Spain_-_panoramio_(1).jpg.

## The 14th century: Aragonese urban representations. The ideal city of Eiximenis as a rule for a perfect Christian society.

### *Neo-Aristotelian urban ideas in Valencia: Eiximenis.*

After the conquest of Murcia and the last conflicts around Alicante in the 1290s, Valencia's frontier was set and secured for the following centuries. The only surviving Islamic kingdom was Granada, limited by Castilian kingdoms on all its sides. Hence, the participation of the Aragonese crown in future Islamic conflicts would be through collaboration and alliances with Castile, attenuated in comparison with the campaigns of Alphonse I in the 12th century and Jaume I in the 13th. With the halt in the advances and changes of the Aragonese frontier also came a decline in the creation of new towns and plantations. However, their impact could still be felt in the urban discussion around ideal societies and towns, appearing in the works of jurists and philosophers following Aristotelian influences.

The neo-Aristotelian movement, introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the Averroes, was further developed from the Christian sphere by St. Tomas Aquinas through his *De regimine principum ad regem Cypri* [On the Government of Princes], finished by Tolomeo de Luca in 1284.[223] Aquinas, one of the main commentators of Aristotle works in general and his 'Politics' in particular, was interested on his original teachings on the plantation and management of cities depending on the kind of government chosen by their rulers.[224] For example, Aristotle provided instructions for the location of a city depending on water sources, accessible roads, and defensive capabilities, as well as a set of principles to orient cities correctly and avoid unhealthy winds and facilitate civil and military activities.[225] The Macedonian philosopher also specified which kind of cities were more appropriate for each political regime, advising networked fortifications for aristocrats and plain cities for democratic governments, and referencing Athen's Pireo and its regular plan by Hippodamus of Miletus as an example of a comfortable and appropriate for human activity.[226] These principles would be later developed by Vitruvio Polión in the 1st century b.C. from a more technical point of view through his ten books of architecture, which would be greatly influential in the early modern period.[227] These ideas on urbanism and town planning were

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[223] "Libro Primero Que Fizo e Ordeno Santo Tomas de Aquino El Qual Es Para Regimjento de Los Prinçipes, 1ra (Zarco) Libro Del Regimjento de Los Prinçipes Que Fizo e Ordeno Sennor Santo Tomas de Aquino, 119va" (1401 1500), Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (RBME); Santo Tomás de Aquino, *Regimiento de Príncipes de Santo Tomás de Aquino, Seguido de La Gobernación de Los Judíos Por El Mismo Santo* (Valencia: Sociedad Fomento de la Educación y del Arte, 1931).

[224] Originally written in the 5th century b.C. Aristóteles, *Política*, Colección clásicos políticos (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 2005).

[225] VII, 11, 276, 1330a

[226] II, 8, 1

[227] Consulted through its Spanish and English translations: Marco V. Polio Vitruvius, *Vitruvius on architecture*, trans. Frank Granger, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusets; London, England:

inherited and interpreted by Aquinas, who conceptualized the ideal Christian so-
ciety as one that does not only gather in a sacred place or a temple, but one that
makes the whole city its temple.[228] The whole city, including its morphological
structure and representative spaces, should be a reflection of a society of believers
following a common set of civil and moral rules. This relationship was reciprocal,
therefore a planned, regular city following the Aristotelian-Hypodamic principles
would be indispensable to support the creation of that ideal Christian society.

One of the most influential followers of this movement was Francesc Eixime-
nis, a Franciscan born in 1330, student of philosophy in Cataluña, Oxford and
Paris, and one of the main intellectual figures in Valencia since 1382 until his
passing in 1409.[229] His encyclopaedic work '*Lo Crestiá*', written between 1379
and 1392, was a compendium of thirteen volumes on all aspects of Christianity
from its theological basis to its more practical aspects. Its twelfth volume or
'*Dotze del Crestiá*' delved into the '*regiment de la cosa publica*', the government
of the city, taking Valencia as a model but also proposing a series of innovations
and principles for future plantations. He wrote:

'*De la forma de la ciutat sostades diverses opinions: car dixeren los grechs
philosofos jatsia que apres hi hajen ajustat quelcom los savis crestians e han dit
summariament en esta materia que tota ciutat devía esser quadrata car ret sen
pus bella e pus ordenada*'[230]

[*De la forma de la ciudad existen diversas opiniones: pues dijeron los filóso-
fos griegos cosas que después han ajustado los sabios cristianos y han dicho su-
mariamente en esta materia que toda ciudad debía ser cuadrada pues la hace
más bella y más ordenada.*][231]

[About the form of the city there are several opinions: already said by Greeks
philosophers, and then adjusted by some of the Christian sages, they have

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Harvard University Press, 1931); Vitruvio, *Los diez libros de la arquitectura*, trans. José Ortiz y
Sanz (Madrid: Akal, 2001).

[228] Eustaquio Galán y Gutiérrez, *La filosofía política de Sto. Tomás de Aquino*, Estudios mo-
nográficos de derecho público. Serie K, Politeia ; 4 (Madrid: Revista de Derecho Privado, 1945);
Gabriel Guarda (O S. B. Dom.), *Santo Tomás de Aquino y las fuentes del urbanismo indiano*
(Univ. Católica de Chile, Facultad de Arquitectura, 1965); Jan A. Aertsen, *La filosofía medieval
y los trascendentales: un estudio sobre Tomás de Aquino*, Colección de pensamiento medieval y
renacentista ; 52 (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2003); José Antonio Maravall, *Estudios de historia del pen-
samiento español*, Historia (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 2001).

[229] Pedro Santonja, "Francesc Eiximenis y su época: finales del siglo XIV y principios del
siglo XV," *Azafea: Revista de Filosofía* 2, no. 0 (November 19, 2009), http://revistas.usal.es/in-
dex.php/0213-3563/article/view/3620.

[230] Francesc Eiximenis, *Regiment de La Cosa Publica (= Crestiá, XII Part. 3)* (Valencia:
Cristofor Cofman, 1499). Quoted in Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino
de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior"; Betrán, *El Camino de Santiago y
la ciudad ordenada en Aragón*.

[231] Spanish translation by the author.

summarily said in this matter that every city should be a square since it makes it more beautiful and more ordered.][232]

For Eiximenis, an irregular city, disordered and disorganized, was a place of ugliness and hence could not host a society free of sin.[233] For his proposal of an adequate urban form, he first described Valencia as an exemplary capital, alluding to its plain and fertile location, its access to both the sea and fresh drinking water, its pure winds clean of any illness, its abundance of fruit trees, farming lands, game and fishing spots, access to wood, flourishing industry and commerce, among others.[234] Most of these traits are direct reference to those described by Aristotle and Vitruvius as desirable in every city. Then, Eiximenis describes his proposal for an ideal Christian city. Its plan should be 'squared, one thousand steps long, with a gate in the center of each side flanked by two smaller ones, fortified like castles; the corners should be equally fortified. From door to door, two wide streets will divide the city into four quarters, each of them with a big, beautiful plaza. Near the crossing of the main streets [*calles mayores*] there will be the cathedral besides a great plaza with steps around it and the episcopal palace, no dishonest activities will be allow in it, nor markets or gallows.'[235] Up to this point, the general diagram of the city is similar to the Celestial Jerusalem with its square plan and nine doors (Figure 27), but also to the new towns planted in Valencia during the previous century (Figure 49).

The description follows 'each quarter will have convents of mendicant friars and parishes, butcheries, fisheries, grain shops [*almudís*] and other establishments. Hospitals, leper hospitals, drinking establishments [*garitos*], brothels and sewer drains would be placed on the opposite side to the one from where the main winds blow. People of identical profession will live grouped in the same quarter; if the city is on the sea, merchant's houses, money exchangers, etc., will be placed in the part closer to the sea; the farmers must be near the door that gives access to the farmlands […] The interior of the city will be beautiful and delightful. There will be laws ordering construction and demolishment, and people in charge of their compliance.'[236] The result is a highly hierarchized city where geometry has a leading role but also its spaces for political and religious representation, along with public equipment and housing (Figure 57). It has been described as a

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[232] English translation by the author.

[233] Conrad Vilanou Torrano, "El humanismo de Eiximenis: saber, ciudad y cortesía," *Historia de la Educación* 31, no. 0 (February 26, 2013): 137.

[234] Francisco Eiximenis, *Gobierno de La República* (Valencia: fil d'aram, 2001), 32.

[235] Eiximenis, *Regiment de La Cosa Publica (= Crestiá, XII Part. 3)*. As quoted in María Isabel Navarro Segura, "Las fundaciones de ciudades y el pensamiento urbanístico hispano en la era del Descubrimiento," *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales.* X, no. 218 (January 8, 2006): 5–6, https://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/ScriptaNova/article/view/1251. English translation by the author.

[236] Eiximenis, *Regiment de La Cosa Publica (= Crestiá, XII Part. 3)*. As quoted in Navarro Segura, "Las fundaciones de ciudades y el pensamiento urbanístico hispano en la era del Descubrimiento." English translation by the author.

precursor of early modern ideal cities and plans, and often appears as the main topic of volumes or referenced in urban history surveys.[237]

'Regiment de la cosa pública' printed as an individual volume for the first time in 1499 by Cristofor Cofman (Valencia) when it was already an influential work among cultural elites in Aragon, Castile, and other Europeans domains. Its cover is highly representative of the relationship between Eiximenis political discourse and the urban realm, with Valencia as its maximum exponent (Figure 58). It is illustrated with an image of Puerta de Serranos, one of the most monumental gates of medieval Valencia, built in the 14th century. In front of the gate and its towers there is an arrangement of characters. The main ones are, on the left, the guardian angel of Valencia, on the right, Eiximenis holding his own written work and offering it to the city. Between them there is a group of six men, all of them kneeling and praying. These are the six judges of Valencia, responsible of its good government, to whom Eiximenis work was dedicated. In this way, the image of the city, its Christianity and its ruling principles all appeared in close relationship, forming a frame from where future plantations and new towns should be conceptualized.

Moreover, Eiximenis impact on the ideas of his time can also be felt on how already established towns were represented and discussed in later decades, in an effort to level them with the ideals stablished by the neo-Aristotelian philosopher. For example, in the 16th century, the notary Rafael Martí de Viciana served as solicitor and chronist for the royal court on several occasions, maintaining residence in Burriana, his hometown.[238] His most important work is the 'Chronyca de la inclita y coronada ciudad de Valencia y de su reyno' [Chronicle of the illustrious and crowned city of Valencia and its kingdom] in which Viciana provides detailed description of each city in the province, their noble houses, their inhabitants, commercial activities, etc. His description of Villarreal de Burriana is accompanied by two representations of the city, the first one being idealized, even reminiscent of Thomas Moore's Utopia first edition cover (Figure 59). The second illustration appears a few pages later and support the physical description of the city with an image that is better aligned with its real landscape (Figure 60). According to Viciana:

'*El asiento de la villa es en llano / y sobre peña y en forma quadrangular algo prolongada / tiene de circuito por el anden del muro quinientas y veinte*

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[237] Monographic volumes on Eiximenis such as: José Luis Martín Rodríguez, *La ciudad y el príncipe: estudio y traducción de los textos de Francesc Eiximenis*, Textos y comentarios ; 6. (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 2004); Luis Cervera Vera, *Francisco de Eiximenis y su sociedad urbana ideal*, Torre de la botica 14 (Madrid: Swan, 1989). Eiximenis ideal city appears in surveys such as: Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada*, 181; Delfante, Isac Martínez de Carvajal, and Barja de Quiroga, *Gran historia de la ciudad*, 118–19; Cámara Muñoz, "La ciudad en los tratados de ingeniería del Renacimiento," 17–18.

[238] Francisco Roca Traver, "Rafael Martí de Viciana," Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico, Real Academia de la Historia, 2018, https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/39460/rafael-marti-de-viciana.

*braçadas*[239] */ es cercada a muro alto con muchas torres / con quatro baluartes / uno en medio de cada un quadro o lienço / donde antes havia una puerta a la villa.'*

[The seat of the town is plain / and over rock and in quadrangular form somewhat prolonged / its perimeter through the walls top is five hundred and twenty *braçadas*[183] / it is enclosed with high walls and many towers / with four bastions / one in the middle of each Quadro or side / where previously there was a gate to the town][240]

This description is expectable from an early modern scholar describing an urban realm and follows most of the common places of its time. However, when seen under the light of the Aragonese-Valencian tradition and the influence of Eiximenis, it is clear that there are additional elements in play. Other cities illustrated by Viciana such as Castellón de la Plana belong to the same period and foundational practice and are described following the principles of good form described in the 'Regiment de la cosa publica'.[241] Earlier medieval towns are rarely accompanied by images and, when they are, their image is clearly different. This is the case of Onda and Alicante, whose descriptions focus on their military and defensive capabilities. About Alicante's castle Vicena says:

*'Aunque en este reyno hay mas de trezientos castillos y calas fuertes y todos fueron encomendados por el rey o señores a los alcaydes segú leyes de España: no hallamos castillo que tenga tantas calidades como el castillo de Alicante [...].'*[242]

[Even though in this kingdom there are more than three hundred castles and stronholds and all of them have been assigned by the king or his lords to their wardens following the laws of Spain: we do not find any castle that has as many qualities as the castle of Alicante]

In this way, Vicena's description assesses different attributes and traits depending on the form of the city and its foundational circumstances. When the city is medieval, fortified, and active during the 13th century conflict, the author delves into facts and details of its history. When the city is a new plantation, the description is rather neutral and provides just a handful or measures and proportions. That should be enough for any cultivated reader to understand how the good form of the city speaks of the Christian society living within its walls.

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[239] In times of Philip II, a braçada was equivalent to two and 2/3 varas, this is, approximately, 2,22 meters. 520 braçadas = 1156 meters.

[240] Translation by the author.

[241] Rafael Martí de Viciana, *Libro Tercero de La Chronyca de La Inclita y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia y de Su Reyno* (Valencia: en casa de Juan Nauarro..., 1564), CXXXXVI, https://bivaldi.gva.es/va/consulta/registro.do?id=114.

[242] Viciana, CLXVII.
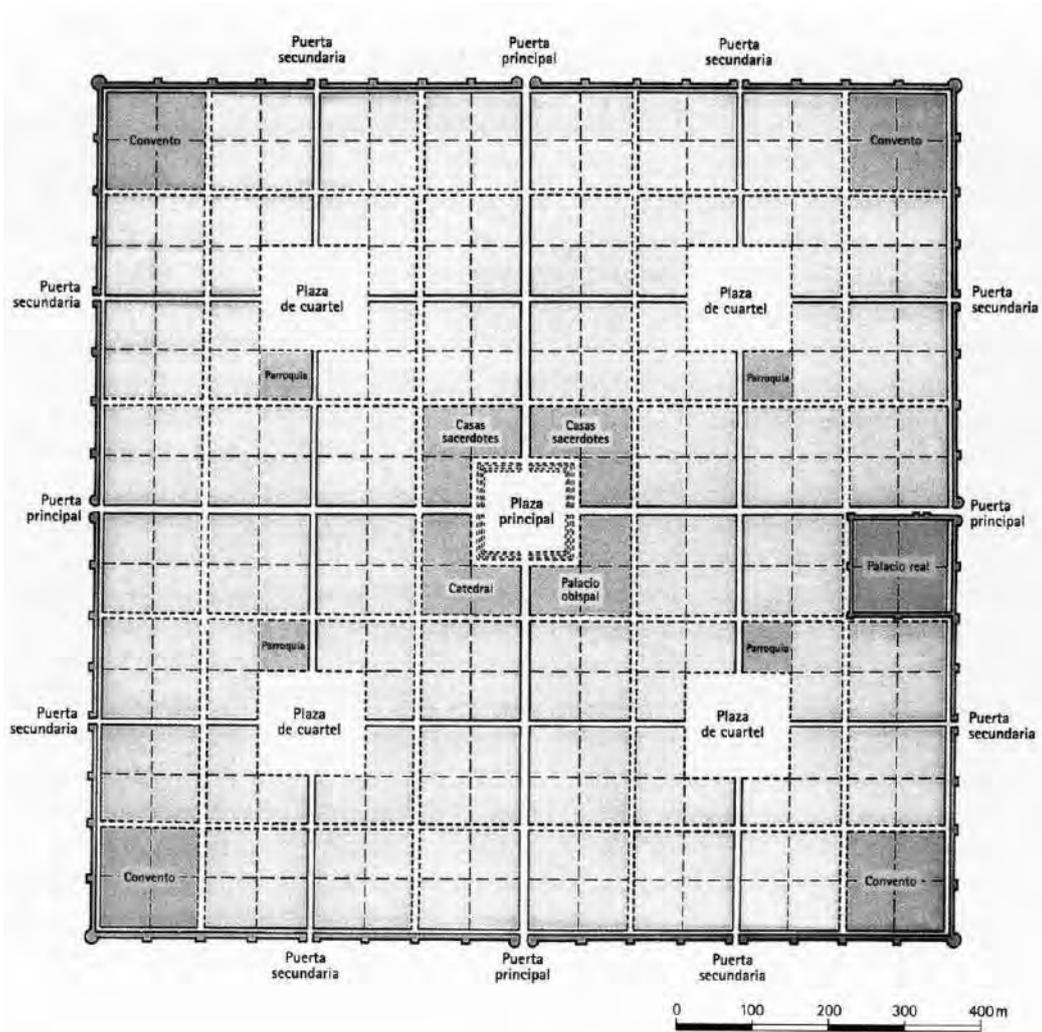
**Figure 57: Plan of Eiximenis ideal town. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Vicente Bielza de Ory.**[243]

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[243] Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal," 309.

**Figure 58: Cover of 'Regiment de la Cosa Pública' by Francesc de Eiximenic (1383), printed in 1499 by Cristòfor Cofman. © Public Domain.**[244]

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[244] Eiximenis, *Regiment de La Cosa Publica (= Crestiá, XII Part. 3)*.
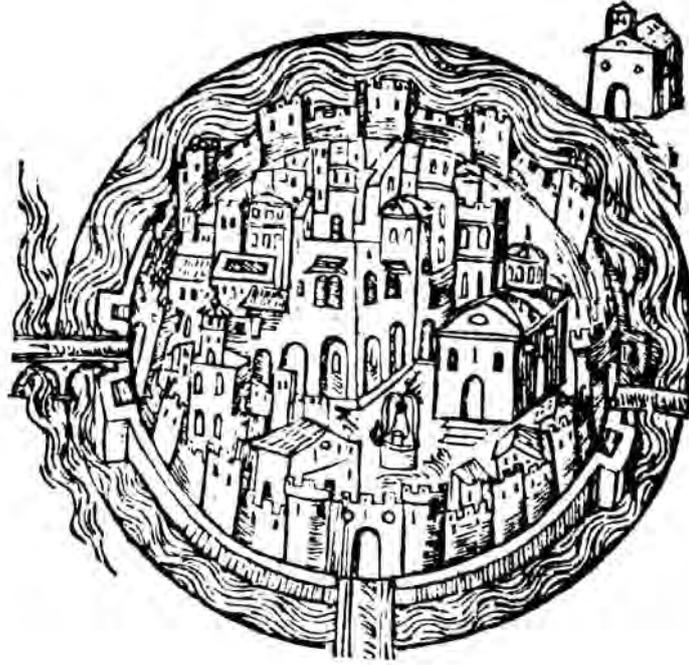
**Figure 59: 1564, Villarreal de Burriana as presented by Rafael Martí de Viciana in the introductory page of the description of the city. © Public Domain.**[245]
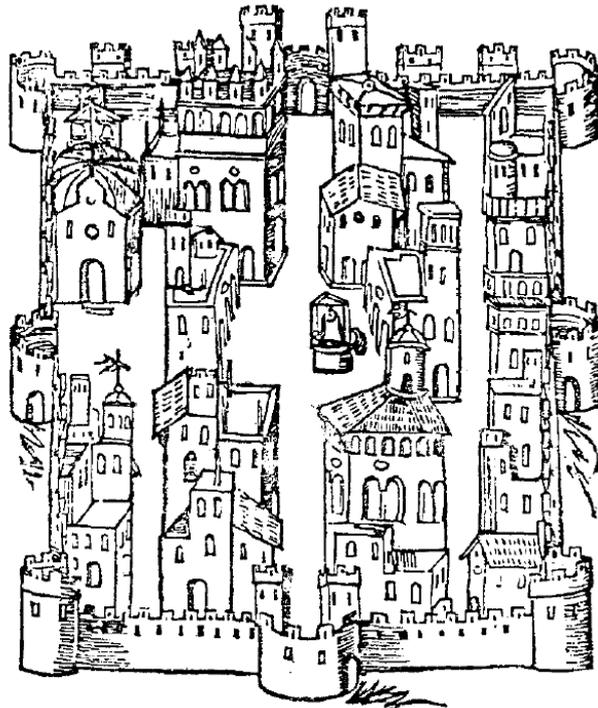


**Figure 60: 1564, Villarreal de Burriana as presented by Rafael Martí de Viciana in the pages detailing its urban structure. © Public Domain.**[246]

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[245] Viciana, *Libro Tercero de La Chronyca de La Inclita y Coronada Ciudad de Valencia y de Su Reyno*, CXXXVII.

[246] Viciana, CXXXXI.

### *Recap of the argument on Aragonese orthogonal urbanism*

Summarizing, the precocity of the Aragonese contribution to grid planning practices in Spain is vital for a correct understanding of future events. It started in the 11th century at an early stage of the kingdom's development under the rule of Sancho Ramírez. It was an urban manifestation of the structural changes that were happening in Aragon and Pamplona regarding their political structure, their conversion to Catholicism and their European connection through the Camino de Santiago. Cities received fueros and privileges elevating their category, equipping them with new institutions and attracting settlers from Frankia. These new citizens received equal parcels in urban expansions planned with a sense of regularity that, even though it was not perfect, it showed clear change in comparison with older walled burgs and *fishbone* settlements among the Jacobean Route.

This practice was further developed during 12th century when Alphonse I expanded the Aragonese border to the south and annexed the taifa of Zaragoza. In this stage, foral laws were applied to towns that were already Christian, but also to those recently conquered. The concession of foral privileges and the creation of new urban spaces were tied to the Christianization of these cities and their inhabitants. It was a prove of their stability, guaranteeing secure conditions to those Aragonese settlers coming from the north to repopulate the southern expanse.

In the 13th century, king Jaume I started a new series of campaigns over the Iberian East coast, eventually conquering the regions of Valencia, Alicante, the Balear islands and Murcia, which was ceded to the Castilian Crown. In this process, most of the Andalusian capitals received fueros and privileges for their Christianization and repopulation, but this time Valencia operated as an individuated kingdom, separated from Aragon's legal framework although it inherited its principles and procedures. Two new elements appear in this period. Firstly, the Llibre del Repartiment or distribution book, a notarial log detailing how the king, direct proprietary of all conquered lands and goods, distributed them among his court, nobles, aristocrats, soldiers, and settlers, re-organizing territory according to his designs. This kind of document, also used in other Iberian and European territories, is of vital importance for the study of any medieval and early modern urban development for which no plan remains.[247] Secondly, in this period foral towns were developed also as plantations created from scratch, usually substituting and redistributing the farming area of Muslim Alquerías. The plans of these new towns were comparable to previous Aragonese urbanism but with one very relevant difference: they operated on their own. They were not subordinated to other urban hubs and their institutional spaces, instead, new plantations had to organize their councils, churches, and official buildings according to their own, regular, orthogonal plan. This condition started a generation of Aragonese new towns with several examples through all the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, including insular settlements like Petra in the island of Mallorca.

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[247] Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*.

Altogether, the Aragonese heritage of orthogonal urban practices would create a new territorial structure in conquered domains but also a rich substrate for new concepts on the urban realm. The neo-Aristotelian movement would find fertile ground there, with influential thinkers such as Francesc Eiximenis who was also knowledgeable of English, French, and Andalusian literature. Eiximenis distilled the arguments of Aristotle, Vitruvius, Averroes, and St. Thomas Aquinas, and provided a set of principles for an ideal Christian city rooted to the Aragonese/Catalan cultural context. This work, often described as a precursor of later ideas on urban planning, was highly influential on its time and would permeate future foundational endeavours not only by the Aragonese Crown, but also by its Castilian neighbours and allies.

### Debates on the relationships between French bastides and Spanish grid urbanism.

Before entering into the argument on Castilian grid urbanism and its evolution, there are at least two critical aspects that deserve some reflection now and will be developed further at the end of the chapter. On the one hand, it is important to highlight, once more, the political and legal nature of orthogonal urban planning in Aragon. It is true that its origins appeared intimately related to the Andalusian frontier, in a static and tense situation at first and later in an open war and post conflict context; However, new plantations were not meant for military campaigning. They were not a reinterpretation of the Roman *castrum* and its rules for encampment, neither were they intricate fortifications nor war systems like those designed by later military engineers. The Aragonese medieval grid town was, above all, a tool for domination and repopulation of the territory through privileging some classes -the invaders- over others -the invaded-. It performed its aggression through laws of colonization and displacement, not through the power of weapons and armies. This legal/normative dimension of Aragonese medieval urban history has been overseen by authors focused on a vision of the (Re)Conquista that reproduces the term's worst attributes, presenting its conflicts as a shallow continuum of blood and fire. In the works of great figures like Anthony Edwin James Morris, Spiro Kostof, or Leonardo Benevolo, Spanish urban culture before the early modern period is often reduced to influences from Italian and French influences, disregarding its own regional roots.[248]

Moreover, the debate on the French connection opens a whole second debate that also deserve a little explanation before advancing further. Most urban historians specialized in the Spanish context have argued, in one way or another, how the planning techniques applied in bastides like Marciac, Molières, Montpazier, Créon, Grenade-sur, Garonne, or Mirande were a model for similar urbanism in

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[248] For example in: Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*; Leonardo Benevolo, *La città nella storia d'Europa*, Fare l'Europa (Roma Bari: Laterza, 1993); Kostof, *The City Shaped*.

the Iberian Peninsula.[249] These interesting new towns were chartered to populate and secure France's southern territories during the 13th century through a common sets of practices and rules, in a strategy that was shared with territories in England and Spain.[250] The hypothesis of a direct influence of the bastides upon Aragonese plantations is not unfounded given the close relationship between kingdoms and counties in either side of the Pyrenees, however, sources from earlier urban developments in the Aragonese side such as those presented in this dissertation suggest a more complicated relationship. Scholars like Vicente Bielza de Ory and Ramón Beltrán have even suggested that the influence worked the other way around, with urban innovations developed in the Hispanic harsher frontier being disseminated north through the Aragonese control of Occitanian realms (Figure 61).[251] Bielza's and Beltrán's main argument is that the creation of the Aragonese fueros and their close relationship with grid planning practices in the late 11th century happened more than 100 years before the creation of the first important bastides in Southern France. Although it can be argued that 11th-century foral expansions are not comparable with later bastides in southern France, the existence of an evolving and well documented legal tradition embedded in the northern Andalusian border dynamic and its cities fills the discussion with arguments against considering the Valencian plantations as coarse copies of French urbanism. At that moment, the separation between the Hispanic Mark and the southern domains of what is today France was blurry, complex, with ideas and innovations going back and forth through agents in constant movement between both territories. Thinking the bastides and its planning as enclosed and encapsulated practices travelling around and being exported/imported as a kind of urban patent, seems unaligned with most contemporary historical conceptions of medieval Europe.

An additional argument can be made on the relevance of urban concepts and city models in the philosophical work of Eiximenis in the late 14th century. His argumentation on the nature of the city, its morphology, and its adequacy to host faithful Christian societies is firmly rooted in his cultural context, with Valencia and Barcelona as main referents along with the Celestial Jerusalem model. His defence of an ideal regular grid city may had been influenced by foreign schools and thinkers, but it would have passed without consequence if there was no previous sensibility in the Aragonese society towards grid urbanism as a translation of earthly and heavenly power into Christian urban space. Later authors like the Viciana operated under the same paradigm, confirming a protagonist role to the discussion on cities that would be hardly understandable if medieval Spanish plantations were a mere transliteration of a Franco-English innovation.

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[249] García y Bellido, *Resumen Histórico Del Urbanismo En España*; Gutkind, *International History of City Development. Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*; A. E. J. Morris, "PHOTO ESSAY: Seven French Bastides," *Official Architecture and Planning* 31, no. 4 (1968): 517–22.

[250] Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*.

[251] Bielza de Ory, "La ciudad ortogonal aragonesa del camino de Santiago y su influencia en el urbanismo regular posterior"; Bielza de Ory, "El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal."
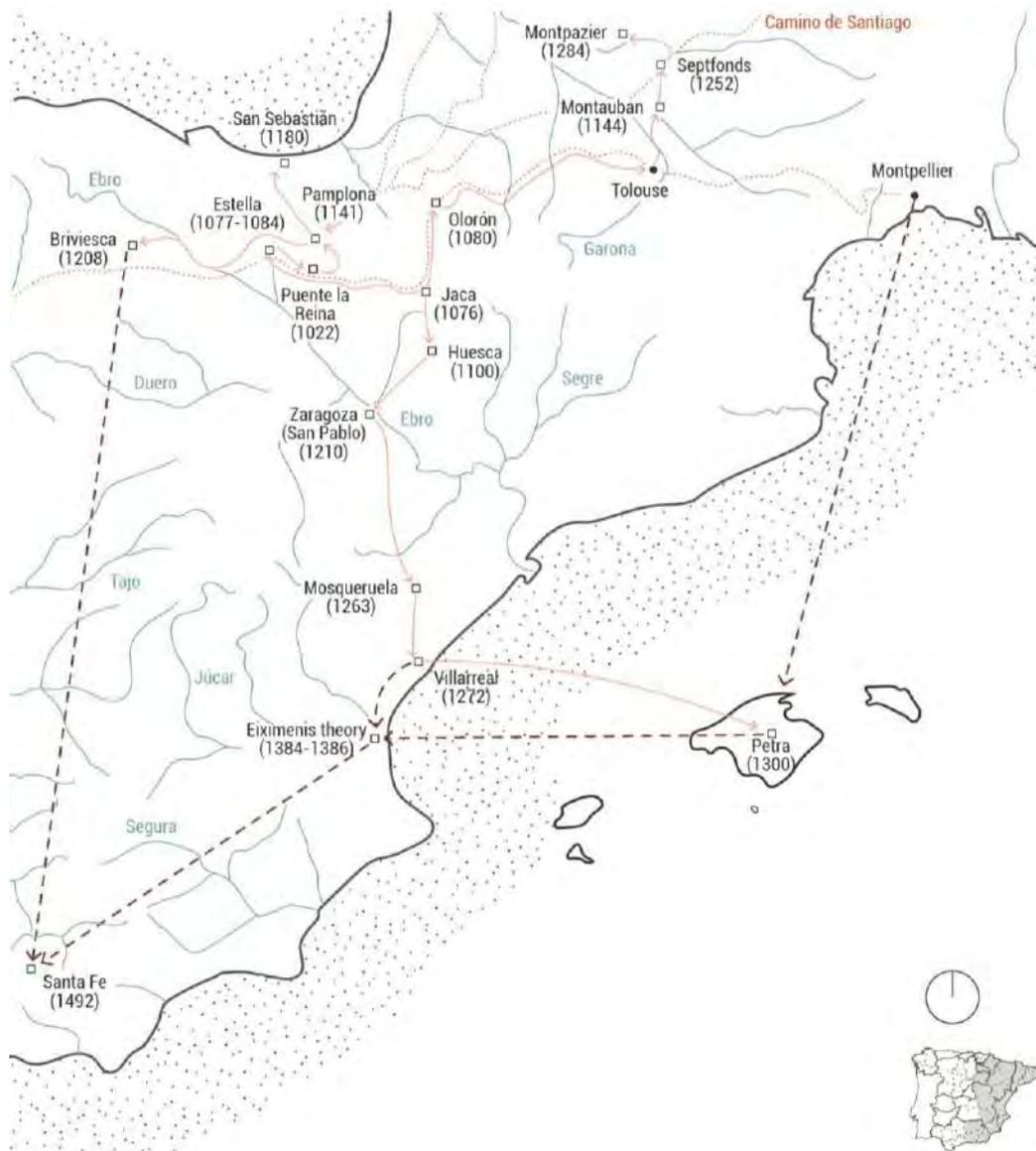
**Figure 61: Expansion of foral urbanism from Jaca and Estella to the rest of the Iberian Peninsula and the south of France. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Vicente Bielza de Ory.**[252]

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[252] Bielza de Ory, "De la ciudad ortogonal aragonesa a la cuadrícular hispanoamericana como proceso de innovación-difusión, condicionado por la utopía."

## 1.4   Castilian grid urbanism.

### Introduction. 11th-13th centuries

Up to this moment the argument has focused on the Aragonese sphere and its legal and urban innovations. Castile and Leon, the other great kingdoms in Christian Iberia, had a comparable legal activity in that period, with fueros being enacted for capitals and cities like Leon, Salamanca, and Toledo, always pressing towards the Andalusian frontier (Figure 62). However, these fueros did not have the same urban relationship with border cities and would certainly not develop grid planning practices until later in the period.

While in Aragón the frontier was narrower, with cities such as Zaragoza, Lérida, Jaca, and Estella facing each other near the border, in Castile the borderlands were way more ample. Controlling this wider area posed a challenge for the crown especially after the conquest of Toledo's taifa in 1085. This event brought a political crisis in Al-Andalus that ended with its annexation in 1086 of all remaining taifas to the Almoravid empire, whose capital was Marrakech. The Almoravid's where a caste of Saharan Berber ascendance, not Arab, whose militarized society and governing style rapidly affected the border, particularly on the Castilian front. While capitals such as Toledo and Salamanca were able to provide certain level of control over their surroundings, further advances to the south would need a higher level of military control. In this context, the Castilian strategy to redistribute and repopulate conquered lands was largely different to Aragon's. Instead of providing fueros and regular planned towns populated with northern settlers from above or beyond the Pyrenees, Castile harnessed its heavy armed aristocratical power. Towns and lands were gifted to lords through *concesiones* [assignments], so they could benefit from their exploitation as long as they were able to defend them. These lords counted with small, private armies able to arm and repopulate Moorish fortresses as soon as they were taken. They attracted farmers, shepherds, and artisans who inhabited their burgs and worked their lands in a feudal fashion, paying a tax and being subject to levy in case of attack.[253]

However, not all lords were able to sustain a well-armed and fed frontier post, and not all who tried got to maintain it for long periods of time. The border was permeable in many places, subject to incursions and raids, especially when performed by small contingents with no major objectives than mere pillaging. After the conquest of Coria in 1142 and the expansion of the Christian border in Extremadura, a new kind of frontier agent: the military orders. These were hierarchical associations of Christian knights tied by the bow of fighting the 'infidel' Muslims and 'retaking' lands that they considered rightfully theirs or their king's. They operated in a similar fashion to similar organizations in the eastern crusades, with

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[253] Ana Rodríguez, *La consolidación territorial de la monarquía feudal castellana* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994), https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00006228.

local orders such as the Order of Santiago,[254] the Order of Calatrava's,[255] and the Order of Alcántara[256] operating along with international orders such as the Knights of the Temple or the Knights Hospitaller.[257]

By the beginning of the 13th century, most of the west Iberian coast was already controlled by Christians and the Leonese and Castilian frontiers were slowly closing to the south. The century would be further marked by the victory of an alliance composed by most major Christian Iberian realms against an Almohad army at Las Navas de Tolosa (Figure 63). The setting of this event is quite interesting and explicitly presents most of the major actors and tensions in the frontier. For example, one of the main events prior to the battle is the 1211 Almohad attack on the castle of Salvatierra [Land Savior], a border fortification guarded by the order of Calatrava. After the Christian victory in 1212, the Castilian army won access to southern Andalusia through the mountain pass of Despeñaperros, allowing later advances and conquests by Ferdinand III under a unified crown of Castile and Leon (Figure 64). Successive Christian victories against a decaying and disaggregated Almohad Al-Andalus in the 1230s and 1240s brought the Castilian armies to the gates of Seville in August 1247, where the history of Castilian grid urbanism really began.



**Figure 62: Fueros, privileges and repopulation projects in Medieval Spain. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional.[258]**

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[254] Originated in Santiago de Compostela.

[255] Originated in the kingdom of Castile.

[256] Originated in the kingdom of Leon.

[257] Julián Clemente Ramos and Juan Luis DE LA Montaña Conchiña, "Las Órdenes Militares en el marco de la expansión cristiana de los siglos XII-XIII en Castilla y León," *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*, no. 1 (June 14, 2006), https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.312; Carlos Barquero Goñi, *Los hospitalarios en la España de los Reyes Católicos* (Gijón: Trea, 2006); Carlos Barquero Goñi, "Los Hospitalarios en España durante la Edad Media," in *La Orden de Malta en España (1113-2013)*, vol. 1 (Alcorcón: Sanz y Torres, 2015), 195–227, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=6406823.

[258] Instituto Geográfico Nacional, *España en mapas. Una síntesis geográfica*, 161.

**Figure 63: Political structure of the Iberian Peninsula between 1147 and 1232/48. The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) appears highlighted. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional.[259]**



**Figure 64: Political structure of the Iberian Peninsula in the late 13th century, including the major campaigns in Seville, Valencia, Alicante, and Murcia. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional.[260]**

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[259] Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 160.
[260] Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 161.

## The conquest of Seville and the repopulation of Andalucía in the 13ᵗʰ century.

### *The siege of Seville and the plantation of Triana*

The siege and conquest of Seville between 1247 and 1248 is one of the main events in the 13th century Iberian Peninsula, completing a process that, along with the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa and the conquest of Valencia, would shape the political stage for the following two centuries. The Christian army that faced the Andalusian capital represented virtually every relevant agent and institutional actor in the Castilian sphere, including Castilian-Leonese noblemen, contingents from Aragon and Cataluña, and knights from all military orders: Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara, San Juan and Templars.[261] The main body of the troops was provided by town councils' militia and frontier lords' soldiers. The attack was also supported by troops from the recently created Muslim Kingdom of Granada, ruled by the Nasrid house, who had become vassal of Castile in 1246 along with the taifa of Murcia. In this way, all major Iberian political powers faced Seville, the last Almohad seat of power in the Peninsula.[262] Its defeat would sever the Andalusian reach of the Almohad Empire secluding it to Marrakech until its annexation to Fez's Marinid Sultanate in 1266.

Seville's siege has a relevant place in *Siblings Overseas'* argument because of its direct urban consequences through the creation of Triana, nowadays a district of the city on the riverside but, originally, the main siege placement of king Ferdinand III. This encampment was located around the Castle of San Jorge, a fortification built during the Visigoth period that guarded the south shore of Guadalquivir River. The army took positions besides the castle, building a provisional military camp with a guarded perimeter, a palisade, and sensibly regular roads. The advancement upon *Isbaliyah's* medina was made possible thanks to a wooden bridge supported by barges.

After the conquest, the urban structure stablished in Triana was distributed among settlers and urbanized, following the trace of the previous encampment (Figure 65). The new district operated as an addition to the city, hence it had no independent council. In his conquest, Fernando III conceded privileges to lands and cities expanding the fuero of Toledo to Jaen in 1246 and Seville in 1251,[263] but these did not operate in the same way than its Aragonese peers and Triana

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[261] Manuel López Fernández, "La orden de Santiago en la conquista de Sevilla: Aproximación y cerco (1246-1248)," *E-Strategica: Revista de la AIHM (siglos IV-XVI)*, no. 3 (2019): 193–226.

[262] Manuel González Jiménez, "Sevilla en la hora de 1248," in *Sevilla 1248. Actas del Congreso Internacional Conmemorativo del 750 aniversario de la conquista de Sevilla* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces, 2000), 703–9; Alejandro García Sanjuán, "La conquista de Sevilla por Fernando III (646 h/1248). Nuevas propuestas a través de la relectura de las fuentes árabes," *Hispania* 77, no. 255 (April 30, 2017): 11–41, https://doi.org/10.3989/hispania.2017.001.

[263] Miguel Ángel Chamocho Cantudo, *Los fueros de los reinos de Andalucía: de Fernando III a los Reyes Católicos*, Colección Leyes Históricas de España (Madrid: Agencia Estatal Boletín Oficial del Estado, 2017), 25.

should not be considered a foral expansion per se. Triana had no 'Plaza de los Fueros'. It is daily life operated around the Castle which became headquarters of San Jorge's Knightly order. This castle would maintain its relevance through the centuries, becoming seat of the Spanish Inquisition in 1481. The connection of the city through the barge bridge was also maintained until the construction of Elizabeth II Bridge in 1852, also known today as Triana's bridge (Figure 66). Thus, Triana operated as a Christian, militaristic, regular annex to a great, irregular Muslim medina that was perceived as labyrinth and chaotic by its occupants.[264]

Today, Triana's district maintains most of its urban morphology although it has been surrounded by the city and highly densified (Figure 67). San Jorge's castle was demolished in the early 19th century and substituted with a market, which is today in operation thanks to a rehabilitation project in 2009. Its perimeter is clearly defined, marked by churches and parishes many of them of medieval origin even though their buildings and styles evolved over time.

As a precedent of Castilian grid urbanism, Triana tells a quite different story than Jaca or Estella. On the one hand, The Aragonese and Pamplonese/Navarre capitals received urban expansions through the assignment of privileges and the distribution of land to attract foreign citizens and, above all, re-signifying their symbolical structure and declare a new Catholic identity intertwined with the rest of Europe via the Jacobean route. On the other hand, Triana was born from the trail of Seville's conquest and a religious fervour focused on holy war and channelled through knightly orders. In a sense, the looming of San Jorge's castle over the medina on the opposite riverside remembers the mechanism of later fortresses and early modern bastions in Spain and Italy, working as a mechanism of local domination and show of power rather than real defence against foreign invaders.[265]

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[264] Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana*, 135.
[265] Cámara Muñoz, "La ciudad en los tratados de ingeniería del Renacimiento."
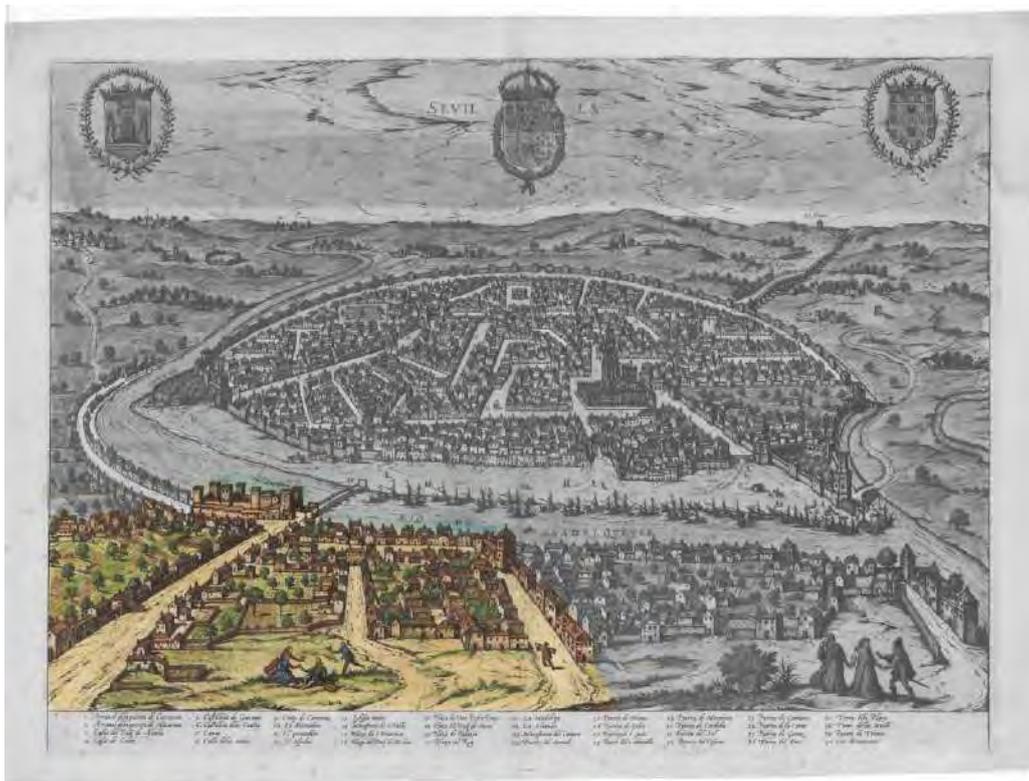
Figure 65: 1588, view of Seville by George Braun, included in the Atlas Civitates Orbis Terrarum. The area of Triana has been highlighted, including the Castle of San José and the bridge. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional, item number: 31-C-16. [266]



Figure 66: Detail of a 17th century view of Seville printed by Hendrick Focken. The barges bridge is clearly visible, crossing the Guadalquivir River from the Castle of San Jorge in Triana to the old medina. © Biblioteca Nacional de España, item number: INVENT/19595.[267]

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[266] George Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Sevilla. Vistas de Ciudades. [1588]*, indeterminada, Civitates Orbis Terrarum (George Braun, Colonia, 1588), Instituto Geográfico Nacional (Madrid), https://www.ign.es/web/catalogo-cartoteca/resources/html/023677.html. Item number: 31-C-16

[267] Anonymous, *Sevillia [Material Gráfico]*, 1700 1650, Etching print, 420 x 524 mm, 1700 1650, Biblioteca Nacional de España. Item number: INVENT/19595

Figure 67: Satellite view of Triana in its current state. © Google Earth 2018.

## Distribution of land and fortification of the Andalusian frontier

The conquest of Seville in 1348 set the stage for the territorial divisions that would structure the south of the Peninsula until the late 15th century. Two years before, in 1436, the founder of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada Muhammad Ibn Nasr 'Alhamar' sealed a vassalage pact with Ferdinand III. Jaen was ceded to the Castilians and a yearly tribute would be paid in exchange for peace. Granada would also assist Castile in any major conflict, as they did during the siege of Almohad Seville. These two events, victory in the west and peace in the east, would configure the frontier as an arrange of minor kingdoms under the Castilian Crown: Córdoba, Jaén and Seville (Figure 68). Their militarized frontier gave them an entirely character completely different than their neighbours in the north, enclosed between Christian borders.[268] In the kingdom of Seville the border, known as '*Banda Morisca*', was wider and less populated. Then, the main area of friction between Granada and Castile was in the kingdoms of Córdoba and specially Jaen. The capitals of Granada and Jaen are separated by just 68 kilometres in a straight line, interrupted by a mountainous barrier called Sierra Sur de Jaen which functioned as a 'gate' to the Nasrid kingdom through the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

These kingdoms were divided in provinces, each with its own capital influencing an area called *alfoz* (Figure 69). The *alfoz* [pl. *alfoces*] of a capital defined the extent of its jurisdiction. All other cities and towns inside an *alfoz* were judicially dependant of the main judicial court in the capital, with the exception of *villas realengas* [royal villas] which had particular privileges and counted with their own *regidores* [councillors/majors] and judges.

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[268] Manuel González Jiménez, "La frontera de Granada. Tres siglos de paz y de guerra," *Murgetana*, no. 130 (2014): 17–28.
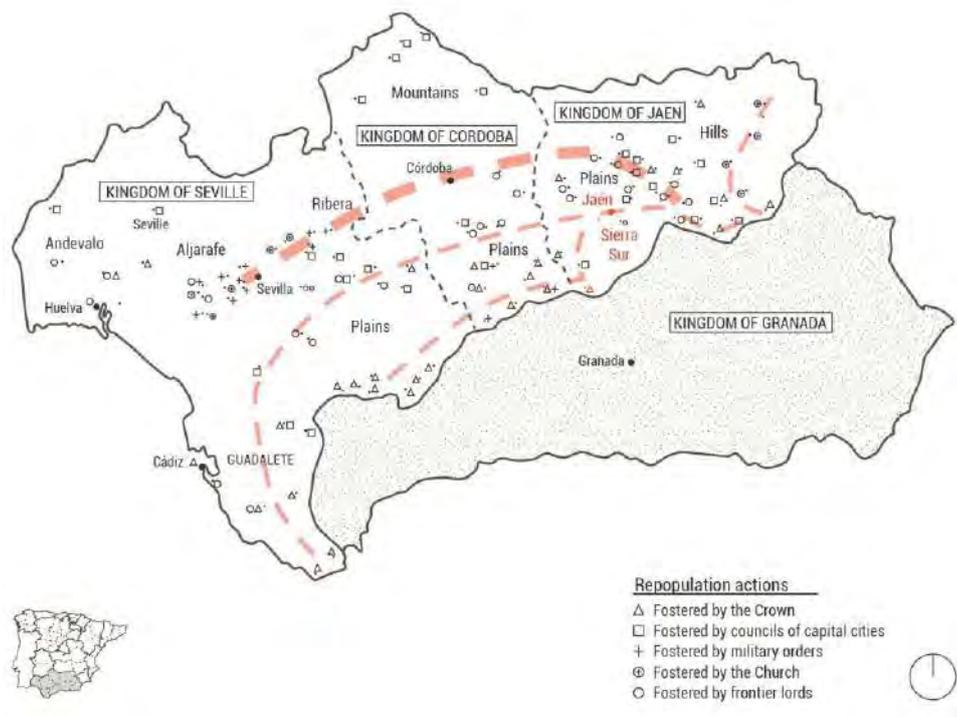
Figure 68: Repopulation projects in Andalusia promoted by Alphonse XI to consolidate settlements along the frontier. Its distribution signs the structure of the second and third fortified lines of the Castilian defence. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Manuel García Fernández.[269]
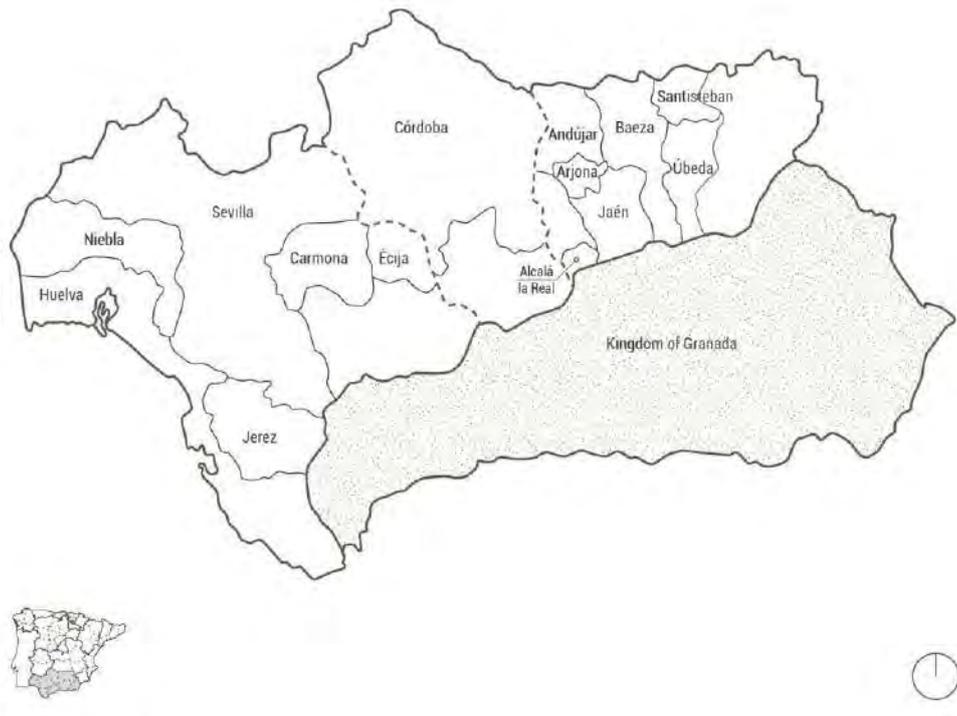


Figure 69: Alfoz of the main Castilian cities in Andalucia c. 1350. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Manuel García Fernández.[270]

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[269] Manuel García Fernández, "La frontera de Granada a mediados del siglo XIV," *Revista de Estudios Andaluces*, no. 9 (1987): 84, https://doi.org/10.12795/rea.1987.i09.04 Re.

[270] García Fernández, 84.

This division was framed into a more ample operation for the consolidation of the frontier by means of repopulating towns and distributing lands, following earlier practices as seen before. The legitimacy of the border and the capacity to control its territory was vital for the control of recently conquered realms. The objective was to densify the urban structure of the realm, profiting from the exploitation of its land but, above all, guaranteeing a certain level of control of border areas that offered weak spots for pillage, minor raids or even military incursions.[271] With this objective in mind, king Alphonse X 'El sabio' ['The Wise'], son of Alphonse III, would develop several repopulation projects during the second half of the 13th century, most of them through concessions and privileges given to lords, ecclesiastic organizations or military orders. This operation was combined with the enactment of a new legal framework through the codex known as 'Las Siete Partidas', developed between 1254 and 1265, which regularized the functioning of every institution in the kingdom.[272] Under this new paradigm, the territories around Seville were structured and distributed in a complex process thoroughly logged and registered by royal notaries similarly to Valencia's *Llibre del Repartiment*. This practice was extended through the whole Andalusian frontier, strategically positioning lords and military orders, and charging them with the responsibility of defending their own feudal domains. Most of the castles and towns occupied in this process were not built anew but seized pre-existing Andalusian structures, many of them abandoned when the most part of Seville's Muslim population fled to Granada and other Islamic realms.[273] These cities were dominated by oligarchies and other elites who controlled the local farming and livestock areas. On many occasions they were also responsible of collecting taxes and delivering them to the royal treasury, a role that provided great influence and power.[274] These characteristics did not favour equality or regularity in land distribution; hence the resultant urban structures followed the medieval tradition: walled burgs with organic district and growths around a central castle or fortified monastery.

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[271] Manuel González Jiménez, "La repoblación de Andalucía (siglos XIII-XV)," *Relaciones. Estudios de Historia y Sociedad* 69 (1997): 22–40.

[272] Rey de Castilla Alfonso X et al., *Las Siete Partidas : (el Libro del Fuero de las Leyes)* (Madrid : Reus, 2004); Chamocho Cantudo, *Los fueros de los reinos de Andalucía: de Fernando III a los Reyes Católicos*.

[273] Manuel González Jiménez et al., "Las villas nuevas de Andalucía en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XVI)," *Boletín Arkeolan*, no. 14 (2006): 349–70.

[274] Isabel del Val Valdivieso, ed., "The Urban Oligarchy's Affairs in the Government of Castilian Towns in the Late Middle Ages," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe: Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Modern Low Countries.*, vol. 11 (Leuven: Garant, 2000), 255–67, http://hdl.handle.net/1854/LU-121776; José María Alcántara Valle, "Nobleza y señoríos en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X. Aproximación a su estudio," *Vínculos de Historia*, no. 2 (2013): 207–32.

### *Grid plantations by Alphonse X in the Atlantic shore[275]*

The defensive configuration of the fortified Andalusian border, along with its oligarchic political organization, did not favoured the creation of new towns with regular plans. Triana's precedent responded to quite unique circumstances, and most repopulation projects trusted more traditional urban solutions instead regular plans, which did not play along with the rigorous stratification of the Castilian frontier society.

However, there are some exceptions to be accounted: singular royal towns planned directly by the crown through particular privileges and concessions. Most of these were located in the Atlantic Andalusian shore, south of Seville, around the city of Cádiz. These new cities were small but counted with special rules, privileges, and protocols for distributing lands among Castilian settlers, in a similar fashion to their peers in Valencia and Alicante (Figure 70). They were still in charge of lords and other elites, but their new inhabitants had more autonomy than other citizens in traditional medieval burgs near the frontier. This Castilian version of the Aragonese principle 'equal parcels for equal men' was also reflected in the plan of the new towns, resulting in a sort of mixture between an urbanized military encampment (such as Triana) and the more open kind of grid that was already common in the east coast.
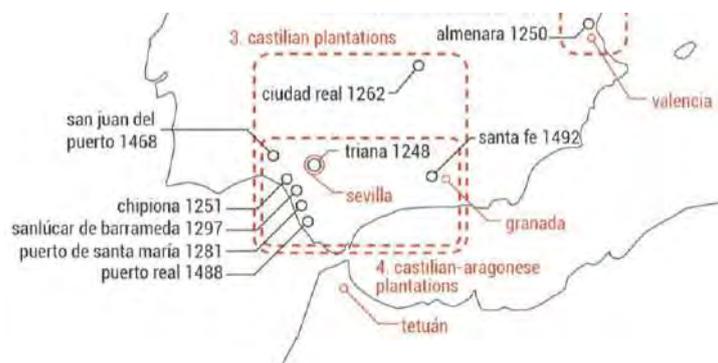


**Figure 70: Location of Alphonsine new towns in the Andalusian Atlantic shore. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

One of these cities is Puerto de Santa María. After its conquest in 1260, this town was ceded to the military order of Santa María de España, which gave the city its name. When the order was dissolved in 1280, the city received a royal charter directly from Alphonse X for its repopulation with civil settlers, distributing equal land parcels among them. The plan of Puerto de Santa Maria is quite simple, with two main axes that are not entirely orthogonal, an a central square where the main religious and government buildings were placed (Figure 71). Its central square resembles a smaller prototype of future plazas mayores, however, none of its original institutional buildings date from Alphonse X refoundation

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[275] This section is an adaptation of Lecture 2 in the GAHTC module: Sánchez García and Calatrava, "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism: Spaces of Conflict and Cultural Exchange during the Reconquista and Its Aftermath."

(Figure 72). The construction of its main church started after Granada's conquest in the 15th century in gothic style, with flying buttresses and nerved vaults built in sandstone. Its lateral gate, facing the plaza, is a later baroque work from the 18th century by master builder Francisco de Guindos. The main streets of the city are regular but narrow, maintaining typically medieval proportions. Their façade line is regular, creating an urban space in between medieval and early modern prototypes. The main east-west axis crosses the central square by its side, not by its center as it was usual in Aragonese new towns and later foundations in America (Figure 73).

The city was originally managed by a Castilian lord named Benedetto Zaccaría, changing hands several times during the following centuries. It later belonged to Guzmán *'El Bueno'* [The Good], founder of the house of Medina Sidonia, a noble family who controlled a vast area in the region.[276] Without delving into too much detail, this political dynamic already shows a quite different situation than those of independent royal towns with their own elected town councils. The privileges of Puerto de Santa Maria did not reach the territorial relevance of others in the peninsula, neither they introduced significant changes into the organization of their civil organization. The shape of this Castilian city may resemble a proto-modern form, buts its inner functioning and its oligarchic hierarchies were still fundamentally medieval.



**Figure 71: Hypothesis of Puerto de Santa Maria 1281's foundational district. © Google Earth 2015, modified by the author.**

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[276] González Jiménez et al., "Las villas nuevas de Andalucía en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XVI)"; Alcántara Valle, "Nobleza y señoríos en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X. Aproximación a su estudio."

**Figure 72: 2015, Basílica de Nuestra Señora De Los Milagros, main temple of Puerto de Santa María, 16th - 18th centuries. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 73: 2015, Sta. Lucía street and Dr. Muñoz Seca street, main east-west axis in Puerto de Santa María. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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This case shows that Alphonse's X foral law did not have the same relationship with urban form as the Aragonese did. In Aragon, fuero, city and grid were born together. However, in Castile, the symbolic form of ideal cities was not still integrated into urban planning programs and urban policies. That would come to happen later, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Another critical element is the presence of highly independent lords, noble houses and military orders whose agenda in terms of power representation was quite different from the Crown's. Although Castilian grids did exist in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, these were the outcome of military campaigns and war theory treatises that were just starting to influence urban culture.

Another example of this tendency is Sanlúcar de Barrameda, which was the seat of the Medina Sidonia house. This noble family gained significant influence during the Castilian campaigns of the period against Granada and Morocco, and in 1297 received a population charter [*Carta Puebla*] from the crown. A new district was then laid out on the lower part of the city to be distributed among new settlers, while the governing house held its properties in the upper area (Figure 74). The district has been profoundly transformed over the years, but its main structure and public spaces remain. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the Medina Sidonia was no more ruler of the town, a council building was erected in the square that connects the older and the newer parts of the town, re-signifying the symbolic structure of the town to a more horizontal hierarchy (Figure 75).

The axis that crosses this square connects the lower grid expansion with the upper city, where noble houses were installed. It has also been heavily transformed over the years, but it functions as passage between two highly differentiated districts for the 'high' landlords and the 'low' commoners. Again, this structure is just a consequence of the colonization of Andalucia by Castilian elites. Although Sanlúcar population charter may had provided a more favourable treatment to its immigrant settlers than other cities in the area, they were still subjected to the local dukes and earls operating under a feudal logic.
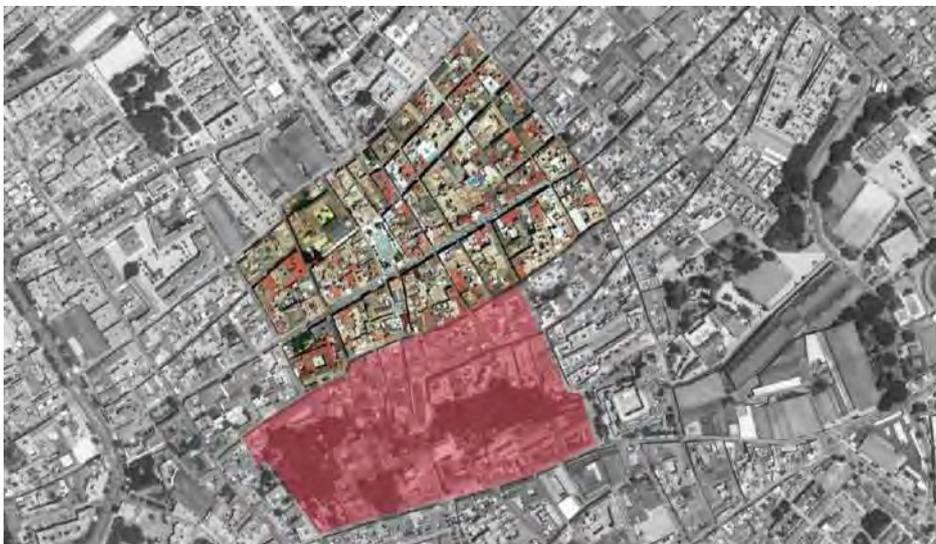


Figure 74: Sanlúcar de Barrameda upper district (red) and 1297 expansion (color). ©Google Earth 2019

**Figure 75: 2015, 18th century city council of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, built in neo-classic style and located in its 12th century main square. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 76: 2015, Betrones street in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, connecting the lower district (top) to the upper city (bottom-right). ©Manuel Sánchez García.**

## Briviesca, a singular case of Castilian grid urbanism in the Jacobean route, 14th century

The implementation of repopulation projects in Andalusia went on through the 13th, 14th, and the early 15th without major changes. Abandoned castles and burgs were assigned to lords, bishops and military orders and ecclesiastic notables, who managed them with a high level of independence. In some cases, lords were not able of sustaining these settlements, so they changed hands, often in favour of orders such as the knights of Calatrava who controlled large belts of fortified towns. In other cases, positions were lost and gained in both sides of the frontier by both Castile and Granada, in a dynamic process that had great impacts at their local levels, but without considerably transforming the general territorial structure in southern Spain.

Grid urbanism was almost absent during the whole process in Andalusia, with some minor exception such as Fuentes de Andalucía (1300s), Chipiona (1303), La Puente de Cádiz (1335), or Montalbán (1371).[277] As the frontier stabilised and both sides strengthened their positions, the demand for new towns and plantations stagnated. New foundational projects would take place in the late in the 15th century when the frontier started moving again, this is, before, during, and after the Granada War (1482-1492). However, there is a particular 14th century case of Castilian grid foundation that is worth mentioning because of the relevance it acquired in the following century. Its name is Briviesca.

Briviesca was not planted in the Andalusian frontier but in the north of the Peninsula, near the border between Castile and Navarra. It was neither related to any military campaign, nor to frontier lords or military armies. In the same way than other regular plantations in Aragón and Navarra, Briviesca is located in the area of influence of the Jacobean Route (Figure 77). Hence, it is a peculiar project in this period, far away from the main Castilian theatre of urban development and repopulation.

At the beginning of the 14th century, Briviesca was comprised by a series of isolated villages and settlements without any administrative center. In 1305, the city was sold to the *infanta* Doña Blanca de Portugal, granddaughter of Alphonse X of Castile and first daughter of Alphonse III of Portugal.[278] Maybe moved by the urban ideals and legal treatises of his grandfather, or by the influence of nearby regular cities, Doña Blanca planned a new town that would act as a hub for all the citizens and institutions of Briviesca. Its plan followed a regular plan, with a central plaza flanked by the church, the town hall, and four main streets facing the cardinal directions (Figure 78). Its grid is sensibly axial, with churches and parishes marking the accesses and blocks forming a clear perimeter.

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[277] González Jiménez et al., "Las villas nuevas de Andalucía en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XVI)."

[278] José Luis Ibarra Álvarez and Ana Isabel Ortega Marínez, "La villa de Briviesca en la Baja Edad Media: datos y reflexiones para su estudio," *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González* 77, no. 217 (1998): 328.

**Figure 77: Location of Briviesca in the province of Burgos, north of the Iberian Peninsula. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 78: 2020, Satellite view of Briviesca (Left). © Google Earth. 1954, Plan of Briviesca by Leopoldo Torres Balbás (Right).[279]**



**Figure 79: 2015, Plaza Mayor in Briviesca, Burgos. The view faces San Martin's church and the music hall installed over the plaza's fountain. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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[279] García y Bellido, *Resumen Histórico Del Urbanismo En España*, 127.

Notarial documents and other written sources from the following years show how Doña Blanca was strongly involved in the management and control of the new town, including architectural and urban aspects like the prohibition to expand houses over the street or affect the river's channel.[280]

The main political hierarchy in the city was between the citizen, their civil institutions, and their royal founder. In 1313, Doña Blanca enacted a fuero for Briviesca providing particular privileges to its inhabitants. This law, highly inspired by the Castilian Royal Fuero that had been applied at a territorial level since Alphonse's X time, was here specialized for its implementation in a small but highly regularized new town. In this way, Doña Blanca followed a kind of practice that holds a closer relationship with its Aragonese and Navarre peers than with southern Castilian *repartimientos*. Moreover, the Infanta ordered in his testament that, after her death, Briviesca would become a royal city or *villa realenga*, effectively free from any lord's domain, with its own representatives and judges answering directly to the Crown.

Doña Blanca's s particular vision impacted Briviesca's urban spaces, as they needed to show the power of their civil institutions instead of individuals and noble families. The image of the city was meant to be a reflect of the power and character of Doña Blanca: a member of the Cistercian order and a powerful court woman whose urban ideas could have been inspired by neo-Aristotelian influences raising in popularity at the time. Her city was 'ordered', 'regular', enclosed by walls and gates guarded by churches, convents, and other religious buildings. The main plaza was open, central, squared, and grouped all civil and religious representant in a single public space (Figure 79). Doña Blanca was active in the spiritual governance and guidance of its community, stablishing a connection between a well-formed society and its well-traced city that bears certain resemblance with Eiximenis' proposals later in the century.

The foundation of Briviesca became a popular topic in the Castilian court in the following decades. In the chronicle of Granada's conquest, it is said that the royal encampment of Santa Fe was laid out taking in 1491 Briviesca as a reference.[281] This very particular reference has given Briviesca a protagonist role in urban historiography, being presented in Leopoldo Torres Balbás 1954 survey and, from there, being cited by international figures such as Erwin Anton Gutkind or Joseph Rykwert.[282]

Their descriptions follow a plan of the city that appears quite distorted, regularized, as it was seeking to reinforce an argument on the origins of Castilian grid planning that was effectively there, but not with as much clarity as they hope to.

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[280] Ibarra Álvarez and Ortega Marínez, "La villa de Briviesca en la Baja Edad Media: datos y reflexiones para su estudio," 331–32.

[281] Fernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón* (Valencia: en la Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780), https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=4545.

[282] Torres Balbás, "La edad media"; Gutkind, *International History of City Development. Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*; Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1988.

This discourse has permeated Briviesca's culture and, nowadays, the city is known with the romanticized nicknames of '*La Bien Trazada*' [The Well-Traced'] or '*El Corazón de Burgos*' ['The Hearth of Burgos'], which appear in public communications and touristic publicity.[283] However, as figure 90 shows, Briviesca's 'good form' is not as such. Its real transcendence was in the meaning and relevance given to its plan through legal protection, royal relevance, civil and religious institutions, and a symbolic urban structure that has survived to this day. Briviesca, as every case reviewed to this point, has no foundational plan or trace of any kind. Its regularity was due to political control and governance without graphic support or speculative planning.

## Resurgence of Castilian grid urbanism in the 15th century.

### *The Granadan frontier in the late 15th century. Isabel foundations in the Atlantic shore.*

By 1450 the Granadan frontier had been mostly stable for 200 hundred years. There had been of course conquest of singular importance for the Castilian crown, including Alcalá la Real in 1341, Algeciras in 1344, Antequera in 1410, Ceuta in 1415, Huelma in 1438 or Huécar in 1434 (Figure 80). These were of great value at a strategic level, signalling the shift in the Strait control from Muslim to Christian hands, as well as the increasing pressure that Castille was putting into the *Banda Morisca* and Jaen's border. However, the new conquests were not of particular importance in what regards to the creation of new towns and plantations. Conquered strongholds and their towns were assigned to military orders and frontier lords, following the dynamic stablished two centuries before. The kingdoms of Seville, Córdoba and Jaén were totally stablished and their population (or lack of it) distributed across the territory (Figure 82). Castilian grid plantations were scarce in this period. Some of them merit attention not for their importance upon the great scene of the frontier, but for how the point out particular interests and sensibilities from the crown.

Chipiona is one of these cases: a seaside town located in the Atlantic coast, near to the repopulation projects enacted by Alphonse X. Chipiona was a small village conquered by Ferdinand III in 1251 and included in the domains of Sanlúcar. In 1477, queen Elizabeth of Castile enacted a population charter or *carta puebla* for Chipiona: a settling order similar to those in Puerto de Santa María and Sanlúcar de Marrameda. The objective was to upgrade the village and transform it into a new urban center destined for immigrant Castilian settlers coming from up north. Urban parcels, farming lands, and other privileges were gifted to these colonizers under certain conditions such of producing a first crop by the third year

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[283] Not only from private touristic businesses but also from public institutions and even the regional government of Castilla y León. See: Junta de Castilla y León, "Briviesca," Portal de Turismo de la Junta de Castilla y León, 2017, https://www.turismocastillayleon.com/es/conjuntoshistoricos/briviesca.

after the concession, among other obligations. The result was a small settlement with a main frontal street and other characteristics of a grid plantation (Figure 81). The central plaza groups the city hall and the main church facing each other.[284] The main church is in an oblique position, modifying the regularity of the plan and impeding a complete axiality. Streets are straight but quite narrow, in the same manner as previous cases such as Villarreal and Petra. Their setup announces a sensibility towards urban planning that seems proper of a later period, but their morphology is clearly medieval in its dimensions and proportions. Another peculiarity is that Chipiona, being a seaside town, has a seafront pedestrian street that acts today as the main axis of everyday life. There are other examples of this kind of operations by queen Elizabeth such as the repopulation of Puerto Real in 1484, also in the Atlantic Andalusian coast. What these projects show is a royal interest on urban plantation and development prior to the Granada War.

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[284] Parroquia de Nuestra Señora de la O.
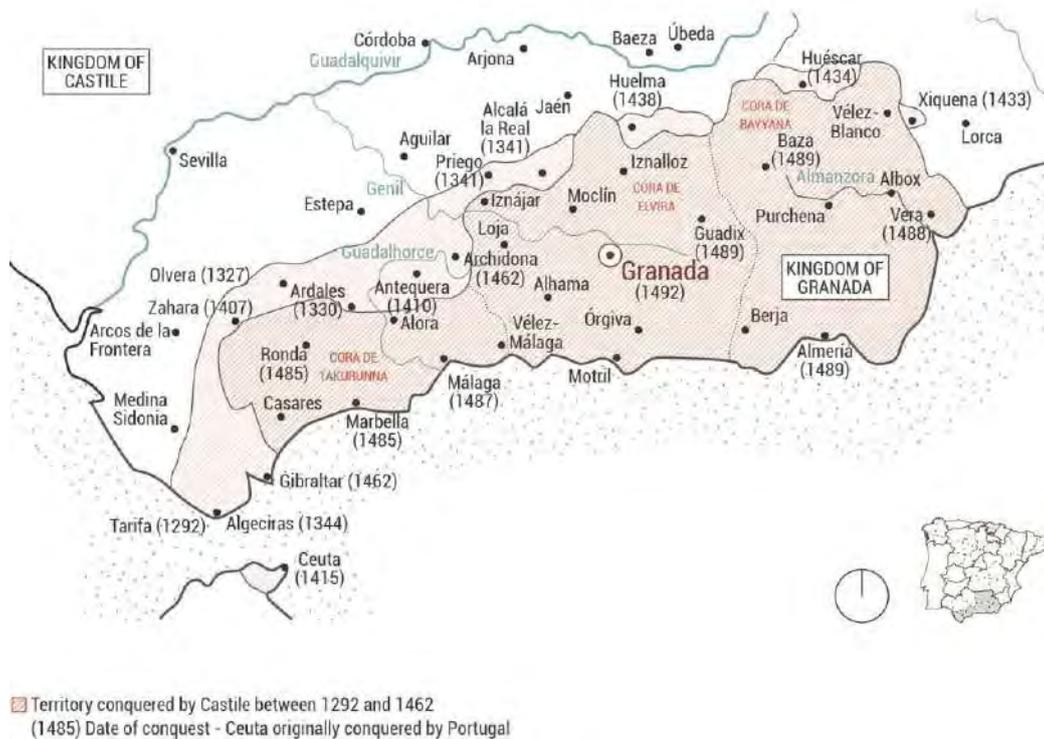
**Figure 80: Frontier of Granada in 1480. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Migule Ángel Ladero Quesada.**[285]



**Figure 81: Chipiona foundational district, highly modified over the years. © Google Earth 2018.**

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[285] Ladero Quesada, *Granada, historia de un país islámico*; Ladero Quesada, *La Guerra de Granada (1482-1491)*.

Figure 82: Map of Castilian repopulations and plantations in Andalucia between the 13th and 16th centuries. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Manuel González Jiménez et al.[286]

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[286] González Jiménez et al., "Las villas nuevas de Andalucía en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XVI)."

### *The Granada War and the foundation of Santa Fe[287]*

Between the 14th century and the first half of the 15th, the frontier between Granada and Jaen held a stable but tense equilibrium. Its supposed stability of the covered the complex reality of everyday life in a border territory filled with rutinary agreements and conflicts, hard to track in official documents. This situation affected the political structure and social organization of medieval towns arranged around castles and watchtowers, arranging a characteristic landscape that will be further explored in chapter 2. Following the argument on grid planning, the next shift in Castilian urban practices worth of attention came with the military advancement upon Granada of Elizabeth I of Castille and Ferdinand II of Aragon, also known as the 'Catholic Monarchs'.[288] Their military operations would bring great transformations to the frontier, particularly during their final campaigns between 1482 and 1491.[289]

Castilians made ample use of black powder artillery, a means for war that was at its early stages of its development in Europe and to which Granada had no access. The Catholic strategy was to siege strongholds and cities with moderate fire, isolating them from any supply line and pressuring their defences until while avoiding massive human and material losses. This tactic was new to the region, accustomed a different kind of combat around fortresses and their orchards.[290] Most Andalusian fortresses were of traditional medieval design, with tall, squared towers and walls unfitted to withstand attacks of this kind. In consequence, Granadan positions often surrendered soon after the siege encirclement was established, looking to reach a not too disadvantageous rendition agreement. These pacts, known as *capitulaciones*, shared certain aspects and prerogatives to the Granadan citizen such as the respect of their life, personal freedom, and movable property in case of emigration. If they stayed, the had the right to conserve their religion, their social institutions, their particular legal frame and taxation system, the right to develop commercial activities and to receive adequate salaries for their job, among other details. Migration routes to north Africa were stimulated by the Castilian victors, and the Crown even paid the travel expenses to particular

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[287] This section has been adapted from the manuscript, currently in preparation by the author, titled 'Santa Fe: model or prototype? Uses and misuses of Granada's Santa Fe as a transatlantic myth in urban historiography', which will be published as a volume chapter in Leahy, Chad [Ed.], On the Uses and Abuses of Early Modern Spanish Culture, Vol. 3, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, planned for publication in early 2021.

[288] A title they wouldn't officially receive until 1493 through the Bulla 'Si convenit' in 1496, signed by Pope Alejandro VI on December 19th. See: Álvaro Fernández De Córdova Miralles, "'Reyes Católicos': mutaciones y permanencias de un paradigma político en la Roma del Renacimiento," in *Roma y España un crisol de la cultura europea en la Edad Moderna (actas del Congreso Internacional celebrado en la Real Academia de España en Roma del 8 al 12 de mayo de 2007)* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior, 2007), 133–54.

[289] Ladero Quesada, *La Guerra de Granada (1482-1491)*.

[290] Manuel Ángel Martín Vera, "El combate urbano en la frontera de Granada. Siglos XIV-XV," in *Las fronteras en la Edad Media hispánica, siglos XIII-XVI*, Colección Historia (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Sevilla, 2019), 161–74.

characters.[291] Independently of it these accords were respected or not in every place and time (they weren't), they were clearly positive for guaranteeing the stability of conquered cities during their transitional period from traditional Islamic social and legal structures to Christian ones. A military strategy based on isolating urban centers and subduing them through artillery fire, without excessive bloodshed, was basic to allow the negotiation of these pacts and avoid as much reconstruction investment as possible.

Most Castilian fortifications in the Andalusian frontier were reused Islamic castles and towers rebuilt or restored by the Christian, so they presented the same weakness to black powder weaponry. Not only that, their walls and towers were not suitable for placing cannons, preventing their use in case of Nasrid attack. To prevent this situation, the Christian army intervened many of their fortifications, modifying them with new defensive mechanisms for the placement of artillery batteries with the correct angle and orientation. Temporary barriers, ditches and bastions were built all over the front, usually placed immediately outside of the medieval fort, producing ad hoc hybrid fortifications.[292] Still, most of these developments were limited to the fortified district of each town and were not built to perdure after the war.

One significant exception is the royal encampment for the siege of Granada, stablished by Elizabeth and Ferdinand in October 1491.[293] This temporary placement known as *Real de Santa Fe* was reserved for the monarchs, their generals, and a small portion of their army, while the main contingent resided some hundred metres away in *Real de la Vega*, a much bigger camp whose exact position remains unknown (Figure 83).[294] While the details of the construction of *Real de la Vega* went mostly unobserved by witnesses of the military campaign, there exist plenty of testimonies regarding *Real de Santa Fe*, including the narration of chroniclers like Fernando del Pulgar and Andrés Bernáldez, among others.[295] They praised Santa Fe's defences for their strength but also its regular urban structure, considered to be an example of order and clarity. In fact, Del Pulgar noted

[291] Ladero Quesada, *La Guerra de Granada (1482-1491)*, 79–81.

[292] 'The barrier was a wall with low vaulted bunkers (*casamatas*) and portholes (*troneras*) in all its perimeter. Both the walls and the bunkers where sloped and had a deep pit (*foso o cava*) around them. The bastions were small cubes placed in the middle of the pit and in front of the main gates.' English translation by the authors from de Castro Fernández and Cuadrado Basas, "Las fortificaciones de la corona hispánica en el Mediterráneo durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1492-1700)," 144. Spanish original: 'La barrera es un muro con troneras tanto en la línea baja como en los cubos abovedados o casamatas; la muralla como los cubos están alamborados (talud) y rodeados por un ancho y profundo foso o cava; los baluartes -pequeños cubos- se sitúan en medio del foso y ante las puertas de acceso.'

[293] Peinado Santaella, *La Fundación de Santa Fe*.

[294] Luis José García Pulido and Antonio Orihuela Uzal, 'Nuevas aportaciones sobre las murallas y el sistema defensivo de Santa Fe (Granada),' *Archivo Español de Arte* 78, no. 309 (March 30, 2005): 23–43, https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.2005.v78.i309.206.

[295] Fernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los señores reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón* (Valencia: en la Imprenta de Benito Monfort, 1780), https://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=4545; Andrés Bernáldez, 'Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos que escribía el bachiller Andrés Bernaldez, Cura de Los Palacios,' in *La fundación de Santa Fe (1491-152)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995), 326.

that Santa Fe's layout followed the model of Briviesca, the aforementioned northern Castilian new town planted by Blanca de Portugal in 1305, almost two centuries before.[296] This plantation of royal ascendance was a perfect reference for queen Elizabeth, as it was connected both with her Castilian ancestors and the context of the *Camino de Santiago,* where Aragonese grid town planning practices flourished in the 11th century.[297] It is important to note that, while Ferdinand II was consort of Elizabeth and king of Aragon, the campaign against Granada was a Castilian endeavour. The army was Castilian as well as its main captains, generals and, of course, expenses. Referencing any Aragonese bastide or foral foundation in the queen's chronicle would have been out of place. Therefore, by mentioning Briviesca, Santa Fe's narrative was rooted to both Castilian and Aragonese traditions, forming a basis for a royal encampment suitable for both monarchs in their alliance against Muslim Granada.

Like Briviesca, Santa Fe had no foundational plan. Its urban morphology is known thanks to surviving chronicles, descriptions, and images. One of the coetaneous depictions of Santa Fe conserved today is the engraving in the wooden choir of Toledo's Cathedral by Rodrigo Alemán, sculpted in the year after Granada's conquest (1492-93) (Figure 84). Each chair in the lower section of the chorus shows a different scene from the Granada War ordered in a strict hierarchy. The Santa Fe scene is paired with another chair showing the rendition of Granada. Both sit on the sides of the stairs leading to the archbishop's presidential seat; Granada to his right, and Santa Fe to his left.[298] The engraving shows the fortifications of the *Real of Santa Fe,* with medieval high walls and proto-modern low bastions designed by Aragonese military engineer Ramiro López. Alemán also included in the engraving an image of *Real de la Vega* across the river, unprotected and filled with soldiers preparing the siege. Islamic Granada's walled medina appears in the background. Over the arch there are two artillery operators vital for siege of Granada: one on the right preparing ammunition and another on the left, charging the balls into a cannon.

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[296] Lucio Marineo Siculo, *De Las Cosas Memorables de España / Compuesta Por Lucio Marineo Siculo, Coronista de Sus Maiestades* (Alcalá de Henares: Casa Juan de Brocar, 1539); María Isabel Navarro Segura, 'Las fundaciones de ciudades y el pensamiento urbanístico hispano en la era del Descubrimiento,' *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* 10, ( 2006), 218.

[297] Vicente Bielza de Ory, 'El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal,' in El Justicia de Aragón [Ed.] *El Fuero de Jaca.*, 2 vols., (Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 2003), 269–318; Jean Passini, *Villes Medievales du Chemin de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle (de Pampelune a Burgos): Villes de Fondation et Villes d'Origine Romaine*, Mémoire: 47 (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civiliations, 1984); Manuel Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: Raíces Legales de la Forma Urbana Morisca e Hispana* (Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, 2018).

[298] Luis José García Pulido and Antonio Orihuela Uzal, 'La imagen de Santa Fe (Granada) en la sillería del coro bajo de la catedral de Toledo,' *Archivo Español de Arte* LXXVII, no. 307 (2004): 247–66.

**Figure 83: 2001, placement hypothesis of Real de Santa Fe, royal encampment of the Catholic Monarchs, and Real de la Vega, where the main army resided. Drawn over the plan of contemporary Santa Fe administrative limits by Diputación Provincial de Granada, 2001. © Luis José García Pulido and Antonio Orihuela Uzal.[299]**



**Figure 84: 1492-1493, engraving of Santa Fe, Real de la Vega and Granada in Toledo's Cathedral chorus by Rodrigo Alemán. © Editorial Universidad de Granada, Oronoz, Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquía, 1985.[300]**

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[299] García Pulido and Orihuela Uzal, "Nuevas aportaciones sobre las murallas y el sistema defensivo de Santa Fe (Granada)," 33.

[300] Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia, *Los relieves de la guerra de Granada en la sillería del coro de la Catedral de Toledo* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1985).

A relevant figure of this war effort is Ramiro López, military engineer born in Aragon who participated in the whole campaign along Ferdinand II.[301] López was responsible of designing the fortifications of Santa Fe. Their image had to match that of a royal encampment of new religious and legal order, looming against one of the most famous capitals in the western Islamic world. In words of Alonso de Falencia, historian in service of the Catholic Monarchs:

> "*con propósito de ulterior defensa, se comenzó a construir junto al campa-mento el simulacro de una ciudad que había de perdurar con el nombre de Santa Fe, mostrando al enemigo que no faltaría en aquella ciudad un ejército escogido de caballería e infantería si en todo el verano no se conseguía el fin deseado [...].*"
> Alonso de Falencia, 1492[302]

> ["for a proper defence, construction began besides the camp for a simulacrum of a city that would perdure under the name of Santa Fe, showing the enemy that an elite army of cavalry and infantry soldiers would remain if in the whole summer their desired objective was not achieved"][303]

This image of royal power is present in Aleman's engravings. Although the regularity of Santa Fe's plan is mentioned in most sources, the engravings show its dominant position through its external façade and fortifications. Its disposition shows a mixture of medieval and proto-modern elements, with a perimeter of high walls and squared towers in front of which appears a small D-shaped bastion de-signed by Ramiro López. This element was specially designed for the placement and firing of artillery and appears as a testimony of the war innovations of the time and how they were affecting traditional fortifications in the region. The com-bination of a grid structure surrounded by bastioned walls would become a con-stant in later Hispanic urban endeavours in European, Mediterranean, and Amer-ican fronts.

### Santa Fe after 1492

After the Nasrid surrender on January 2, 1492, the *Real de Santa Fe* was of-ficially founded as a city in celebration of the Christian victory. Its area was plot-ted into urban parcels and distributed among Castilians appointed as *vecinos* [neighbours], a status equivalent to citizenship of a given town and beneficiary of

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[301] Ocaña Erdozáin, Alberto, 2018: "Ramiro López.", En *Diccionario Biográfico Español, Real Academia de Historia*, Madrid: Real Academia de Historia. En < http://dbe.rah.es/biogra-fias/52569/ramiro-lopez> Recuperado 13 marzo 2020.

[302] Falencia, Alonso de. Guerra de Granada. Epístola que, desde Sevilla, escribió Alonso de Falencia, el 8 de enero de 1492, a don Juan Ruiz de Medina, obispo de Astorga, para narrarle los últimos sucesos de la Guerra de Granada y la entrega de la capital (1490-1492). Text transcripted in Eladio Lapresa Molina, *Santafé: Historia de Una Ciudad Del Siglo XV* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979), 205.

[303] Translation by the author.

its particular local charters and privileges. The foundational process included a series of legal and religious protocols that emphasised the new status of the town as a place of peaceful dominance, no longer a place for military operations. The whole operation was registered in a foundational book, equivalent to the land distribution logs and *Llibre del Ripartimento* used in previous plantations (Figure 85). This important document has been conserved at the local archive with care during more than five centuries and counts with several copies and transcriptions to avoid the manipulation of the original.[304] Its content describes the whole foundational process between 1492 and 1496. It was in charge of Francisco de Bobadilla, first major of the royal villa until 1494, and then passed to Diego de Iranzo. They were responsible of distributing lands and privileges among 200 *vecinos*, many of them well positioned individuals who took part of Granada's conquest.[305] The process was complex and instigated numerous discussions and litigations, which explain the long time needed for the effective and legally valid foundation of the city. Again, there is no plan of the villa in this foundational book, neither there is a mention to its existence.
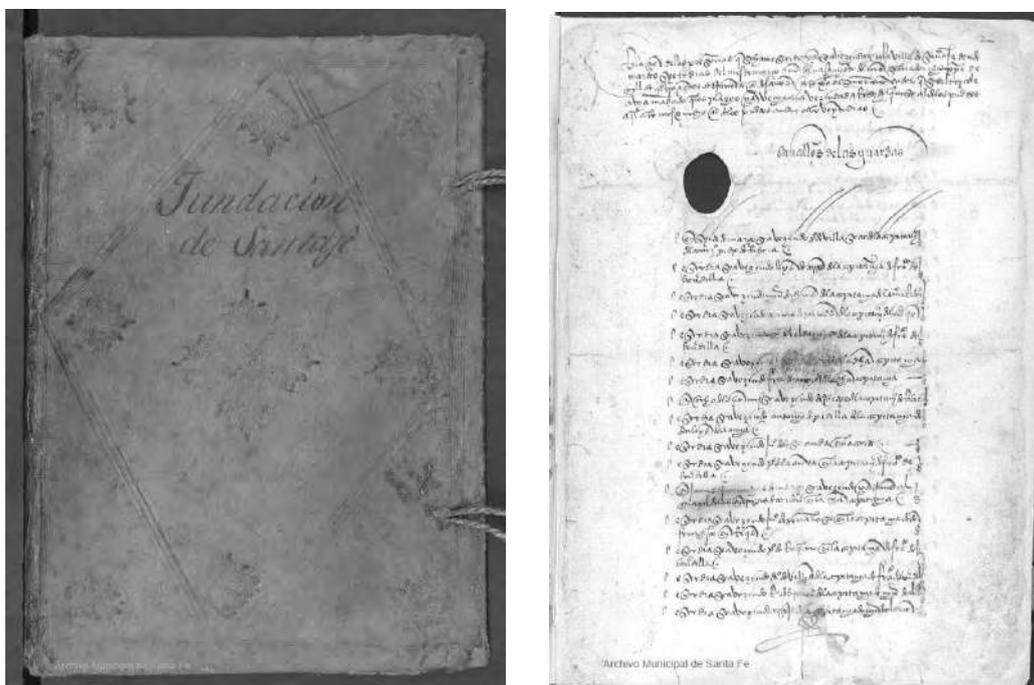


Figure 85: 1492-1496, Foundational book of Santa Fe. ©Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe, item number 5085.[306]

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[304] "Libro de Fundación de Santa Fe. Copia" (Santa Fe, Granada, 17th c.), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe; "Libro de Fundación de Santa Fe. Traslado" (Santa Fe, Granada, 17th c.), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe. Item numbers: 5086, 5087.

[305] Miguel Ángel Fernández Aparicio, *Santa Fe, traza y orden* (Granada, 2006).

[306] "Libro de Fundación de Santa Fe" (Santa Fe, Granada, 1496 1492), Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe.

In this process the military encampment of Santa Fe was transformed into a royal villa. Its fortified image with stone bastions and whitewashed walls built in wood and earth faded until their demolition in the 18th century. Its inner structure conserved all the traits of a *castrum*, with long rectangular blocks and narrow streets in straight angle. The main square is not constrained as those other Castilian plantations in the Atlantic shore, but ample, open and deliberately monumental. In it, the town hall and the main church were located face to face. The church has experience several interventions until reaching its 1800s neo-classic image. From the plaza, four main streets lead to four main entrances in the city where the original fortified gates were located. These reinforced doors were substituted by ceremonial entrances each dedicated an Andalusian capital whose Christianization was key for dominating the region: Jaén -surrendered by Alhamar in 1246-, Sevilla -conquered in 1248-, Loja -conquered in 1486-, and Granada, facing the Nasrid capital. The new gates of Santa Fe have a quite peculiar design (Figure 86). Each of them has an elevated chapel covered by a dome and a cross on top. In consequence, to enter the city of the 'Santa Fe', the 'Holy Faith', every visitor had to walk under its temple, to recognize the superiority of its 'higher' religious legitimacy. To acknowledge Castilian laws and authority and surrender to its new order. It is a quite powerful message for a city that symbolizes the Christian invasion over the last Muslim capital in Europe.

The result is a basic foundational scheme with a ritual center, a limit, a cardinal orientation with axial roads and gates monumentalizing the entrance to the city, in a similar fashion to celestial cities and other urban theories mentioned before. It could be said that Santa Fe works in some ways more as a temple than as a real city, with specific entrance and exit rituals, spiritual centers, and processional walkways. It is the embodiment of what Eiximenis proposed in the previous century, combining Christian spirituality and urban law with a planning design leaning towards regularity. Its shape may be related to military practices, but its main priority was symbolical power and deep political meaning. This image, combined with the high reputation of the city, would influence its representation in written and graphic documents for the centuries to come (Figure 87). Most of these images emphasize symbolism over cartographic precision. The first scaled plan of Santa Fe conserved today was drawn by Francisco Quintillán in 1777 as graphic support for a project for the city's north ditch draining (Figure 88). This plan has appeared in numerous urban history surveys and publications as proof of the foundational regularity of Santa Fe, as it were a sort of model that could be transmitted and disseminated by urban planners. However, the available sources indicate that the 'good form' of Santa Fe was not achieved through geometry or graphic development, but through the application of privileges, distribution protocols and other legal procedures.

**Figure 86: Puerta de Granada - One of the four main doors of Santa Fe (Top). Built in the 17th century after the collapse of a previous structure. It was designed as a gated chapel, with a domed main altar placed over the door. Puerta de Sevilla, 18th century (Bottom). © Manuel Sánchez García, 2015.**
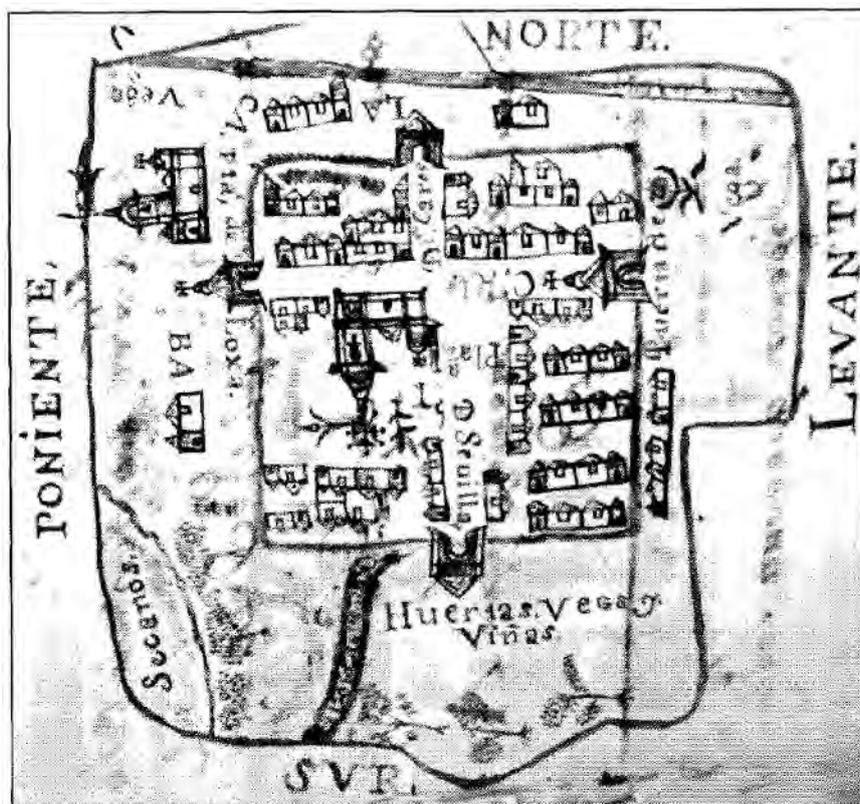
**Figure 87: 1751, Santa Fe as shown in the Project for the channeling of the river Genil by Thomas Ferrer and José Toxar. © Ayuntamiento de Granada.**[307]



**Figure 88: 1777, Plan by Francisco Quintillán. ©Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe, Folder 590/3, item number ES.1800280.AMSF/5.2./MPD, 0001.**[308]

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[307] Thomas Ferrer and José Toxar, *Diseño Del Río Genil* (Granada: Ayuntamiento de Granada, 1751); reeditado recientemente en: Thomas Ferrer, *Diseño del Río Genil. Ed. conmemorativa del Quinto Centenario de la Constitución del Ayuntamiento de Granada.*, Cartografía Histórica de Granada (Granada: Ayuntamiento de Granada, 2000).

[308] Quintillán, "Plano de Población de Santa Fe, [ca. 1777]."

## Granada after the conquest.

### *Urban Christianization through religious and royal images of power.*[309]

On November 25th, the Catholic Monarchs and the Nasrid king Boabdil signed a rendition pact, officially surrendering the kingdom to Castille. This accord, known as *Capitulaciones de Granada*, followed similar terms and concessions as previous *capitulaciones* but also included new ones product of hard negotiations.[310] For example, all Muslim prisoners and refugees were to be liberated, Granadan Knights would continue to serve under the Castilian crown, and free passage to North Africa would be gifted to every Granadan who left the country. The pact included different treatment for Muslims depending on if they were believers from their infancy, converted Christians, or born from mixed marriages between Muslim men and Christian women. The original signed document of these *capitulaciones* is one of the more relevant sources in this period.[311]

Granada was handed over by Boabdil on January 2nd, 1492. From that point on, a complex process started to Christianize the city and control its population, generally discontent with how the accords were being implemented.[312] Granadan conquered Muslims, known as *moriscos*, saw how their privileges decreased over the years, eventually losing most of the protection granted by the *capitulaciones* and forced to choose between conversion or expulsion. Granadans had to cohabitate with Christian settlers came from Jaen, Andalucia, and other Castilian domains, attracted by repopulation projects and land distribution privileges [*repartimientos*]. However, these Christians were also critical with the situation since Muslims enjoyed tax reductions and other privileges while they, who have emigrated with their families, needed to abide to strict Castilian legislation. This post-conflict situation continues the dynamic already present during the war where confrontations were not only fought between armed soldiers but also ideas, politics, beliefs, images of power and their urban representation. That was the breeding ground for later events in 16th-century Granada, a city that would experiment deep urban transformations showing its shifts in legal, political, symbolic, and religious terms.

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[309] This section includes fragments of the manuscript, currently in preparation, of the volume chapter: Juan Calatrava, Ana del Cid, Francisco A. García Pérez, Manuel Sánchez García, *The role of the Sacromonte and other Christian and Muslim divine simulacra in the symbolic construction of Granada and its territory, 15th - 16th cc.*, to be published in Pamela Stewart, Achim Timmermann [Coords.] "Sacri Monti and Beyond: Holy Land Simulacra and Monumental Stational Programs across Europe, c. 1400-1600", Belgium: Brepols. Publication planned for 2022.

[310] Ladero Quesada, *La Guerra de Granada (1482-1491)*, 83–85. The negotiations were narrated by Hernán Pérez del Pulgar: Pulgar, *Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón*.

[311] "Capitulación de los Reyes Católicos con Boabdil Rey de Granada" (Granada, November 25, 1491), Archivo General de Simancas. Item number: ES.47161.AGS//PTR,LEG,11,206.

[312] Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 1600), http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcd7986; Ladero Quesada, *Granada después de la conquista*.

The Catholic Monarchs were conscious of the symbolic power of Granada and how its Christianization would involve deep change in its urban structures and meanings. The plantation of Santa Fe and its image of power after the war worked in this sense: as a show of Christian domination against a city that was about to be transformed. In essence, the problematic around taking Granada was not military but political, spiritual, even with a propaganda component. Castile could easily conquer the city in material terms, yes, but the real prize was in showing a clear, elegant, convincing, and mostly pacific victory against the last Andalusian kingdom in all Europe, putting Elizabeth and Ferdinand as finishers of an 800-year-old conflict. To achieve this, Granada's places of power had to be kept intact. Artillery fire was avoided when possible and no assault was performed over the Alhambra fortress and palaces. What the Castilians needed to succeed was not a direct attack but an ideological space as a platform to pressure the Nasrid governors during the siege. Santa Fe was that place: a city planned following the highest urban ideals of the moment, literally named *Santa Fe* [Holy Faith], and positioned against a Islamic medina that, for the Christians, stood for the opposite ideals: unfaithful, irregular, disorganized, hence, the enemy to be conquered. In this line of thought, Santa Fe did not only provide an Urbs for the Castilian Civitas during the war and the post-war: it also transformed Granada in 'the other', the stranger, the objective to be ruled and ordered.

This same dynamic extended into the Nasrid capital after its conquest through interventions in both the lower city and the upper royal medina. First and foremost, the Catholic Monarchs decided to be buried in Granada in a gothic-style royal chapel specially built for this purpose by Architect Enrique Egas between 1505 and 1517.[313] This burial positioned the king and queen as heroic figures, founders of Granada in its new Christian stage, conquerors of the city but also saviours of its souls, beginners of a new era of Catholic domain of the Peninsula after Al-Andalus' demise. The chapel was erected besides Granada's main mosque, which would be substituted by the city's cathedral, originally projected by Enrique Egas, redesigned by Renaissance architect Diego de Siloe, and finished in 1660 with a façade by Alonso Cano. The works lasted for more than 150 years, a time in which the semi-built cathedral coexisted with the remains of the great mosque (Figure 89). The Islamic madrassa,[314] located in the same street as the Mosque and the future cathedral, was transformed into Granada's first Christian town hall. The city was left in charge of a council of 24 aristocrats known as *'caballeros veinticuatro'*. The building was deeply transformed, conserving its 14th century profusely decorated mihrab and its general composition of two storeys around a courtyard, and adding a new arrange of rooms and halls (Figure 90). In this way, two of the most important seats of religious and intellectual power in Granada were re-signified by the Castilian occupants, maintaining the urban

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[313] Elizabeth I died on November 26th, 1504. Ferdinand II died on January 23rd, 1516.

[314] Madrassa: Islamic university, mainly dedicated to the study of the Koranic law but also mathematics, hydraulics, philosophy, among other fields.

structure of the city but changing its meanings to play along with the Catholic agenda. The political core was disrupted by new actors and institutions, generating a Christianizing line of force that rapidly expanded to other districts.
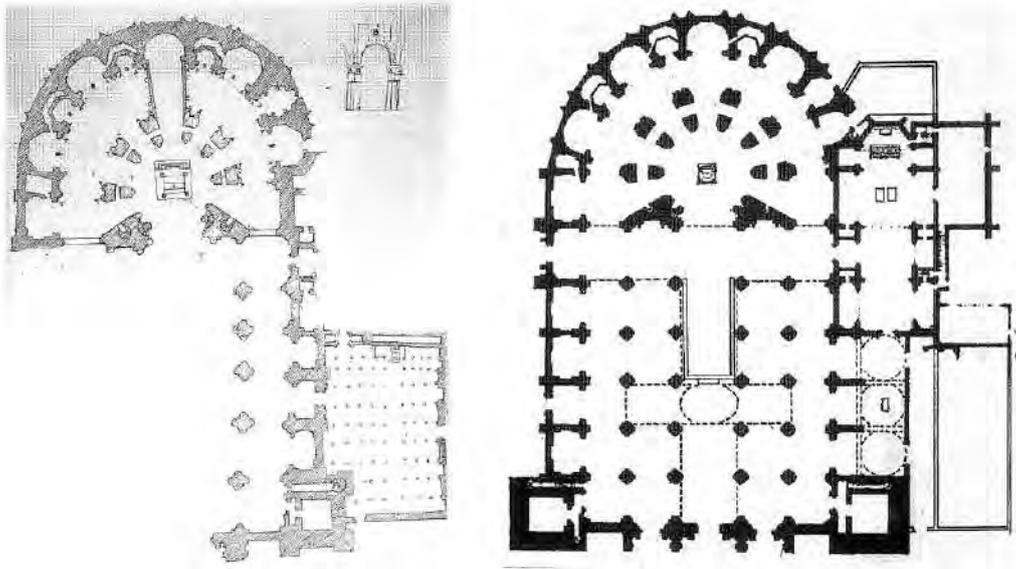


**Figure 89: Left: 1594, Plan of Granada's Cathedral by Juan de la Vega. It shows the uncompleted cathedral with a remaining section of the mosque's hypostyle hall that was later demolished to build a sacristy. © Archivo Instuto Valencia de Don Juan, item number: Envío 8, 2ª Parte (Caja 13).[315] Right: 1990, Plan of Granada's Cathedral. © Earl E. Rosenthal.[316]**
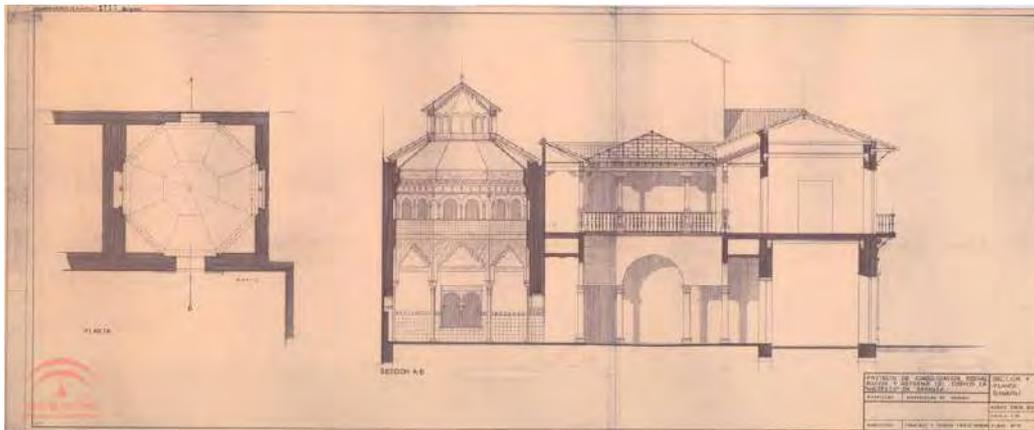


**Figure 90: 1970, Section view of Granada's Madrassa and plan of the mihrab. The section shows the mihrab and its dome, built in 1349, along with the courtyard and the new Christian halls built in the late 15th and 16th centuries. © Patronato de la Alhambra, item number: P-004352.[317]**

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[315] Juan de la Vega, *Catedral de Granada, Estado de La Construcción En 1594*, Planta, s.e. (Granada, 1594), Instituto Valencia de don Juan. Item number: Envío 8, 2ª Parte (Caja 13). Referenced in Delfín Rodríguez Ruiz, "Sobre un dibujo inédito de la planta de la catedral de Granada en 1594," *Archivo Español de Arte* 70, no. 280 (December 30, 1997): 355–74, https://doi.org/10.3989/aearte.1997.v70.i280.662.

[316] Rosenthal Earl J., *La Catedral de Granada*, 1ª (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1990).

[317] Francisco Prieto-Moreno and Manuel López Reche, *Granada. La Madraza. Proyecto de consolidación, restauración y reforma. Torreón, planta y sección. Proyecto*, Plano, 1:50 (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1970), Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, https://www.alhambra-patronato.es/ria/handle/10514/5406.
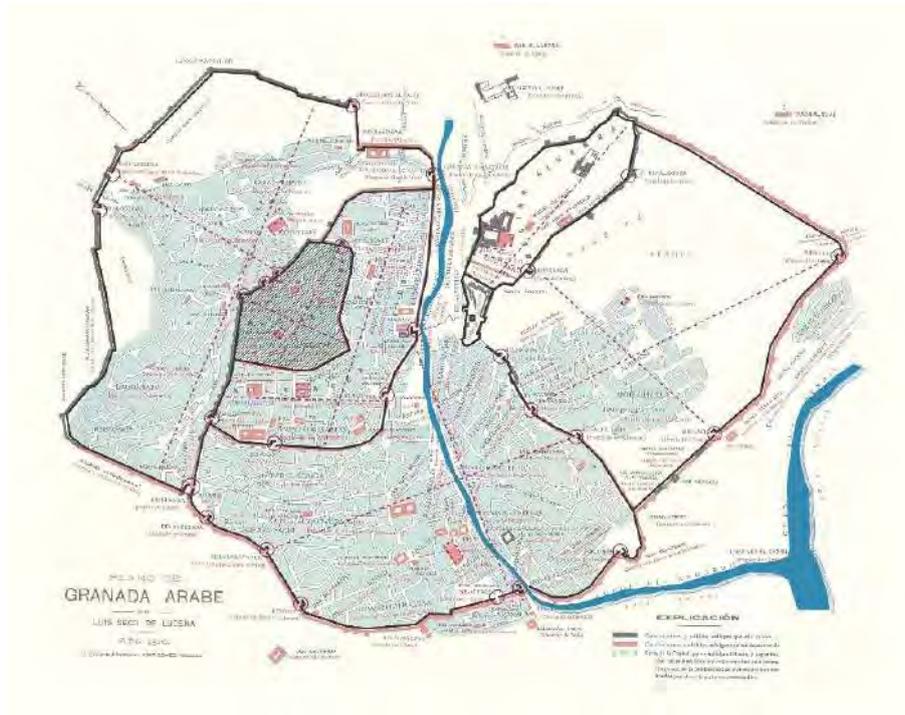
**Figure 91: 1910, 'Plano de la Granada árabe' by Luis Seco de Lucena. The different districts of the city have been highlighted, signalling their main centers and axes. The darker area corresponds to the original walled settlement, developed during the Iberic period, 7th century B.C.E. The locations in red are the Cathedral, the Madrassa, Plaza Nueva and Charles V palace. © Universidad de Granada.[318]**



**Figure 92: Plaza Nueva and Royal Chancery of Granada, founded by the Catholic Monarchs in 1500. The building, allegedly projected by Diego de Siloé, was built between 1531 and 1585. © Jebulon, via Wikimedia Commons.[319]**

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[318] Antonio Orihuela, *Plano de Granada Árabe (Luis Seco de Lucena). Edición facsímil. Estudio preliminar* (Universidad de Granada, 2002), https://digital.csic.es/handle/10261/16495.

[319] Jebulon. Fachada de La Real Chancillería, Granada, h.1585. 2012. Own work. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Real_chancilleria_exterior_Granada_Spain.jpg. ©Public Domain.

A new main square was built in the lower part of the Islamic Medina as a meeting point between its traditional districts and the new Christian areas in development. This public space, named literally *Plaza Nueva* [New Plaza], housed some of the most important buildings in the city, including a new royal chancery created in 1500 to centralize all legal affairs in the southern peninsular territories (Figure 92). That new institutional space connected the lower part of the Albayzin, built upon Iberian 7th c. B.C.E. remains, with the Sabika hill, on top of which the Nasrids placed their royal medina: the Alhambra.[320] The same re-signification strategy was applied there. The Alhambra is not a single palace but a whole urban complex, developed mostly during the Nasrid period (13th - 15th cc.) from a series of earlier fortifications.[321] Over the years, the Nasrid dynasty expanded that military quarter -now known as the Alhambra's Alcazaba- and extended its walled perimeter to contain a big urban area including houses, mosques, gardens, *hammans* [baths] and, of course, palaces and royal residences. The structures of these buildings were rigorously controlled to hold specific public and private ceremonies. Profusely decorated spaces were placed consecutively, arranging sequences of representative halls that were part of Granada's image of power.

The main Nasrid palaces' axial lines were articulated with precision and organized around open courts and water bodies: a great pool in the Partal palace, a long rectangular pool in the Comares palace, and a central fountain with four water channels in the Lion's palace. The water and its soundscape, along with Islamic garden's traditional species, 'forests' of slim columns and stucco decorations with calligraphic and vegetal motives, created a particular atmosphere in which the Nasrid royal power appeared linked to the concept of the celestial garden and the *Yanna*, the afterlife paradise described in the Coran.[322] Other referential spaces include the Comares throne room, also known as Ambassadors Hall, with its spectacular wooden ceiling of 8013 pieces built during the reign of Yusuf I (1333-1354) (Figure 93). It was shaped as *qubbah*, a squared plan volume covered with a spheric dome that is typical in mosques and mausoleums all over the Islamic world. The square represents the earthly realm, the place of men, women,

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[320] On Granada's urban structure and historical evolution, see: Ana Del Cid Mendoza, *Cartografía urbana e historia de la ciudad. Granada y Nueva York como casos de estudio* (Universidad de Granada, 2016), https://digibug.ugr.es/handle/10481/42149.

[321] Literature on the Alhambra and its palaces is abundant, published in many languages, and beyond the scope of this dissertation. As a general reference work, consult the official guide developed by the Alhambra Council: Jesús Bermúdez López, ed., *The Alhambra and the Generalife: Official guide* (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, TF Editores, 2011). An alternative and free accessible online resource on Granada and its urban evolution has been developed as a parallel product of this dissertation, thanks to a Targeted Acquisition Grant from the Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative (GAHTC), published as: Sánchez García and Calatrava, "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism: Spaces of Conflict and Cultural Exchange during the Reconquista and Its Aftermath."

[322] Stucco panels and columns with calligraphic decorations do not only present short mottos and messages, but also complete Coran's verses and complex poems composed specially for the spaces where they can be read. See José Miguel Puerta Vílchez and J. Agustín Núñez, *Reading the Alhambra: A Visual Guide to the Alhambra through Its Inscriptions* (Granada: The Alhambra and Generalife Trust Edilux, 2011).

and their governors. The sphere is linked to the celestial domain, the space of God, divinity, and paradise. In the *qubbah* both spaces appear intimately connected, linking whichever activity happens in the square with the heavenly representation of the sphere. At the Comares palace, the Nasrid throne was covered with a very particular dome of geometrical design showing seven layers of octagonal stars. The higher position in that structure is the central star and pinnacle of the dome representing the seat of God, placed over the seat of the Nasrid king to guard and protect his rule. Each of the intermediate layers represents one of the seven levels in the *Yanna,* once again connecting the royal image of power with the garden of paradise. The hall is placed inside a great tower in the northern extreme of the palace and its niches open to the Albayzin hill, overseeing Granada's old medina and showing its domain over the kingdom. Among the several architectures in the Alhambra that reference celestial spaces and ideas, the tower of Comares and its throne hall is probably one of the most synthetic and evident examples, connecting the intimate dimension of the Comares courtyard garden with the Granadan landscape view and its landmarks, sprawling over the Darro River valley. This approach holds some parallelism with the Christian urban regularity and its relationship with Celestial Jerusalem. In Granada, heavenly gardens and sacred fruits permeate the image of the dynasty from its most intimate spaces to the very own name of the city.[323] On the opposite spectrum there were the highly institutionalized Christian public urban spaces of Plaza Nueva and Santa Fe, where religious, royal, and civil powers were arranged and ordered in strict hierarchy, seeking to transform the city into the neo-Aristotelic 'temple' of Catholicism. Two sides of the same heavenly coin.

Instead of erasing the royal palaces of the Nasrid dynasty, the Catholic Monarchs chose to conserve them and even used them as their court and residence.[324] Constables were appointed to manage and conserve the complex, the first of them being the Count of Tendilla Iñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, veteran of the Granada war and previously constable of Alcalá la Real, probably the most powerful Christian bastion in the frontier. In 1536 Emperor Charles V and Elizabeth of Portugal spent five months at the Alhambra after their wedding, starting the construction of a set of royal dormitories north of the Lion's palace. This trip was also the seed of Charles V palace in the Alhambra, one of the earliest and most renown masterpieces in Spanish 16th century architecture, projected by Pedro Machuca and built between 1527 and 1568.[325] The palace was composed around a circular courtyard and axial distribution. Its chapel and mausoleum were articulated with the conjunction between Comares and Lion's palaces, imposing the

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[323] 'Granada' is the Spanish word for pomegranate.

[324] Juan Antonio Vilar Sánchez, *Los Reyes Católicos en la Alhambra: readaptaciones hechas por los Reyes Católicos en los palacios y murallas de la Alhambra y en las fortalezas de Granada desde enero de 1492 hasta agosto de 1500 con algunos datos hasta 1505*, Fuentes de investigación ; 1 (Granada: Comares, 2007).

[325] Earl E. Rosenthal and Pilar Vázquez Alvarez, *El Palacio de Carlos V En Granada*, Alianza Forma. Serie Especial 9 (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988).

palace's presence over the Nasrid pre-existences a new royal hierarchy (Figure 94). Once more, the Catholic strategy was not to erase Granada's heritage but to transform it, to re-signify its values and rearrange them in a discourse of Christian domination. In the context of the last conquered Andalusian capital, early modern royal imposition should not be mistaken with lack of respect.



**Figure 93: Ambassadors Hall in the Alhambra. Left: Wooden lace ceiling. The octagonal stars of each layer aligned in the vertexes, forming four tree-like structures that meet in the central star. Right: General view. The throne was placed in the central double niche, oriented to the north and overseeing the city of Granada. ©Architectural Composition Department, Universidad de Granada.**
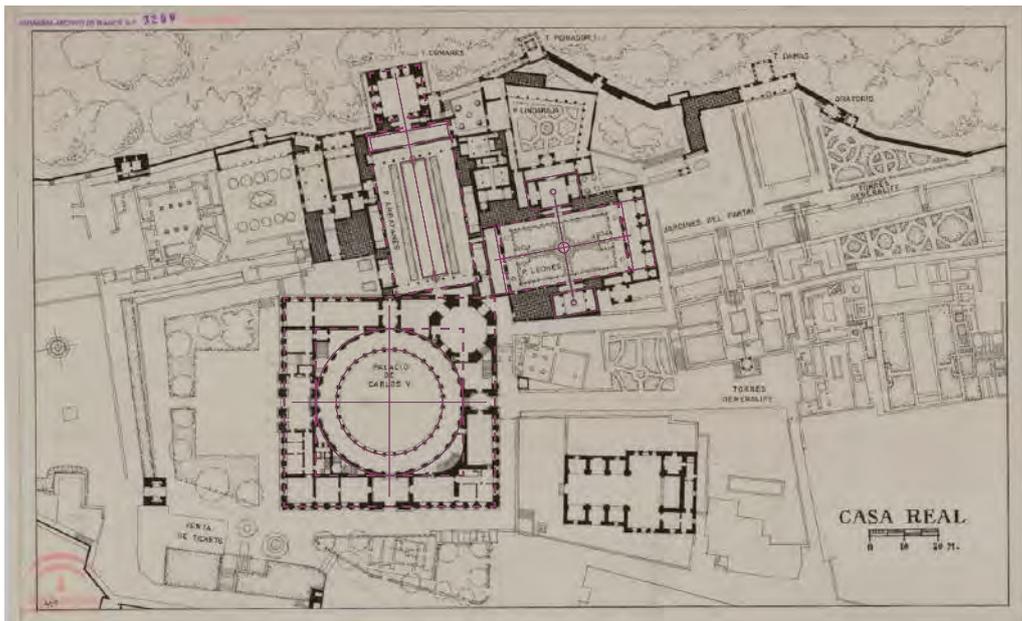


**Figure 94: 1957, Nasrid palaces in the Alhambra along with Charles V palace and church of Saint Mary of the Alhambra. Drawn by Manuel López Reche. © Patronato de la Alhambra, item number: P-003866.[326]**

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[326] Manuel López Reche, *Alhambra. Casa Real (Palacios Nazaríes y de Carlos V). Planta con itinerario*, Plano, 1/200 (Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, 1957), Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, https://www.alhambra-patronato.es/ria/handle/10514/3223. Item number: APAG/ Colección de Planos/ P-003866

### *The work of Ramiro López in the Alhambra and its European spread.*

Besides royal palaces, religious places and civil institutions, the transformation of Granada's and its image of royal power also included military architectures and fortifications. Santa Fe's connection/opposition with Granada was once more relevant for this topic since the man in charge of the Alhambra's fortification was Ramiro López, the Aragonese military engineer responsible for Santa Fe's walls and bastions. López used the same D-shaped bastion typology and placed five of them in the Alhambra's walled perimeter, including one besides the *Puerta de la Justicia* [Justice Door], at the *Torre de las Cabezas* [Tower of the Heads], at the *Puerta de los Siete Suelos* [Gate of the Seven Floors], the *Bastión del Hierro* [Iron Bastion] on the north side, and the *Torre del Cubo* [Tower of the Cube] at the Alcabaza (Figure 95).

These interventions had a lasting impact over the Alhambra's image and the hierarchy of its gates.[327] The Tower of the Cube closed down the traditional entrance to the Alhambra through *Puerta de las Armas* [Arms Gate] and repurposed the Justice Gate as its new main access (Figure 96). It was reinforced with one of López's bastion on its sides and a monumental fountain designed by Pedro Machuca. This space leads to a sloped street named *Cuesta Gomérez* that finishes in *Plaza Nueva*, hence the Justice Gate connects that processionary axis from the seat of Granada's Christian power to the interior of the Alhambra and eventually to Charles V palace as its new royal seat. Another impactful bastion is the one at the Seven Floors Gate, which appeared in Hoefnagle's 1564 depiction of Granada's landscape, published in 1597 as part of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Figure 97). Finally, there was a sixth bastion designed by Ramiro Lopez placed at *Torres Bermejas*, a smaller fortress outside of the Alhambra's perimeter. The south façade of this castle was modified with a big platform for artillery placement (Figure 98). It is important to note that this battery did not targeted unoccupied lands but the very own city's southern districts, serving mainly as a control mechanism for Granada's unrested population. *Torres Bermejas* walled connection with the Alhambra was restored and, in its crossing with *Cuesta Gomérez*, a monumental gate was built by Pedro Machuca in 1536, completing the ceremonial connection between Granada's medina and the Alhambra after their imperial Christianization (Figure 99).

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[327] Marisol García Torrente and Celia Martínez Yáñez, "Los accesos a la Alhambra: incidencia en su lectura y gestión patrimonial," *Museion*, no. 29 (April 2018): 93–113, https://doi.org/10.18316/mouseion.v0i29.4697.

**Figure 95: 1908, general plan of the Alhambra by Modesto Cendoya. All D-shaped bastions designed by Ramiro Lopez have been highlighted and numbered. 1. Torres Bermejas. 2. Justice Gate. 3. Gate of the Heads. 4. Seven Floors Gate. 5. Iron Bastion. 6. Tower of the Cube. © Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife.[328]**

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[328] Modesto Cendoya, *Plano general del recinto de la Alhambra* (Granada: Oficina Técnica servicio de conservación de la Alhambra, 1908), Archivo Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, http://www.alhambra-patronato.es/ria/handle/10514/2061.

**Figure 96: Alhambra's Justice Gate, 14th century. Besides it, a D shaped bastion built by Ramiro López in the late 15th century. Charles V fountain was placed besides the bastion in 1545. In this image only its side can be observed. © José e Marina.[329]**
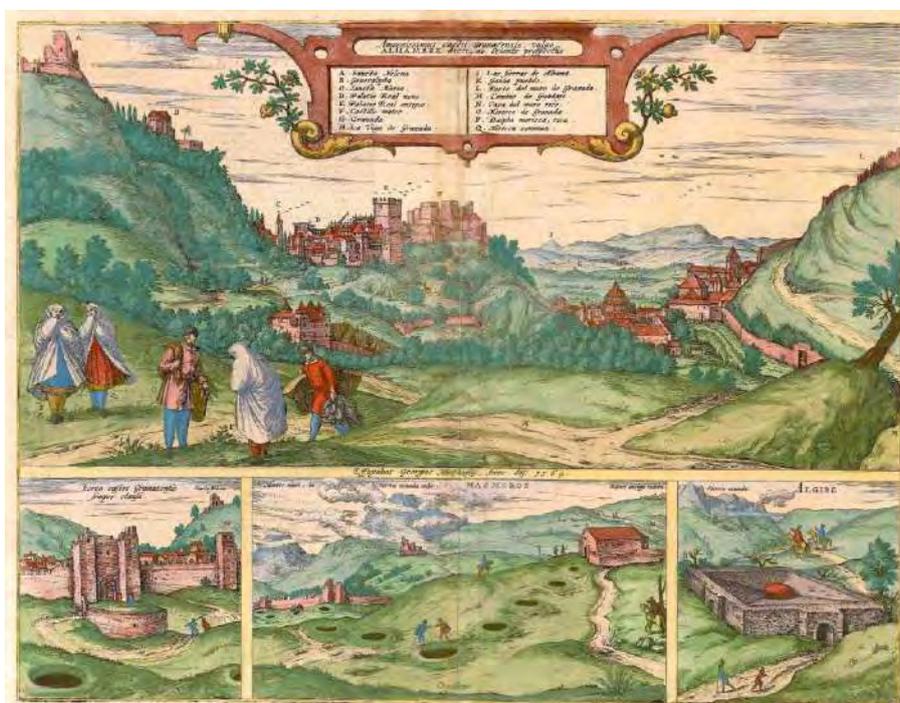


**Figure 97: 1564, Granada's view from its south by Hoefnagle. The Seven Floors Gate appears in the bottom left square, with Ramiro López's D-Shape bastion standing in front of it. Published in 1597 as part of the fifth volume of Civitates Orbis Terrarum by Braun and Hogenberg. © Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife.[330]**

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[329] "Granada: Alhambra: Puerta de la Justicia", 2007, José e Marina. Via Flickr.

[330] Georg Braun, "Civitates Orbis Terrarum, Granada, Vista Desde Poniente," in *Los Planos de Granada,1500-1909*, by Juan Calatrava and Mario Ruiz Morales (Granada: Diputación provincial, 2005).

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**Figure 98: 1963, view of Torres Bermejas from the west, drawn by Juan García Valverde. Ramiro López's D-shaped bastion is placed in front of the medieval Nasrid fortification, operating as a platform for placing cannon batteries. ©Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife.**[331]



**Figure 99: Puerta de las Granadas (Pomegranate gate), built by Pedro Machuca in 1536. © Juan Calatrava**

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[331] Juan García Valverde, *Torres Bermejas. Perspectiva del lado Oeste*, Original, Cartulina, Lápiz, 65 x 90 cm.,10.9, s. e. (Granada: Oficina Técnica servicio de conservación de la Alhambra, 1963), Archivo Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, http://www.alhambra-patro-nato.es/ria/handle/10514/2219.

After his work in the Alhambra was finished, Ramiro López was sent to Roussillon, the Aragonese front in France that had become one of Ferdinand II main priorities after conquering and securing Granada. In 1496 López began a series of modifications to the medieval castle of Salses with the objective of updating it to resist early modern warfare (Figure 100).[332] The result was a regular squared fortress with four cubic towers in its corner of 18 m. long and perimetral wall 6,50 meters thick. In front of the east side and the south entrance López added two of his signature D-shape bastions, separated from the main wall with a perimetral moat in the exact same way than Santa Fe. In fact, the use of these bastions was specifically ordered by the king in a letter to Ramiro López, dated June 12th, 1497: "*que el baluarte de la puerta principal no sea quadrado, salvo [sino] a la manera de los de Santa Fe que vos hisystes*" ["the bastion of the main gate must not be square but the same as those in Santa Fe which you did"].[333] The new bastions already appear in Gonzalo de Áyora's 1503 drawing, in which he gave presented a fictional French attack against Salses and provided detailed instructions to prepare the fortress and reinforce its perimeter (Figure 101).[334] Other innovations by Ramiro López included a system that used underground water to impede the excavation of tunnels and mines under the fortress.

These actions to modernize the Spanish defence line in France were part of a bigger operation that comprised other European territories. While Ramiro López had been sent to Roussillon to reinforce Salses, the military engineer Baldemoro Metelí was placed in Palermo to build the Castello a Mare and Antonio de San Martín got a position at the Papal States to reinforce Castello de Sant'Angelo. All three had previously met in Perpignan in 1495. The king had ordered his most trusted military engineers to celebrate a council and share all innovations and mechanisms proved during the Granadan conflict. In this sense, Perpignan constitutes an articulation between the closure of the Andalusian frontier and the aperture of new fronts in the Mediterranean context, broadening the crown's interests outside the Iberian Peninsula. In Granada, many castles would gradually lose their military use, being abandoned in some cases, in others adapted to house religious buildings or palaces for the local oligarchy. In Jaén, castles such as La Guardia would be restored and modified to offer an image of power closer to a royal residence than to the border fortress that it was.[335] These changes evidence how different was the relationship that reused medieval castles and early modern fortresses stablished with their neighbouring urban centers. While Andalusian

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[332] de Castro Fernández and Cuadrado Basas, "Las fortificaciones de la corona hispánica en el Mediterráneo durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1492-1700)," 147–48.

[333] Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara, Libro de Cédulas, número 2/2, folio 105. Transcribed by D. Camilo Álvarez Morales and Ruiz-Matas. Quoted in: García Pulido and Orihuela Uzal, "Nuevas aportaciones sobre las murallas y el sistema defensivo de Santa Fe (Granada)."

[334] Fernando Cobos-Guerra, "Fuentes de estudio y valoración de la arquitectura defensiva," *Patrimonio Cultural de España*, no. 9 (2014): 141–58.

[335] Ángel Viedma Guzmán, "El castillo y fortaleza de la villa de La Guardia (Jaén): aproximación a su historia, especialmente durante la época del marquesado (siglos XVI-XIX), a través de sus documentos. Los alcaides del castillo," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, no. 215 (2017): 27–97.

castles morphed into representations of recent victory imposing power but also privilege over Castilian settlers, Mediterranean fortresses where military tools to oppress and control foreign populations, always tending to rebellion.[336]
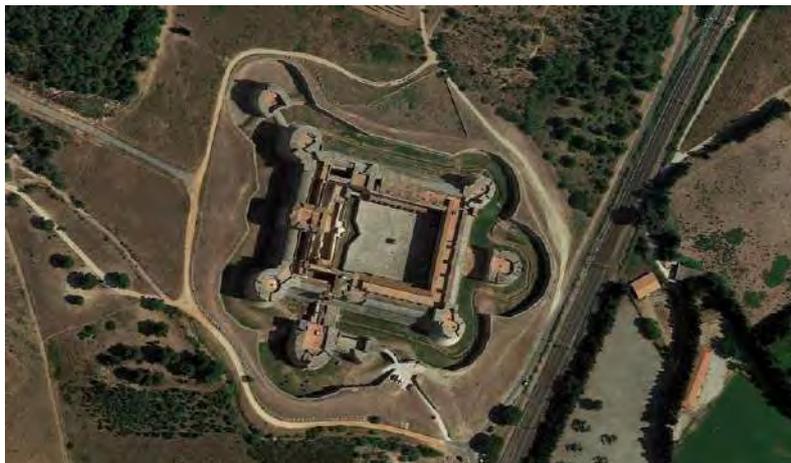


**Figure 100: Satellite view of Salses Fortress, Roussillon, France. Its layout was modified by Ramiro López in 1496 by order of king Ferdinand II of Aragon. The east and south bastions were added at that point to the pre-existent fortress. © Google Earth**
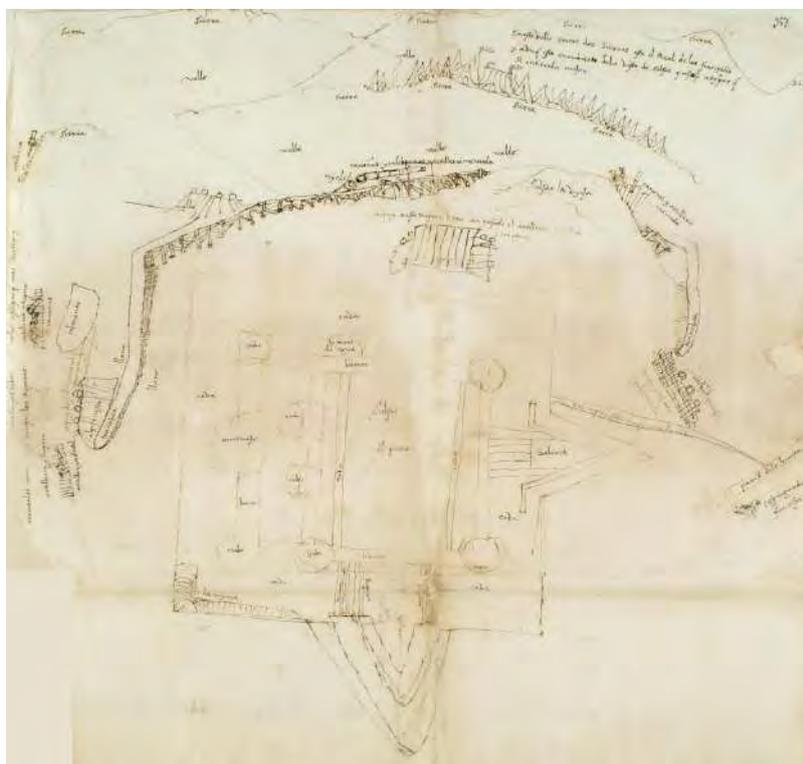


**Figure 101: Salses Fortress, France. D-shape bastions appear in front of the main fortress, in the right and bottom sides. The French encampment appears at the top, attacking the fortress from its northern front. © Archivo de la Real Academia de Historia. Item number C-002-096.[337]**

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[336] Cámara Muñoz, "La ciudad en los tratados de ingeniería del Renacimiento."

[337] Gonzalo de Ayora, Traça de Salsas (Salsas, Rosellón, 1503), Archivo Real Academia de Historia, Colección Salazar y Castro, http://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/dgbrah/i18n/consulta/registro.cmd?id=61766.

## 1.5 Urban models and prototypes in the repopulation of Granada and its imperial reach.

### Hispanic grid urbanism in urban historiography. Postulation of Santa Fe as a stereotypical 'missing link'.

All in all, the reach of Ramiro López innovations and the overall relevance of Granada's landmarks transformation pinpoint the symbolic role that the Nasrid conflict had for the whole Imperial Spain, which was barely being born. Grid urbanism took an important role in this process as a way to show royal power, military dominance, and Catholic order. As in previous stages, its nature was two-dimensional: a visible part formed by urban form, public spaces, and buildings; and an invisible part being controlled by population charters, royal privileges, and land distribution protocols registered as *repartimientos*. While the physical dimension of the grid city depended on geometry, its legal dimension depended on written documents and notarial rituals. In most cases, the foundation of these grid cities only left written traces, without plans or diagrams of any kind. During the medieval period grid cities did exists in the Iberian Peninsula but planning them was exclusively a matter of legitimization. In some cases, they were related to military operations, but most often the main priority was the distribution of land to civil settlers. Urban planning and geometry were connected concepts, but they were not yet connected through graphic mechanism and drawing tools.

#### *The repopulation of Granada*

Those same repopulation protocols were applied in Granada's province during the 16th century. The whole province was repopulated with Castilian settlers in the same way than previous conquests, however, the frontier had been relegated to the coastline and no inner borders need as much protection as in the past. The repopulation model used in Granada has been described as 'colonial', a protocol that distributed lands and privileges among the conquerors at the same time it involved conquered groups staying under an -often denigrating- special treatment.[338] This operation was mostly applied to already existing towns and villages, making use to the already existing Granadan infrastructure, and avoiding the plantation of new settlements when it was not necessary. Grid urbanism practices of neither Castile nor Aragon were used extensively. There are, however, some exceptions.

The main one is Granada's own capital. The Nasrid medina experienced additional other urban transformations over the 16th and 17th centuries, following its imperial role until 1567[339], the influence of the Spanish inquisition with the head inquisitor Cardinal Cisneros being simultaneously archbishop of Granada, and the

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[338] Peinado Santaella, *Cómo disfrutan los vencedores cuando se reparten el botín. El reino de Granada tras la conquista castellana (1483-1526)*.

[339] When Philip II officially placed his imperial court at San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

appearance of a zealous counter-reformist movement in the 1600s. The Granadan capital expanded through its lower areas with regularly traced districts such as La Magdalena and Las Angustias.[340] Additional sectors would be added to the city in the 17th century such as San Antón, Virgen de las Angustias, and the boulevards of El Salón and La Bomba.[341]

Besides the capital, there is one scenario where grid planning was applied: the new towns projects of Jaen Sierra Sur. This repopulation initiative was ordered by queen Juana I in 1508 but languished in legal conflicts among local oligarchies and low-class settlers until 1537, when it was reactivated through an *ejecutoria*[342] signed by Charles V. These new towns have barely received any attention outside of the Spanish academia and do not appear in most urban history surveys, however, they present a quite interesting combination of principles and protocols described in this chapter. The original documents conserved from their plantation include a *plano de repartimiento*, a foundational plan that registered the distribution of land plots to each settler. Written documents from this process mention the existence of three more plans. These were elaborated almost thirty years earlier than the older *planos de repartimiento* conserved from any American plantation, which are the ones from Mendoza, Argentina (1561-3), conserved at the Archivo General de Indias.[343]

The inclusion of Jaen Sierra Sur new towns into the current urban historiography is one of the main objectives of *Siblings Overseas*. Sierra Sur is a case study that invalidates many of the assumptions still present in urban history essays and surveys around the world, showing how the so-called Spanish colonial urbanism was not a generic geometric model applied globally, but a new stage in a long tradition of urban innovations whose roots run deeply into the cultural diversity of the Iberian Peninsula. Of course, it was used as tool for invasion and conquest but foremost for occupation and control. Nobody is defending here a naïve approach to Hispanic imperialism. However, deepening into the cultural and legal nuances of this Spanish urban protocols can shed new light to a practice that is often depicted in shallow terms. So, before deepening further into Jaen Sierra Sur and its foundational documents, a short historiographical review is in order to provide a thorough understanding on exactly how international literature

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[340] Del Cid Mendoza, *Cartografía urbana e historia de la ciudad. Granada y Nueva York como casos de estudio*, 129–30.

[341] Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad*, 31–32.

[342] Royal executory order enacted by the monarch to compel the fulfilment of a previous order, law, or decision of any kind.

[343] Consejo de indias and Pedro del Castillo, *Plano de las tierras repartidas a los primeros pobladores de la ciudad de Mendoza*, Repartimiento, Sin escala (Mendoza, Argentina, October 9, 1561), ES.41091.AGI//MP-BUENOS_AIRES,222, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos; Juan Jufré de Loaysa Montesa, "Plano de la ciudad de Resurrección (Mendoza), en la región de Cuyo"; Consejo de indias, *Traza o plano fundacional de la ciudad de Mendoza, con la adjudicación de los solares de la misma*, Repartimiento (Mendoza, Argentina, 1563), Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos, http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/17136.

describes the aftermath of Granada and Santa Fe as an influential event for the Americas.

### *The spread of Santa Fe*[344]

Santa Fe was an important place for the Spanish American even before any early modern European set foot in the continent. On April 17th of 1492, the first document authorizing Christopher Columbus to travel to the East Indies via the Atlantic was signed by queen Elizabeth in Santa Fe.[345] The city is also mentioned in letters, instructions, and other documents throughout the 16th century as a common reference for *conquistadores* [conquistadors] and *adelantados,* many of them being veterans from the Granada War (e.g. Nicolás de Ovando), descendants of veterans (e.g. Hernán Cortés), or simply Castilian citizens raised in post-war Granada (e.g. Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada). Today, cities bearing the name Santa Fe can be found all across the Americas, in places as diverse as the United States[346], Mexico[347], Cuba[348], Honduras[349], Panamá[350], Colombia[351], Venezuela[352], Brazil[353], Bolivia[354], Chile[355], and Argentina.[356] In other words: most of the colonial Spanish territories in America have their own Santa Fe. Even inside the Iberian Peninsula there are *santafes* with colonial characteristics such as Santa Fe de Mondújar in the eastern province of the Kingdom of Granada, a small village planted after the expulsion of local inhabitants in the aftermath of the Alpujarras Morisco Rebellion (1568-1571).[357]

The impact of Santa Fe in the Americas gives it a prominent role in most studies of Spanish early modern urbanism. Authors such as Fernando Terán and Charles Delfante list Santa Fe in their urban history surveys, commenting on its expansive influence and recognizing the complex historiographic discussion

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[344] This section has been adapted from the manuscript, currently in preparation by the author, titled 'Santa Fe: model or prototype? Uses and misuses of Granada's Santa Fe as a transatlantic myth in urban historiography', which will be published as a volume chapter in Leahy, Chad [Ed.], On the Uses and Abuses of Early Modern Spanish Culture, Vol. 3, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, planned for publication in early 2021.

[345] The original document was lost. The earliest copy conserved today dates to 1493. It was named Documentary Heritage by UNESCO in 2009.

[346] At least six cities named Santa Fe located in New Mexico, Florida, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, and California.

[347] At least twelve cities named Santa Fe located in Baja California, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Mexico City, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacán, Nayarit, Nuevo León, Sinaloa, Sonora, and Veracruz.

[348] At least three of them in La Habana, Isla de la Juventud, and Pinar del Río.

[349] At least two of them in Colón and Ocotepeque.

[350] At least two of them in Darién and Veraguas.

[351] At least two of them: the capital Santa Fe de Bogotá and Santa Fe de Antioquía.

[352] At least three of them in Falcón, Sucre, and Miranda.

[353] At least four of them in Paraná, Minas Grais, Sao Paulo, and Tocantins.

[354] At least one, Santa Fe de Yapacaní, in the Department of Santa Cruz.

[355] At least one of them, part of Los Ángeles, in Biobio.

[356] At least one of them, Santa Fe de la Vera Cruz.

[357] Valeriano Sánchez Ramos, "Repoblación y Defensa En El Reino de Granada: Campesinos-Soldados y Soldados-Campesinos," *Chronica Nova* 22 (1995): 380.

regarding the origins of its trace, which has not been fully resolved.[358] If Santa Fe's grid structure was meant to be used as a model, however, its morphology should consistently appear in manuscripts, *instrucciones* [instructions], and military engineering treatises. But this was not the case. As it was mentioned in a previous section, the earliest surviving layout of Santa Fe dates from 1777 and it is not a military document, much less a foundational plan.[359]

Given the abundance of urban depictions in the early modern Hispanic world, it is highly improbable that Santa Fe could have existed throughout the 16th and 17th centuries as a 'model for the creation of all Hispano-American cities' without any graphic representation of its plan in major printed manuscripts.[360]

Although this debate is ongoing, urban historians often depict Santa Fe as an uncontested model for Spanish urban practices in Europe and America. In the recent past, a diverse of authors have tackled the plan of Santa Fe and presented it as a re-enactment of the Roman *castrum*, a physical embodiment of Celestial Jerusalem, a derivative of the French *bastides*, or an exemplary application of Renaissance urbanism, among other explanations. Hispanic medievalists place Santa Fe at the end of their arguments as an open path to the imperial future, while Americanists mention it as a root of later developments in their area of expertise. From some, Santa Fe is an absolute planning model that synthetized all previous Iberian experiences and spread them into the global scale. Others defend the contrary view, deconstructing its role in a bidirectional, transatlantic urban process that had consequences on both shores of the Atlantic and took elements from the rich cultural diversity of the Ibero-American world.

### *Santa Fe as a militaristic global blueprint*

Urban history has an evident French tradition inherited from 19th and early 20th century authors like Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, Henri Pirenne, or Pierre Lavedan, who focused on Classic urban history and Central/North European urbanism through the study of well-known documents and treatises from the late-medieval and early modern period.[361] This background informed later urban historians such as Yves Barel in France, Leonardo Benevolo in Italy, Maurice Beresford in England, and Erwin Anton Gutkind in Germany, among many others.[362] Texts such as the fourth volume of Gutkind's 1964 *International History*

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[358] Fernando Terán, *La ciudad hispanoamericana. El sueño de un orden* (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, 1989); Charles Delfante, Ángel Isac Martínez de Carvajal, and Yago Barja de Quiroga, *Gran historia de la ciudad: de Mesopotamia a Estados Unidos* (Madrid: Abada, 2006), 186–88.

[359] Quintillán, "Plano de Población de Santa Fe, [ca. 1777]."

[360] Quotation taken from Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad*, 32.

[361] Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique: étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome* (Paris: Durand, 1864); Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969); Pierre Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1952).

[362] Yves Barel and Christiane Arbaret, *La Ciudad Medieval: Sistema Social-Sistema Urbano* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1981); Leonardo Benevolo, *Diseño de la ciudad*, 5 vols. (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1977); Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle*

*of City Development* consolidated a morphologic approach in urban history, along with a series of arguments on Spanish medieval and imperial urbanism that are still common today: the Roman inheritance, the influence of French *bastides* during the Reconquista, the legal precedents established by Alphonse X *Siete Partidas* , the foral tradition in Aragon and Navarra*,* and the implementation of urban typologies like arcaded streets and *plazas mayores*. In fact, Gutkind built his Hispanic overview upon the works of renowned Spanish historians such as Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Antonio García y Bellido, Luis Cervera, Fernando Chueca and Pedro Bigador, all of whom were aware of Santa Fe's legacy.[363]

Most of these authors made references to the connection between Santa Fe and later urban developments in Latin America. This topic was then further explored by Antonio Bonet Correa, a most influential historian that marked the new generation of urban history research develop after the 1950s.[364] The majority of these works have not been widely available outside of Spain for a very long time.

At the international level, one of the most influential volumes on world urban history is Anthony Edwin James Morris' *History of Urban Form*, first published in 1972 and easily accessible thanks to subsequent editions and Spanish translations, its most recent from 2018.[365] Morris built his historical survey upon the works of many of the previously mentioned authors and deepened Gutkind's morphological approach while offering a wide array of explanations for diverse urban phenomena. In the brief section dedicated to Spanish medieval planned new towns, Morris describes them as 'further variations on the theme of European medieval town planning' whose 'main significance is that of providing a determining influence on the colonial settlement policies adopted by the Spanish conquistadors in Latin America.'[366] Morris then presents the foundation of Santa Fe as 'one of the most regularly planned examples' of Spanish cities, where the conquest of Granada timely coincided with Columbus' first journey (Figure 102).

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*Ages* (London: Lutterworth, 1967); Erwin Anton Gutkind, *International History of City Development* (New York and London: Free Press Collier-Macmillan, 1964).

[363] Antonio García y Bellido, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, Luis Cervera, Fernando Chueca, Pedro Bidagor, *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en españa* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1954). Balbás was also known for his conservation and restauration works as chief architect of the Alhambra (1923-1936). Additionally, Torres Balbás and Chueca wrote the introduction to an edited collection of Iberoamerican and Philippine city plans conserved at the *Archivo General de Indias*, that was first published in 1942: Fernando Chueca Goitia, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, and Julio González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1982).

[364] Bonet Correa, deceased in May 22, 2020, left behind numerous Works and volumes including: Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad*; Antonio Bonet Correa, *El urbanismo en España e Hispanoamérica*, Ensayos arte Cátedra (Madrid: Cátedra, 1991); Antonio Bonet Correa, 'Reflexiones en torno a las Plazas Mayores españolas, hispanoamericanas y filipinas,' in Museo Nacional del Prado [Coord.] *Sapientia libertas: escritos en homenaje al profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez*, 2007, 807–14.

[365] Anthony Edwin James Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolution* (London: George Godwin Limited, 1972); Anthony Edwin James Morris, *Historia de la forma urbana. Desde sus orígenes hasta la revolución industrial* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2018).

[366] Anthony Edwin James Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 3rd ed (London New York Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1994), 147.

In 1984, the first Spanish translation of Morris' book added a new chapter titled 'Spain and her Empire', which was later adapted for the third English edition in 1994. The first three pages of this section are dedicated to Spanish urbanism during the *Reconquista*, with an insistence that medieval new towns acquainted 'Castilian leaders of Latin American colonizing expeditions with the processes of new urban settlement'.[367] The only highlighted city of this period is, again, Santa Fe. Morris describes the participation of Nicolás de Ovando in its founding as 'a formative planning experience comparable with that of Pierre L'Enfant'. [368] Although a sidenote warns 'Santa Fe did not serve as a model or preferred imperial city plan', the city is presented as a convenient articulation founded in a 'auspiciously coincidental year … with Granada retaken and Castilian knights looking for fresh fields to conquer, Spain was ready and above all able to accept the challenge, brought back by Columbus, of a "new world" for the taking'.[369] Later in the chapter Morris presents more anachronistic examples, such as the use of the category *plaza mayor* to describe the *Plaza Birrambla* in Granada[370], or the description of how Charles V 'petitioned the Pope for sole rights

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[367] Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 293.

[368] Morris, 294.

[369] Morris, 293.

[370] Morris, 302. The urban typology of the *plaza mayor* is an Iberoamerican innovation that would not be implemented in European Hispanic domains until much later in the 16th century. The

to the Indies' right after Columbus first return in 1493, seven years before the emperor was even born. A further problematic aspect to Morris' work is the comparison between Spanish and English colonialism. For Morris, Spaniards show a militaristic approach to urbanism vastly distinct from the 'individual adventuring' and 'corporate enterprise' of the English colonies.[371] His arguments resonate with Lewis Mumford's notion that 'If the Spanish colonial town in the New World was a military survival, the New England village was a happy mutation'.[372]

In this way, the general picture offered is that of a quick militaristic articulation between shallow medieval south-Iberian conflicts which are presented as steps to the global conquest of the Americas. Morris, and other authors who reference him such as Leonardo Benevolo and Spiro Kostof, often draw upon similar historical categories, wide and shallow, to provide brief explanations for Ibero-American urban practices.[373] For example, while Benevolo refers to the work of Pierre Lavedan and Henri Pirenne when listing Spanish Medieval hypodamic cities in *La città nella storia d'Europa,* later in the volume he also reduced the motives behind the extensive application of the Spanish colonial grid to 'utopian models' and other urbanization practices born from the Italian Renaissance.[374] In his famous 1991 volume *The city shaped*, Kostof considers that the Laws of the Indies were 'a genuine product of Renaissance thought' that can be seen as 'a continuation of the long medieval history of *bastides*'.[375]

### Santa Fe in the works of Hispanists and Latin-Americanists

In comparison to urban historians, Hispanists and Latin-Americanists tend to be more contained in their considerations, providing specific insights that are questioned immediately after and put back into their more complex historical context. As John Elliott wrote in the introduction to his *Empires of the Atlantic World*, comparative history is a 'fluctuating process' not unlike 'playing the accordion'.[376] In Elliott's volume, Santa Fe appears once more as the main link between Spanish grid-iron urbanism in Europe and the Americas. This author had explored the topic before in his famous volume *Imperial Spain 1469-1716*, in which the Granada War was explained in detail. Here, Santa Fe is presented in the midst of a complicated network of relationships between Nasrid Granada, Castile, and

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correct use of this term has been widely discussed by many scholars, including Antonio Bonet Correa, who identified the *plaza mayor* of Valladolid (1561) as the first public space of this kind in Castile. See: Antonio Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad*, 38; Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 302.

[371] Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 330.

[372] Mumford, *The City in History*, 330.

[373] Leonardo Benevolo, *La ciudad europea*, La construcción de Europa (Barcelona: Crítica, 1993); Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

[374] Leonardo Benevolo, *La ciudad europea*: *La construcción de Europa* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1993); Benevolo, 125–29.

[375] Kostof, *The City Shaped*, 113.

[376] John H. Elliott, *Imperios del mundo atlántico: España y Gran Bretaña en América* (Madrid: Taurus, 2006), xix.

Aragon, and entangled with the early modern conflicts with North Africa, Italy, Germany, Flanders, and America.[377] His historical narration is polyhedric, rich in meaning, and open to discussion without even tackling Santa Fe's morphology. It does not need to. Elliott's expertise in the Spanish Empire, along with his wide and complex approach, support his more critical views on historical archetypes and stereotypes. Similarly, Richard L. Kagan's 1998 compilation of Hispanic urban imagery mentions Santa Fe not only because of its shape but also for the diversity of debates around its historical roots.[378]

Urban historians from Latin America have further developed this more methodical approach. In 1996, the Colombian architect Jaime Salcedo arranged a complex survey of Spanish colonial morphologies separated into two groups: first, fortified cities with long blocks, narrow streets and imperfect grids typically found in the Caribbean. Second, open cities mostly founded after the 1530s with squared blocks and wide streets that were more common in the interior territories of the continent where the Spaniards did face enemy artillery.[379] Salcedo connected both kinds of cities to medieval experiences, including the *castramentatio* rule by Alfonso X in the 13th century or the ideal city by Francesc de Eiximenis in the early 15th century.[380] The Santa Fe experience, Salcedo argues, affected colonial settlement protocols in diverse ways. It was still the main overseas link, but with diverse consequences depending on the specific time and geography of each colonial city. In some cases, it operated as a loose rule for the creation of temporary military encampments. In others it was and embodiment of *vida en policía*, the ideal way of living under Spanish law. In most cases, Santa Fe was mainly just a popular reference, a city mentioned as a great example in royal history and war chroniclers but whose precise geometry was unknown for Spanish settlers in the mid-16th century. To name a city after Santa Fe was not a sign of morphological imitation but an attempt for genealogical connection, relating the new-born plantation to the values of regularity, victory and celestial resemblance of the royal Granadan town.

Salcedo was accompanied in the Colombian context by older figures such as Carlos Martínez and contemporaries like Alberto Corradine.[381] Today, one of the main referents on the foundational history of Santa Fe de Bogotá is Germán Mejía,

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[377] J. H. Elliott, *La España Imperial: 1469-1716*, 5th edition (Barcelona: Alianza Editorial, 1998).

[378] Richard L. Kagan, *Imágenes urbanas del mundo hispánico 1493-1780* (Madrid: El Viso, 1998), 67.

[379] Jaime Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico, Colección textos y manuales*? (Santafé de Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Fac. de Arquitectura y Diseño: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1996).

[380] Jaime Salcedo Salcedo, 44–46.

[381] Carlos Martínez Jiménez, *Apuntes sobre el urbanismo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Santa Fe de Bogotá: Talleres gráficos del Banco de la República, 1967); Carlos. Martínez, *Reseña urbanística sobre la fundación de Santafé en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Litografía Colombia, 1973); Alberto Corradine Angulo and Helga Mora de Corradine, *Historia de la arquitectura colombiana*, 2 vols. (Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, 1989).

who compiled a historical cartography of the city in 2007 and, in 2012, published a detailed study on several documents regarding the plantation of Bogotá and its early years.[382] Mejía's reference to Santa Fe de Granada was obligatory obligated given the Granadan origin of Bogotá's founder Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and the naming of both the new colonial city and its region: *Reino de Nueva Granada*. In his narration of Bogotá's foundational process, Mejía focuses on the politics, the symbolism, and the urban legislation of this period, relating his work to the developments of Spanish historians such as Manuel Lucena.[383] He builds upon the arguments of Martínez and Salcedo, but his approach is less dependent on morphology.

In 1978, J. E. Hardoy's wrote: 'The pompous title of city was a legal figment, not a physical reality'. This quote, used by Morris as a way of measuring the level of development of the Spanish colonies during their early years, appears also in the works of more recent historians such as Mejía and the Spanish Manuel Lucena who dive into the details and inner workings of that 'legal figment', and so evaluate the implications and impacts of its associated protocols and hierarchies. [384] Similar arguments have been made by scholars specialised in other Latin American contexts. For example, Mario Sartor, an Italian expert in Mesoamerica, built upon the works of J. E. Hardoy, F. Chueca, L. Benevolo, and P. Portoghesi to provide a broad historical overview that included both Spanish urban practices and pre-Columbian built environments.[385] Like many other scholars, Sartor's account refers to the common pattern of Hispanic cities, including the rule of *castramentatio* and the French *bastides.* He also presents *Santa Fe of Granada* by using its 1780 plan.[386] In his work, the plan appears accompanied by other examples of European cities, including Monpezier, Villareal, and Briviesca, some of which can be found in the works of Gutkind and Salcedo. Later Mexican scholarship took a more multidimensional approach. For example, Alain Musset's renowned work on *ciudades nómadas* [nomad cities] explored the way in which the notarial corpus of colonial cities was, in many cases, more resilient than its built structure.[387] Cities affected by unhealthy conditions or natural disasters were

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[382] Marcela Cúellar Sánchez and Germán Rodrigo Mejía Pavony, *Atlas Histórico de Bogotá. Cartografía 1791-2007* (Bogotá: Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural, 2007); Germán Rodrigo Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, (Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2012).

[383] Manuel Lucena Giraldo, *A los cuatro vientos: las ciudades de la América hispánica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006).

[384] Jorge E. Hardoy, Richard P. Schaedel, and Nora Scott-Kinzer, 'Two Thousand Years of Urbanization in the Americas,' in Richard P. Schaedel, Jorge E. Hardoy and Nora Scott-Kinzer [Eds.] *Urbanization in the Americas from Its Beginning to the Present* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1978), 1–26. Quotation from Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 304. Spanish translation: Jorge E. Hardoy, "La Construcción de Las Ciudades de América Latina a Través Del Tiempo," *Problemas Del Desarrollo* 9, no. 34 (1978): 83–118.

[385] Mario Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista: Mappe e Documenti Sulla Transformazione Urbana e Territoriale Nell'America Centrale Del 500* (Reggio Calabria: Gangemi, 1981).

[386] Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista,* 113–15.

[387] Alain Musset, *Ciudades nómadas del nuevo mundo*, trans. Jose Maria Imaz (Ciudad de México: Fondo De Cultura Economica, 2011).

displaced, re-traced, and re-distributed among their colonial citizens without losing their legal status, a particularity that often surprises audiences accustomed to conceptualizing the city as an indivisible entity. However, when approaching the case of Granada's Santa Fe, Musset's description offers no novelty. He names the same usual historical references and influences, namely Renaissance ideal cities like Thomas More's *Utopia* and its plan designed according to the principles of Roman *castrum* principles.[388]

More recent authors of early modern urban surveys have added new layers to the interpretation of Santa Fe, associating its example to their respective historical arguments. In her 2001 text, *La città del primo Rinascimento*, Donatella Calabi presents Santa Fe as part of a '*politica di colonizzazione interna*' [policy of interior colonization] that developed in both Italy and Spain during the late 15th century, which would later influence a series of regularization projects in conquered Islamic medinas like Jaen (1494-1540), Málaga (1527), Córdoba (1521-1600) or Granada itself (1505-1528).[389] These urban transformations of the former Nasrid capital during its Christianisation are another source for new historical approaches from authors such as Alicia Cámara or Begoña Alonso. Alonso describes Santa Fe as a *simulacro de ciudad* [simulacrum of a city], a category later used by Cámara to address the Vitruvian roots of its geometry and the 'direct' application of its orthogonal plan to the Spanish transformation of Tenochtitlan.[390] In fact, the idea of *simulacro* has a strong resonance also in the urban history of Christian Granada. As it has been already explained, the city became a failed project of imperial capital in the 1530s, a focus of instability during the Moorish rebellions of 1568 and 1571, and a shrine for the Counter Reformation after the Moorish expulsion in the early 17th century. All these moments were accompanied by urban operations of great impact that created new urban sceneries to show the power of the crown and the clerical institutions. According to Granadan expert José Luis Orozco, the traces and geometries used during these transformations had a complex symbolic dimension; a thick layer of religious and political meanings which are still not thoroughly understood.[391] Orozco argues that, while the plan of Santa Fe was, for practical purposes, a mere reproduction of the Roman *castrum*, its real importance resides in its role as a devoted Christian city; a ritual urban structure

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[388] Musset, *Ciudades nómadas del nuevo mundo*, 48.

[389] Donatella Calabi, *La città del primo Rinascimento* (Bari, Roma: Editori Laterza, 2001), 24, 106.

[390] Begoña Alonso Ruiz, 'Restaurar y mejorar Granada en religión, gobierno y edificios. Las transformaciones urbanas tras la conquista castellana,' in Susana Truchuelo García, Roberto López Vela, Marina Torres Arce [Coords.] *'Civitas': expresiones de la ciudad en la Edad Moderna* (Santander: Editorial de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2015), 73–108; Alicia Cámara, 'Vitruvio y el geómetra en la ciudad de la Edad Moderna,' in *La ciudad de los saberes en la Edad Moderna* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, S.L., 2020), 19.

[391] José Luis Orozco Pardo, *Christianópolis: urbanismo y contrarreforma en Granada del seiscientos* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1985). Several authors are involved in the historical research of 17th century Granada, including Francisco Antonio García Pérez, 'Visiones de la No-Granada. Imágenes acuáticas y subterráneas en la ciudad contrarreformista y burguesa' (Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Granada, 2014).

charged with strong symbolism.[392] In this sense, Santa Fe's morphology was a common and conventional structure that supported unique, powerful meanings relating to Catholic theology and its divergent interpretations.[393]

### *Open paths for a critical reading of Santa Fe and its influence.*

The main challenge for this alternative take on Santa Fe's influence is the conceptual multiplicity intertwined with Granada's cultural landscape, which complicates its integration into the wider approach of urban history surveys. Nonetheless, the symbolic dimension of the city has been a topic of great interest to scholars over the last sixty years, including significant works such as Joseph Rykwert's 1962 *The Idea of a Town* and Giorgio Muratore's 1975 *La città rinascimentale*, together with other studies on the Celestial Jerusalem and its simulacra.[394] In his canonical architectural history text, Rykwert developed a theory on urban foundational practices based on the Ethruscan myth applied to a diverse selection of case studies in Africa, America, and Asia. He also presented a series of possible 'parallels' for future research which included medieval Spanish settlements such as the abovementioned Briviesca.[395] Although Santa Fe was not directly mentioned, many of Rykwert's observations can be applied to the study of its religious significance, including his famed Biblical quote from John 10:9: 'I am the door. If anyone enters by Me, he will be saved, and will go in and out and find pasture'.

More contemporary scholars such as Marco Follin continue exploring the network of international references to celestial models in cities of the old regime, along with other authors such as Keith D. Lilley.[396] In Lilley's 2009 'City and Cosmos', he delves into the symbolic dimension of the city and its role in medieval philosophy with cases from France, England, Italy, and Flanders. It also includes Spanish new towns such as Petra in the Balearic Islands (1300) and Puente la Reina in the Navarre segment of the *Camino de Santiago* (1122).[397] Lilley situates these settlements alongside other European cities to highlight how their geometries correlated with precise symbolic structures and cosmogonies.

As a final addition to this gathering of authors, it is worth mentioning at least two more scholars who do not directly deal with urban morphology but who

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[392] Orozco Pardo, *Christianópolis*, 70.

[393] Categories 'structure' and 'meaning' are understood here following the definition developed in Tony Atkin and Joseph Rykwert, eds., *Structure and Meaning in Human Settlements* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2005).

[394] Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), first published in 1962 in the architectural journal *Forum*, edited by Aldo van Eyck; Titus Burckhardt, *Símbolos* (Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta, 1980).

[395] Joseph Rykwert, *La idea de ciudad: antropología de la forma urbana en el mundo antiguo* (Madrid: Hermann Blume, 1976), 249.

[396] Marco Follin, ed., *Rappresentare la città. Topografie urbane nell'Italia di antico regime*, Cliopoli. Città Storia Identità 2 (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2010).

[397] Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books 2009), 51, 63.

explore the symbolic and cultural significance of Spanish colonial structures, and so provide methodologies and conceptual frameworks that might help de-mythicise the idea of Santa Fe typically found in international literature. One of them is Patricia Seed, who, in the late 1990s, published a volume on European ceremonies of possession applied in colonial America.[398] Her Spanish chapter unpacks the *requerimiento*, a highly regulated protocol that Spaniard conquerors were obligated to perform when contacting indigenous groups. It worked as a sort of 'declaration of domination,' required to comply with the Castilian legislative tradition developed during 800 years of medieval territorial claims and conflicts against Al-Andalus. Seed deftly delves into the details of this norm, its Islamic influences, its medieval evolution, and its implications for how colonialism was conceptualised by Castilian people taking elements from their Catholic and Hispanic-Islamic background. This last idea is also central to Ricardo Padrón's 2004 study, *The Spacious World*, which looks closely at historical cartographies and written sources to develop a better understanding of how colonial agents modified their own worldview to include a new overseas landmass, one seen as a strange territory full of unknows and not even considered an independent continent until the late 16th century. In this volume, Padrón studies Hernán Cortés' personal correspondence and unpacks his arguments and mental processes, identifying the weight of medieval Castilian culture on his accounts and rationalisations of his actions. Padrón dedicates valuable pages to explaining the historical complexities behind the very idea of 'Spain' as a political space and its relationship with ancient 'Hispania' as a heritage monopolised by Aragon and Castile, especially during the last decades of the *Reconquista*.[399] Most of the global history manuals mentioned before would fall into the assumption that Spain was during this era a cohesive entity, rather than a problematic national identity that was unclear until the 19th century and continues to be debated to this day.

Even though the approaches of Seed and Padrón are not urban nor morphological, they do mention Santa Fe as part of their arguments. Their takes on the medieval roots of early modern Spanish colonialism are complex and multidimensional, stressing several spatial and territorial implications that may be applied to the study of plantations throughout the 16th century. Their exploration of primary sources and early modern conceptual frameworks allow a more rigorous understanding of history, far from absolute considerations and generic, exchangeable premises. This is the kind of approach that is needed to bring newer findings on Santa Fe's history made at a local level to bear on an international scholarly community that unfortunately still overuses stereotypical, shallow, and almost mythical depictions of its role in the early modern period. More detailed depictions are needed, tackling the meanings of Santa Fe's prototypical role, the specific innovations applied in its plantation and fortification, and their connection

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[398] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[399] Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 111–12.

to the imperial Habsburg context.[400] The same approach should be extended to the rest of Iberian urban history, with its medieval complexities and Andalusian nuances. It is time for scholars to move away from a tradition of 'hunters of trace precedents' wherein oversimplifications prevent more rigorous findings from taking root.[401]

## 1.6 Recap: The *Re-conquista* as a conflict between cities

Up to this point, *Siblings Overseas* has presented a wide argument to contextualize and frame the study of early modern Spanish urban plantations. As it has been shown, the very own concept of Re-conquista is inappropriate to address the sheer complexity of more than eight hundred years of Iberian urban history. When this long period is divided in shorter temporal frames and its ample geography is studied at the provincial level, it becomes clear how each border region had its own circumstances and dynamics. Most general trends often attributed to the Re-conquista as a general process are not as clear when studied in further detail among further time periods. Practices, traditions, and ideologies emerge from particularized visions and studies, denying narratives that explain medieval Spanish urbanism as a shallow "means for war." No tool of conquest stays the same for eight centuries. Moreover, no weapon is just a weapon: It merits to be also regarded as a cultural product, as problematic as it may be.

The first section of this chapter looked into Aragón and Pamplona as seedbeds of grid urbanism and its association with fueros and privileges assigned to certain cities. Between the 11th century several cities in these regions added more or less regular districts to their pre-existent medieval burgs at the same time they received a certain royal charter, attracting new settlers and immigrants from Frankia. This practice expanded in the 12th century with the conquest of the Taifa of Zaragoza and the Aragonese frontier advance further south.

The process continued in the 1200s with the campaigns of Alphonse I and Jaume I, covering most of the Iberian east coast and the Balear Archipelago. This period is characterized by the plantation of walled grid towns that were not linked to older medieval burgs. Each settlement was covered by its own fuero, its lands

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[400] Jesús Escobar, "Architecture in the Age of the Spanish Habsburgs," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 75, no. 3 (September 1, 2016): 258–62, https://doi.org/10.1525/jsah.2016.75.3.258; Jesús Escobar, "Toward an urbanismo austríaco. An Examination of Sources for Urban Planning in the Spanish Habsburg World," in *Early Modern Urbanism & the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context. Exchanges in Theory and Practice 1550-1800*, Architectura Moderna 10 (Turnhout, 2011), 161–76; Laura Fernández-González, *Philip II of Spain and the Architecture of Empire* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, 2021).

[401] The original Spanish quotation "*Cazadores de antecedentes*" comes from Fernando Terán, in Fernando Terán, 'La cuadrícula en la ciudad hispanoamericana. ¿Un modelo urbano permanente?,' in Giovanna Rosso Del Brena [Ed.] *La Costruzione di un nuovo mondo. Territorio città architettura tra Europa e America Latina dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Genova: Sagep Editrice, 1994), 107.

distrbuted according to rigorous protocols. The whole process was registered in distribution books such as Valencia's *Llibre del Repartiment*. These urban practices have been interpreted either as an influence of the bastides created in southern France or a step forward in the evolution of Aragonese foral urbanism from its Jacobean roots. Some historians even defend that it was the Aragonese new towns the ones that influenced the French bastide urbanism and not the other way around.

In the 14$^{th}$ century these traditions were applied in insular colonization projects such as Petra in Mallorca. More importantly, the discussion around urban regularity and city planning permeated the fields of philosophy and theology, reaching its peak with the works of Francesc Eiximenis and his proposal of an ideal, regular Christian city based on neo-Aristotelian concepts and the Christian imagery on celestial Jerusalem.

The second section of the chapter focused on Castilian grid urbanism, a late bloomer if compared with its Aragonese neighbours. Its context is also quite different: instead of appearing in the dense, stable frontier between Jaca and Zaragoza, it started to acquire relevance in the much wider borderland of Andalusia after the conquest of Seville. While the Aragonese used regular plans to expand medieval cities when these received a royal privilege and only later used it in processes of conquest, Castilians connected the grid structure with the image of royal power in conquered land since the very beginning. Triana in Seville is its most evident example, created from the siege encampment of king Ferdinand III in 1246-48.

King Alphonse X would impulse additional repopulation projects in the 13$^{th}$ century, some of them with regular plans. More importantly, 'El Sabio' enacted a general foral law for Castile that would inspire future legal innovations all around the realm. By the early 14th, his granddaughter Blanca de Portugal became the founder of Briviesca 'La Bien Trazada.' This is an example of Castilian grid plantation that, instead of looking to repopulate the south, was located in the northern provinces of Castile in close connection to the Jacobean Route. It shared many aspects with its Navarre and Aragonese neighbours, especially in what regards to the use of foral law. Moreover, in her testament, Blanca de Portugal gifted all her founder privileges to Briviesca's citizens, granting them a level of independence that was not as common in Castile as it would be in later centuries.

Finally, this process leads to the Catholic Monarchs in the 15$^{th}$ century, Elizabeth I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon. Besides a series of repopulation charters in Andalusia's Atlantic shore, their most relevant urban innovations would take place during the Granada War between 1482-1491 and its aftermath. The encampment of Santa Fe, influenced by previous Castilian military experiences, would also apply the legal rigour and symbolism of Aragonese plantations. After experimenting with proto-modern bastion prototypes that would be later applied in the Alhambra and other fortresses in Europe, Santa Fe was totally transformed, transmuted into a holy city simulacrum full of religious meanings and references to the Catholic victory over the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.

# Chapter 2

# The royal project for the creation of four new towns in Sierra Sur de Jaen, Spain, 1508-1539.

## 2.1   Chapter presentation.

### *The Spanish grid: from a global perspective to provincialized studies.*

As mentioned in chapter one, 20th century seminal works on urban history have presented Hispanic medieval new town urbanism as a variant of the Roman *castrum*, the French bastides, and other planning practices in Italy and England. The arguments of historians such as Dan Stanislawski, which lingers in global surveys such as A.E.J. Morris', are still present today in architectural schools and popular urban culture.[402] Even Reuben S. Rose-Redwood, prominent scholar who convincingly contested Stanislawski's arguments in 2008, did so without specific mention to Iberian provincialized studies or their Latin American counterparts.[403] Other responses to the hegemonic discourse on the grid plan such as Jill L. Grant's "The Dark Side of the Grid: Power and Urban Design", are quite superficial when approaching Iberoamerican colonial urbanism. Works written in Spanish or by Spanish-speaking scholars are largely absent in their bibliography. A similar problem has been identified in international conferences on architectural and urban history where, in words of Fernando Lara, "the large majority of architectural scholarship until very recently completely ignored the Atlantic encounter or

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[402] Dan Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of the Grid-Pattern Town," *Geographical Review* 36, no. 1 (1946): 105–20, https://doi.org/10.2307/211076; Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*.

[403] Reuben S. Rose-Redwood, "Genealogies of the Grid: Revisiting Stanislawski's Search for the Origin of the Grid-Pattern Town," *Geographical Review* 98, no. 1 (2008): 42–58.

minimized its role in European developments".[404] In other words, the debate on the early modern use of the urban grid as a Eurocentric colonial abstraction is being ruled from English-written literature and English-speaking scholars. Iberoamerican voices from territories where the grid was imposed in the first place are often kept in a secondary role.

Thankfully, in the last two decades, new contributions have been published from the Iberoamerican world in an effort to provide new insights into specific urban cases and provincialized studies. This includes cases studies, local histories, and microhistories of cities in the Caribbean basin, Al-Andalus, the Canary archipelago, North Africa, Central America, southern Italy, and South America with its tremendous diversity of regions and landscapes from Nueva Granada to Brasil and the southern cone. For example, in *Ordenar para Controlar*, historian Marta Herrera Ángel offered new valuable knowledge on how Indian villages [*pueblos de indios*] were planted in the Colombian Caribbean and its Andean hinterland.[405] She studies specific documents and sources regarding the planning of these new towns and their singular features. The results allow for a better differentiation between pueblos de indios, pueblos de blancos,[406] and other earlier foundations being them fortified or not. Marta Herrera has also published studies on the "*Visita de 1560*" [1560 visit], a compilation of statistical documents and reports offering a general picture of the state of Nueva Granada colonial region half a century after its conquest.[407] For each depicted city and villa, the *Visita* included a brief report on their original plantation, climate, production, provinces, native tribes and/or chiefs, if there were native resistance [indios de guerra], as well as an estimate of their numbers.[408] Herrera analyses and spatialized this information through carefully designed maps, presenting a more thorough vision on Colombia's colonial territory. The image Herrera provides includes the inner frontiers and changing connections between Nueva Granada's provinces during their first decades, along with a depiction of how native groups still outnumbered their colonial invaders by far. She states that: "The fact that the native cultures had been militarily defeated reduced their negotiation leverage in the economic, political and religious plane, but it did not erase their influence in these fronts and even less at the social level. […] it is not possible to separate pre-Hispanic history from

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[404] The quote continues "the exceptions being Kathleen James-Chakraborty, Clare Cardinal-Pett, and myself." Fernando Luiz Lara, "Abstraction Is a Privilege," PLATFORM, June 7, 2021, https://www.platformspace.net/home/abstraction-is-a-privilege.

[405] Marta Clemencia Herrera Angel, *Ordenar para controlar: ordenamiento espacial y control político en las Llanuras del Caribe y en los Andes Centrales Neogranadinos. Siglo XVIII*, La carreta histórica (Medellín, Bogotá: La Carreta Editores E.U.; Universidad de los Andes, 2007). Other relevant works by this author on urban history and colonial studies include: Marta Clemencia Herrera Angel, *Poder local, población y ordenamiento territorial en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVIII.*, Serie Historia: no. 2 (Santafé de Bogotá: Archivo General de la Nación, 1996); Marta Clemencia Herrera Angel, "Transición entre el ordenamiento territorial prehispánico y el colonial en la Nueva Granada.," *Historia Crítica* 32 (December 2006): 118–53.

[406] Towns reserved for Spanish white settlers.

[407] Marta Herrera Angel, "El poblamiento en el siglo XVI. Contrastes entre el Caribe y el interior andino," *Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico* 44, no. 75 (2007): 57–88.

[408] Herrera Angel, 82.

Colonial history, for the simple reason that the late did not gestate in empty territories."[409] In sum, the regionalized studies of Colombian historians such as Marta Herrera overcome the Global Eurocentric history narrative and allow for a better understanding of the complexity inherent to Colombia's cultures, peoples, and territories.

Other scholars such as the French Alain Musset mentioned in chapter one, bring a similar level of detail to other regional frontiers in Latin America. In "*Ciudades Nómadas del Nuevo Mundo*" he surveys colonial cities that were moved and re-planted because of health issues and other calamities includes examples in Mexico, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, Chile, among many others.[410] The small scale and scarce documentation conserved for many of the new towns studied by Musset required thorough analysis and a great deal of field work. Against approaches focused on the so-called "Spanish Grid" as a global practice disseminated just with minor variation, Musset's explores the specificities of certain colonial new towns. His carefully detailed descriptions present a complex and diverse array of socio-political circumstances, economies, cultural backgrounds, and relationships between native, African, and European groups. The problems these colonial settlers encountered in their first plantations and the ways how they underwent the processes of re-location and re-foundation greatly vary among each other. In other words: when provincialized, colonial urban history avoids stereotypes and simplistic narratives of "good" versus "bad". The survey is accompanied by a considerable quantity of maps with diverse shapes and scales. For example, some provide the general location of nomad cities and the cause of their transfer to a new placement. These are separated by regions, showing how the different geographical contexts in the Caribbean basin, central Nueva España, the Nueva Granada region, or the southern cone produced different effects and challenges for the foundation of new cities.[411] Study cases such as San Juan Parangaricutiro in Mexico or Zamora in Ecuador are supported by 1:50.000 scaled maps, detailing the surrounding orography and other territorial features.[412] The sheer quantity of open lines for research and argumentation on Spanish colonial history displayed in Musset's work shows how this field is still quite alive and needed of new contributions.

This same approach has also been applied to European contexts. In the Iberian Peninsula, historians have delved into the repopulation and colonization processes developed by Christian kingdom after their advance upon Andalusian territories from the 13th to the 16th centuries. For example, the Portuguese historian Luísa Trindade studied the plantation of new towns in Portugal between 1250 and 1325

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[409] "El hecho de que las culturas nativas hubieran sido derrotadas militarmente, redujo su capacidad de negociación en el plano económico, político y religioso, pero no anuló su injerencia en esos ámbitos y aún menos en el de lo social. […] no es viable separar la historia prehispánica de la colonial, por la sencilla razón de que esta última no se gestó en territorios vacíos." Herrera Angel, 83.

[410] Musset, *Ciudades nómadas del nuevo mundo*.

[411] Musset, 154–60.

[412] Musset, 152, 337.

during the reigns of Alphonse III and Dinis.[413] Many of them were planted in the Algarve, a kingdom created in 1249 after the Portuguese conquest of the remaining Islamic domains in the south-west corner of the Iberian Peninsula. This happened just one year after the Castilian conquest of Seville, which explain the abundance of similarities between both urban processes. Moreover, the Castilian and Portuguese royal families were quite close at the time, with Alphonse III of Portugal being Alphonse X son-in-law. In her work, Trindade present morphological studies of cities such as Montalvão, Terena and Viana do Castelo, which present singular features and strategies produced by their particular contexts and circumstances. At the same time, Trindade also identifies shared elements with new towns in the Jacobean route and the Aragonese and Castilian frontier, such as regularized grids, fishbone plans, distribution protocols, foral laws, population charters with rights and obligations, among others. Her contribution widens the diversity of Iberian medieval urban studies without negating its political issues and problematic aspects. Not in vain, Trindade chose to use the form *(re)conquista* instead of Reconquista, giving continuity to the debate already mentioned in chapter 1.

These are only some of the examples of scholars who are contributing to the field of urban history, through the combined study of global trends and regionalized case studies. *Siblings Overseas* proposes the analysis of 16th century Andalusian new towns as a further step forward in the same trend. Its main case study, the royal project for the population of Jaen Sierra Sur, bear particular importance for a number of reasons, especially considering how it was developed between 1508 and 1539, during the following decades after the fall of Granada and the early stages of the American conquest. As it has been said in chapter 1, this was a period of great political instability and problematic coexistence between Castilian settlers and Granadan *moriscos*. Most Granadan cities were redistributed among Christian immigrants, displacing the local population, and transforming its socio-economical structure forever. Since most areas in the kingdom of Granada were already populated, very few settlements were planted anew. There was no need for new towns except for pockets of land with particular strategic importance. Sierra Sur stands out for being one of these exceptions. It connects with several of the main contemporary topics of discussion in the field of urban history at least through three of its features:

1- The case of Sierra Sur new towns was connected with the older urban traditions coming from the northern regions in Castile and Aragon. As presented in chapter 1, Hispanic medieval urbanism cannot be reduced to Roman heritage, French diffusionism and other stereotypes. At this point in this dissertation, it has been made clear enough how a more thorough understanding of cultural diversity in the Iberian Peninsula allows for a clearer analysis of its urban developments. Sierra Sur is heir to these

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[413] Trindade, "A Malha. Fazer cidade no Portugal medieval: agentes, programa e execucao."

traditions and their crossbreed developments created by the alliance of Castile and Aragon against Granada. New knowledge on the new towns project in Sierra Sur will contribute to the **regionalization** of these Iberian histories, allowing for a more solid **diachronic survey** of Hispanic urban history and the seeds of its global development.

2- The imposition of Castilian urbanism after Granada's conquest, re-structuring the territory and its meanings, can be understood as a colonial enterprise. While urban planning in Sierra Sur operated differently to the conquest and occupation of the New World, it also bears abundant similarities and provides an opportunity for **synchronic comparative analysis**. The availability of documents and plans from the time of Sierra Sur plantation are some of the earliest complete records of grid urbanism conserved for the 16th century. They are particularly valuable because of their combination of written records with plans. As a reference, most of the American colonial cities founded at the time do not conserve their foundational acts. Moreover, signature plantations such as Santa Fe did not include any plans in their distribution acts. Because of this, the new towns of Sierra Sur have the potential to act as an anchor between American and European urban histories, provide a new space for comparation and discussion.

3- Finally, when seen from a **de-colonial perspective**, the study of Sierra Sur new towns allows for a better understanding on how colonial powers and royal orders shaped the lives of men and women over the course of history. In this case, most of Sierra Sur settlers were farmers and other low-class citizen coming from the surroundings of Jaen's capital. There were also rich families and other elites who were rewarded with land plots in the new towns, but they did not occupy them personally. No Muslim citizens were allowed into the new town and only one Moorish settler is known: a converted Granadan aristocrat integrated into the new Castilian regime. The result is a diverse mixture of colonial agents, each one with its own interests, objectives, and resources. They occupied a land that had been a unstable frontier for more than 250 years at its best, a war zone at its worst.

### *Structure*

This chapter begins with a general approach to the kingdom of Jaen and its Sierra Sur as natural frontier with Nasrid Granada. It expands upon concepts already presented in chapter 1, describing its geographical and topographical structure, its main urban settlements, its commercial networks, and the politics that ruled them between the 13th and 15th centuries. Some of the main fortified settlements of Sierra Sur are also described here to provide a clear image of how the Castilian show of military power against its Nasrid enemy influenced the region. After the war ended, these castles and their associated buildings were transformed and adapted to a new political climate, one of peace rather than war.

The colonization project of Sierra Sur was born in this cradle of diminishing defensive importance, rising demographic pressure, and increasing demand for secure farming lands and commercial roads. The chapter continues with its description, from its original objectives and political aspirations to the several steps that took place between 1508 and the arrival of Juan de Rivadeneyra on April 2nd, 1539. The legal conflicts, demands, and resolution that took place before that moment offer a very interesting social background, essential to understand the details and nuances of the actual plantation. The *urbs* of Sierra Sur may have been founded in a short period of time, just a few months, but by that moment its *civitas* had been in development for almost three decades.

Once Juan de Rivadeneyra arrived at Sierra Sur, the plantation advanced quickly and by the end of the year it was already finished. The foundation of all four towns was enacted consecutively, one after the other, as Rivadeneyra and his team moved across the land surveying sites, consulting local agents and giving all sort of orders. The core of the chapter focuses on this process, first with the main example of Mancha Real through the analysis of its foundational book and distribution plan. The other three towns come next: Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares, and Campillo de Arenas. These cities only conserve written foundational documents but, through their comparative analysis with the plan of Mancha Real, *Siblings Overseas* presents a series of hypotheses on their foundational form and how they were originally traced.

The chapter wraps up with the evolution of the colonization process during the first decades after the foundation. In most cases, the appointed citizens and *vecinos* [neighbours] arrived slowly and took their time to build houses and prepare farming lands. In many cases, they did not comply with the time limits established by the population charter and the actual construction of the towns stalled for a long time. Even by the 18th century, Campillo de Arenas counted only with one street and a handful of houses. However, this lack of architectural dynamism in Sierra Sur towns did not mean political weakness or a lack of social structure. In fact, the new citizen of Sierra Sur pursued further privileges. Beautifully illustrated royal executory orders provided judicial independence to the new towns and, by the beginning of the 17th century, all of them had already cut ties with Jaen's juries. These and other documents are presented at the end of the chapter, portraying how the colonization of Sierra Sur changed its landscape and stablished networks that are still active in the 21st century.

### *Main precedents*

The urban history of Sierra Sur during the 16th century is not a new topic in any sense. The first population charter by Juana I signed in 1508 has been known at least since 1922 when Alfredo Cazabán Laguna, chronicler of Jaen, transcribed it in his article titled "*La Fundación del pueblo de Valdepeñas, en la sierra de Jaen*" [The foundation of the town of Valdepeñas, in the Sierra of Jaen].[414]

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[414] Cazabán Laguna, "La fundación del pueblo de Valdepeñas, en la sierra de Jaén."

Additional studies were published in the 80s. In 1988, historian Francisco-José Téllez Anguita published his essay "*Introducción a la colonización y repartimiento de la sierra de Jaén en el siglo XVI*" [Introduction to the colonization and distribution of the Sierra of Jaen in the 16th century], where he recognized the scarcity of scholarly literature on the topic.[415] Tellez Anguita names authors such as Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós from the early 20th century, José Rodríguez Molina from the 70s, and Antonio Dominguez Ortiz from the 80s, all of whom authored extensive histories on the kingdom of Jaen and mentioned the colonization of its Sierra Sur.[416] Earlier in that decade, Martín Jiménez Cobo, chronicler of Mancha Real, studied the foundational documents of his hometown.[417] His most relevant contribution is a full transcription of Mancha Real's foundational book, conserved today at the history archive of the province of Jaen.[418] Jiménez Cobo is also responsible of the first publication mentioning the foundational plan of Mancha Real conserved at Granada's Royal Chancery.[419] Up to 2021, that plan is still the only surviving copy of any of the plans elaborated during the foundation of Sierra Sur four new towns.

Sierra Sur has received more recent attention thanks to the work of historians José Miguel Delgado Barrado,[420] José Fernández García,[421] and María Amparo López Arandia.[422] Their volumes on the history of Valdepeñas de Jaen, Los Villares, and Campillo de Arenas, published between 2009 and 2013, are the foundational stone of *Siblings Overseas*.[423] The historical data provided in these volumes provide essential information for their study, especially regarding the full transcription of Sierra Sur town's plantation records (Figure 103). Thanks to these authors, all four Sierra Sur foundational books area available and readable for modern audiences, even though their transcriptions have not been digitized and most of these books are now out of order.[424]

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[415] Francisco-Jose Tellez Anguita, "Introduccion a la colonizacion y repartimiento de la sierra de jaen en el siglo XVI," *Chronica Nova* 16 (1988): 169–80.

[416] See Constancio Bernaldo de Quirós, *La colonización interior de España desde el siglo XVI al XX* (Madrid: Publicaciones del Ministerio de Trabajo y Previsión, 1929); José Rodríguez Molina, *El reino de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media: aspectos demográficos y económicos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1975); Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *El Antoguo Régimen: Los Reyes Católicos y los Austrias*, vol. III, Historia de España (Madrid: Alfaguara, 1980).

[417] Martín Jiménez Cobo, *Mancha Real. Historia y Tradición.* (Mancha Real, 1983); Martín Jiménez Cobo, *Nuevos escritos sobre Mancha Real*, 1988.

[418] Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*.

[419] Martín Jiménez Cobo, "Un Interesante Documento Sobre Mancha Real Del Tiempo de La Fundación," *Boletín Del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses* 126 (1986): 9–21.

[420] *Catedrático* of Modern History at Universidad de Jaén.

[421] Director of the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) at Jaen and Professor at Universidad de Jaén. Passed in 2017.

[422] Universidad de Extremadura.

[423] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia*; Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación, repoblación y buen gobierno en Castilla. Campillo de Arenas, 1508-1543*; Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*.

[424] I must particularly thank prof. José Miguel Delgado for sending me the aforementioned three volumes from Jaen to Turin, and inviting me to present a very early version of *Siblings Overseas* research proposal at Universidad de Jaen.

If the previous authors provided the documental basis for this research, Virginia Pérez Rodríguez must be regarded as the main methodological precedent for *Siblings Overseas*. In her 1988 article "*Primer urbanismo colonial en la provincial de Jaén*" [First colonial urbanism in the province of Jaen], Pérez provided a first overview of Sierra Sur urbanism and a morphological analysis of its plantations.[425] She also delved into the hypothesis of how these cities acted as a reference for Hispano-American new towns. Although *Siblings Overseas* does not agree with that idea - plantations in Sierra Sur and in the Americas occurred at the same time, so it cannot be said that one was a clear reference for the others - her arguments on the topic inspired new inquiries and questions on their trans-Atlantic urban connection.



**Figure 103: Three of the diverse handwriting styles present in the foundational documents of Valdepeñas de Jaén. Photograph by Manuel Sánchez García, taken from a photocopied version of the original documents conserved at the Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Serafín Parra, official Chronicler of Valdepeñas, gently provided them during a field visit in 2019.**

Virginia Pérez offered new results in 1998 with the publication of a paper on Campillo de Arenas early urbanism. In 2004, her dissertation on the colonization of Sierra Sur and Sierra Morena (18th century) was published by Jaen's architects' association[426] through a quite short edition.[427] The imprint of Antonio Bonet Correa, Perez's first Ph.D. supervisor, is evident in the morphological analyses and attention to historical cartography present in her work. *Siblings Overseas* is connected to that same methodological school since its very origin as a project that

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[425] Pérez Rodríguez and Henares Cuellar, "Primer urbanismo colonial en la provincia de Jaén, y su implantación como antecedente de diseño urbano para las ciudades hispanoamericanas."

[426] Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Jaén.

[427] Virginia Pérez Rodríguez, "Campillo de Arenas," *Sumuntán* 10 (1998): 169–88; Pérez Rodríguez, *Nuevas poblaciones y núcleos planificados de trazado regular en la provincia de jaén en el s. XVI y XVII y su influencia en hispanoamérica*. Architect María Toro, friend and colleague at Universidad de Granada, kindly gifted me a copy of Pérez's book which is very hard to find even in Andalusian old books stores, archives and libraries.

seeks to connects architectural and art history approaches to medieval and early modern urbanism. This project seeks to build upon the contributions of Virginia Perez, Antonio Bonet, and all the many scholars mentioned above, in an effort to provide further insights into Sierra Sur foundational urban history from a territorial, urban, and architectural perspective. In chapter 3, this knowledge will be further connected with the current scholarship on Iberoamerican colonies, elevating the colonization of Sierra Sur to the global discussion on early modern urban history.

## 2.2 Sierra Sur de Jaen: a mountain born to be frontier.

### Sierra Sur de Jaen: Geographical and geological depiction.

> *'El libro de la Montería ofrece toda una serie de topónimos, perfectamente identificables hoy, que permiten ubicar la frontera al sur de Benamejí, Rute y Priego hasta Locubín y Alcalá la Real; por las Sierras de Halconera y Albayate, conquistadas y ocupadas hacia 1341; y también por la Sierra de Alta Coloma (Mapa II). Desde aquí continúa posiblemente por el valle del río Guadalbullón hasta las alturas de Sierra Mágina. Poblaciones como Torres, Cuadros, Bélmez, Jódar, Cabra del Santo Cristo, etc. permanecieron en poder de Castilla hasta el siglo XV; mientras que Huelma, Solera y otras estaban en poder de Granada. Más al norte, la frontera corre paralela al sur de las estribaciones de las agrestes Sierras de Segura y Cazarla penetrando en el territorio de Murcia.'*
>
> Manuel García Fernández, 1987.[428]

[The Book of Hunting [NT by king Alphonse XI][429] offers a whole series of place names, still identifiable today, that allow us to locate the frontier south of Benamejí, Rute and Priego to Locubín and Alcalá la Real, crossing Sierra de Halconera y Albayate, conquered and occupied around 1341; and also crossing Sierra de Alta Coloma. From here, [the frontier] probably continues through the Guadalbullón river valley to the highs of Sierra Mágina. Settlements such as Torres, Cuadros, Bélmez, Jódar, Cabra del Santo Cristo, among others, remained under control of Castile until the 15th century; while Huelma, Solera, and others were controlled by Granada. Further north, the frontier ran parallel to the wild south foothills of Sierra de Segura and Cazorla, penetrating the region of Murcia.][430]

*Sierra Sur de Jaén*, also known as *Montes de Jaén*, is a small mountainous region that articulates the provinces of Granada and Jaen. Both capitals have operated as

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[428] García Fernández, "La frontera de Granada a mediados del siglo XIV," 72.

[429] J. E. Casariego, *Libro de la Montería de Alfonso XI de Castilla*, 2 vols., Biblioteca cinegética española 3 (Madrid: Velazquez, 1976).

[430] Translation by the author.

urban settlements since at least Iberian times (6th c. B.C.), with Sierra Sur as their natural frontier. During the Umayyad califate of Cordoba, the *coras*[431] of *Yayyan* (Jaén) and *Ilbira* (Granada) were separated by this same limit, stablishing an interior border that would later be included in the taifas of *al-Mariyya* (Almería), *Garnata* (Granada) and *Isbiliya* (Seville). When Muhammad ibn Nasr surrender Jaen to Castile in 1246 and stablished the borders of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada, the natural separation between both provinces was conserved, now with Christian cities and fortresses in its north side. In this way, the frontier was divided in two distinct areas: To the east, the plains of Guadalquivir's valley known as *Banda Morisca*, subjected to consecutive repopulation and colonization projects. This region stretched from Medina Sidonia and Tarifa, in the Strait of Gibraltar, to Lucena and Priego, south of Córdoba. From there, the landscape changes to a chain of mountains, including the *Sierras Subbéticas* (that include Sierra Sur), *Sierra Mágina*, *Sierra de Cazorla*, and *La Sagra*.

While the east section of the border lived several transformations and movements during the early years of the Nasrid kingdom, the line was tightly set up in the west. Cities and fortresses were built on both sides of the mountain range, stablishing south-north axes for communication (Figure 104). The result is a band of territory divided in pockets of abrupt land, with valleys and softer hilled plains with rivers, roads, commercial posts, castles, and watchtowers. There are at least three important connections to be considered: a main one crossing the Guadalbullón valley, and two secondary accesses through the Guadajoz lower valley and the line of rivers Jandulilla and Guadahortuna. The central connection is of particular importance given its defensive character. The narrow pass of Puerta de Arenas, in the entrance mouth to the valley, has been a natural gate to the Guadalquivir depression since Iberian and Roman times (Figure 105).

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[431] Administrative regions.
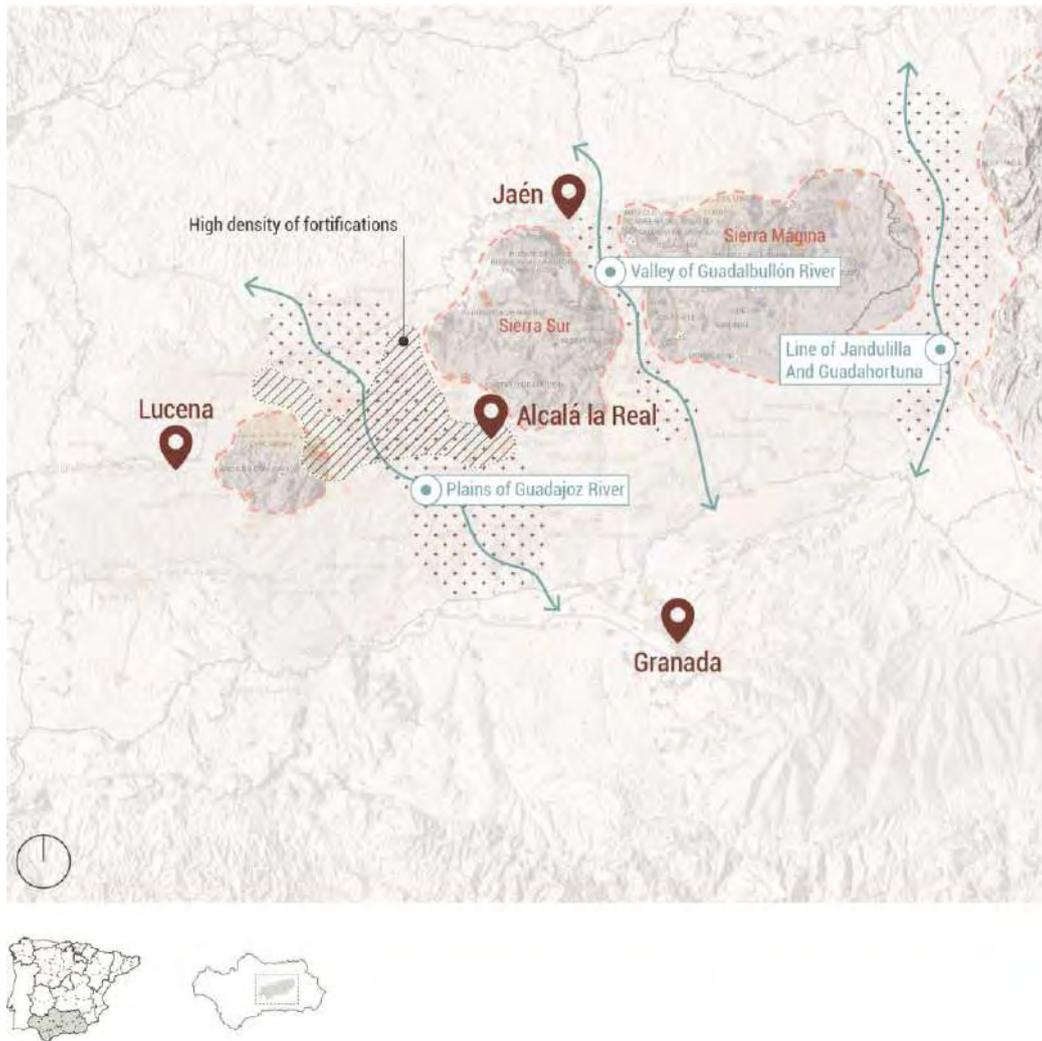
**Figure 104: Topographic map of Los Montes-Subbética region, including the capitals of Jaen and Granada, the main connections and natural limits between them, and the network of fortifications stablished in the medieval period. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on data from Junta de Andalucía.**[432]

[432] Silvia Fernández Cacho et al., "Informe Paisaje 20 Los Montes Subbetica," in *Paisajes y patrimonio cultural en Andalucía. Tiempo, usos e imágenes* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Cultura, 2010), 382.

**Figure 105: Schematic depiction the border, including Sierra Sur and Sierra Mágina. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on data from Junta de Andalucía.**[433]
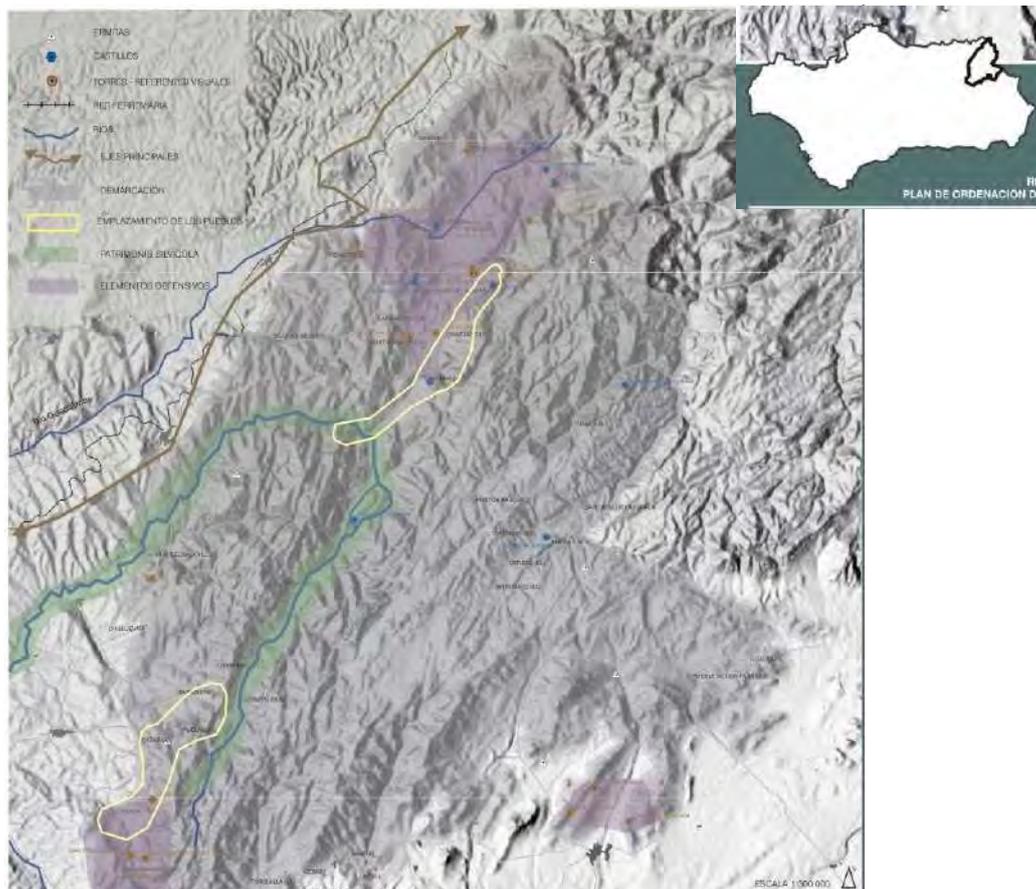


**Figure 106: Regional topographic map of Sierra de Cazorla, Segura and La Sagra. © Junta de Andalucía, with minor modifications by the author.**[434]

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[433] Fernández Cacho et al., 386.

[434] Silvia Fernández Cacho et al., "Sinforme Paisaje 28: Sierra de Cazorla, Segura y La Sagra," in *Paisajes y patrimonio cultural en Andalucía. Tiempo, usos e imágenes*, 2 vols. (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Cultura, 2010), 544–63.
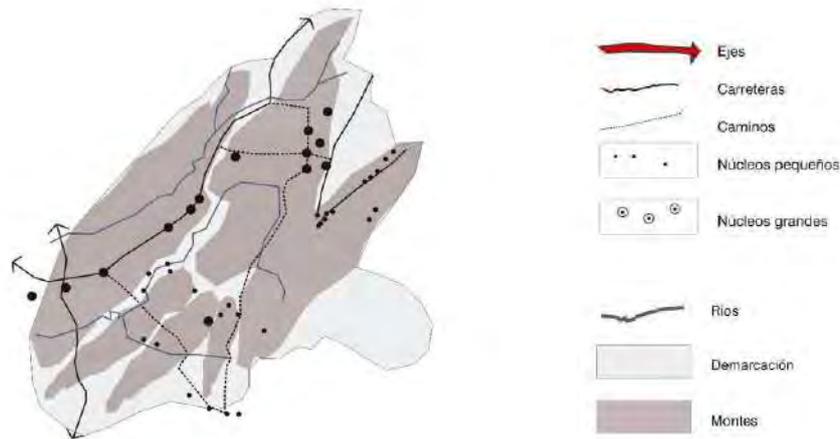
**Figure 107: Schematic depiction of Sierra de Cazorla, Segura and La Sagra. The mountain is more compact in this region, impeding major roads and connections between its north and south faces. . © Manuel Sánchez García, based on data from Junta de Andalucía.**[435]

The frontier between Granada and Jaen continues further west through *Sierra de Cazorla, Segura* and *La Sagra*, a much harsher pass filled with natural woods and water courses and a few, disperse human settlements (Figure 106). The landscape here is quite different from Sierra Sur and Sierra Mágina. There are no natural valleys crossing the area in a straight line, so connections are much more difficult and less dynamic (Figure 107). It counts with several water reservoirs and water channelling structures that date from the Islamic period; however, its interior has not been occupied by farming lands and olive trees in the same way than Sierra Sur or Sierra Mágina. Although there are fewer fortifications in this area than in Los Montes-Subbética, some of them stand out as dominant points over the lower, cultivated landscape. Some examples are the *Hornos castle*, the tower of *Castellón de Fique*, and the towers of *Orcera* (Figure 108).



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[435] Fernández Cacho et al.

**Figure 108: Torres de Orcera (top), Castillo de Hornos (bottom left) and Tower of Castellón de Fique (bottom right). Photos by Silvia Fernández Cacho, 2010. © Junta de Andalucía.[436]**

It is clear how the natural, geographical shape of the border between Granada and Jaen has influenced the territorial structure of both regions since the earliest human occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. It includes Palaeolithic and Neolithic archaeological sites such as *Cueva de la Araña*, *Cueva de las Ventanas*, *Cerro del Cuco*, *Cerro del Vitar*, among many others. In this context, Sierra Sur stands out as a central group of mountains surrounded by some of the most relevant south north connections in the history of eastern Andalusia.[437] Sierra de Cazorla, instead, worked as a natural wall and water source, much less adequate for commercial exchange and armed confrontation. In this way, the natural setting of Los Montes-Subbética favoured the creation of a fortified, stiff, enclosed frontier where most mountain passed where highly controlled, with particular policies controlling everyday life at the frontier.

### Administrative structure of the frontier 13th-15th centuries.

*Una extensa tierra de nadie despoblada, tanto en Granada como en Andalucía, y sometida a las acciones militares destructivas de los ejércitos*

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[436] Fernández Cacho et al.

[437] For additional information on the geological, geographical, natural, cultural, economic, and political features of this territory, the Andalusian government has produced a great deal of literature and reports over de last decades. See: Juan Fernández Lacomba, Fátima Roldán Castro, and Florencio Zoido Naranjo, *Territorio y patrimonio: los paisajes andaluces* (Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 2003), https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=477413; Instituto de Cartografía de Andalucía, *Atlas de la historia del territorio de Andalucía* (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2009), https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/institutodeestadisticaycartografia/atlasterritorio/at/atlas_presenta.html; Silvia Fernández Cacho et al., *Paisajes y patrimonio cultural en Andalucía. Tiempo, usos e imágenes*, 2 vols. (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Cultura, 2010); Fernando Olmedo Granados, Fernando Sancho Royo, and Mannuel I. Cerrillo, *Agua, territorio y ciudad. Jaén renacentista. 1660* (Sevilla: Consejería de Agricultura, Ganadería, Pesca y Desarrollo Sostenible. Junta de Andalucía, 2019), https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/medioambiente/portal/documents/20151/5395847/jaen_renacentista_1660+%281%29.pdf/fd2c5341-4ca1-0e3a-12cb-a804fa1f6f73?t=1619423575559. Digital resources are available at: Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico, "Guia Digital Del Patrimonio Cultural de Andalucía," accessed September 9, 2019, https://guiadigital.iaph.es/inicio; Junta de Andalucía, "Sistema Compartido de Información de Paisaje de Andalucía (SCIPA)," accessed September 9, 2021, https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/medioambiente/portal/landing-page/-/asset_publisher/4V1kD5gGLiJkq/content/sistema-de-informaci-c3-b3n-del-paisaje-en-andaluc-c3-ada/20151?categoryVal=.

*castellanos y granadinos constituía lo que podríamos llamar "la frontera viva y real" de los dos reinos. A niveles locales, cada pueblo, castillo o aldea, conocía perfectamente donde terminaba la jurisdicción de su propio territorio y donde comenzaba la del vecino más próximo al otro lado de la frontera. Pero, en la práctica, esta teórica delimitación apenas si era respetada; lo que ocasionaba muchas veces graves fricciones entre unos y otros.*

Manuel García Fernández, 1987[438]

[An extensive, depopulated, no-man's land, in both Granada and Andalucía, subjected to destructive military actions from Castilian and Granadan armies, constituting what we could call "the real, live frontier" of both kingdoms. At a local level, each town, castle, or village, knew perfectly where its own jurisdiction ended and where theirs neighbour commenced. However, in practice, that theoretical delimitation was barely respected.][439]

Up to this point, the argument of Siblings Overseas have delved on new towns and plantations in medieval borderlands thorough the Iberian Peninsula. Of course, this was not the only kind of city in these areas. The most part of urban hubs and regional capitals in the frontier between Castile and A-Ándalus were fortified villas, originally built by Andalusian and then occupied and transformed by their Castilian invaders.

By the mid-14th century, the Andalusian frontier was already stablished and fortified in both fronts. Its territories were highly dynamic and politically active, with local accords and exchanges continuously being created, negotiated, and broken by neighbouring towns. The defence of the territory was in charge of main royal cities, each of them responsible of its *alfoz*. Big capitals such as Seville, Córdoba, and Jaén formed the main spine of the region, although they were highly dependent of intermediate hubs like Carmona, Jérez or Ecija. In the kingdom of Jaen, the capital competed with many royal charters and *alfoces* like Ubeda, Baeza, Andújar, Arjona, Santisteban and, later in the period, Alcalá la Real with its imposing *Fortaleza de la Mota*. Each of these cities answered directly to the Crown. They were responsible of administering several lesser towns and secondary fortifications, as well as maintaining watchtowers and other structures for the control of the border.

As it has been mentioned in previous sections, most of the relevant cities in Jaén's frontier and the *Banda Morisca* were not planted through the grid-iron model and equitable distribution of land lots. Instead, emptied Andalusian settlements were assigned to religious military orders, the ruling archiepiscopate in the

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[438] García Fernández, "La frontera de Granada a mediados del siglo XIV," 70. Translation by the author. Spanish original:

[439] Translation by the author.

region, or to frontier lords known as *adelantados* (sing. *adelantado*). This same denomination would carry on to the American conquest, bore by representatives of the Crown with authorization for planting new settlements in their name. These agents were responsible of ruling and guarding advanced border positions in exchange of exploiting their lands and benefiting from the work of their subjects. It was no easy task. It was common that members of the clergy and lesser lords renounced to their assigned plazas on benefit of more powerful adelantados and, of course, military orders specialized in the management of exposed settlements. In this way, life in the Andalusian frontier repeated dynamics rooted in feudal logics, with the addition of certain privileges and advantages for common citizen in retribution for working and defending some of the more dangerous areas in the kingdom.

### Fortification infrastructure

This administrative logic produced a radial structure of fortifications controlled from a coordinated network of independent cities and shaped into three consecutive defensive lines.[440] The third, most inner line was composed by each of the provincial capitals, grouping all the main royal villas in Guadalquivir's Basin. In most cases these were located way passed the frontier, with notable exception such as Alcalá la Real, Jaén, Úbeda, or Baeza, all very close to the Granadan border. The second defence line was in an intermediate position. It was formed by fortifications and castles[441] with their own supply lines and enough autonomy to withstand sieges for a considerable time without needing any support. This second line was divided in two in certain areas of the *Banda Morisca* and Córdoba's frontier (Figure 110), extending its reach to provide control over their wide plains and sparse villages. Both branches reunited in Jaen where the border was thinner and harsher, grouping castles and fortifications around frontier capitals (Figure 111).

Finally, the third frontmost line of defence was composed by watchtowers and mountain refugees controlling certain areas. They were dependant of an intermediate castle and operated as its eyes. From these positions, a small squad was able to guard a road or a valley, spot any unusual movement and quickly notify their main garrison. Watchtowers were more abundant in low-density territories like Seville's southern plains and in mountain ranges like Jaen's Sierra Sur. The resulting network produced one of the most fortified border territories in the Mediterranean, shaping a landscape starred by high, medieval castles and towers dominating vast farmlands. Most of these fortifications were built upon earlier

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[440] José María Alcántara Valle, "La guerra y la paz en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, no. 42 (2015): 11–58.

[441] *Castillos* or *alcázares*, following the Arab voice *al-qasr*.

Andalusian remains and would later receive additional modifications over the centuries, accumulating layer over layer of built, cultural heritage.[442]

### *Frontier accords and agents*

Frontier politics, ideologies, agents, and exchanges are some of the main topics of study in the fields of medieval Hispanic history. From the seminal late 20th century studies by authors such as the already referenced Manuel García Fernández and Rafael G. Peinado Santaella, many other historians have focused on the study of documents regarding the frontier, such as judicial verdicts, orders, rendition pacts, truces, etc.[443] Among the many borderlands studied by these scholars, the close limit between Granada and Jaén is still one of the most prominent in the field. Recent volumes such as "*Las relaciones fronterizas entre Granada y Castilla (ss. XIII-XV)*" [Frontier relationships between Granada and Castille], published in 2021 by Diego Melo Carrrasco,[444] points out to the complex network of agents and protocols operating at the Granadan borderland.[445]

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[442] Magdalena Valor Piechotta, "La aportación de la arqueología medieval al estudio del paisaje andaluz: el Aljarafe sevillano," in *Territorio y patrimonio: los paisajes andaluces* (Junta de Andalucía, Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, 2003), 142–53, https://idus.us.es/handle/11441/26195; Fernández Cacho et al., *Paisajes y patrimonio cultural en Andalucía. Tiempo, usos e imágenes.*

[443] For one of the most recent and complete overviews on medieval Hispanic frontiers, see: Manuel García Fernández, Ángel Galán Sánchez, and Rafael G. Peinado Santaella, eds., *Las fronteras en la Edad Media hispánica, siglos XIII-XVI*, Colección Historia (Granada: Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Sevilla, 2019).

[444] Professor at Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez, Santiago, Chile. Doctor in Medieval History, Universidad de Salamanca.

[445] Diego Melo Carrasco, *Las relaciones fronterizas entre Granada y Castilla (siglos XIII-XV). Un estudio a partir de las Treguas*, Colección Historia (Segunda etapa de Biblioteca de humanidades Chronica Nova de Estudios Históricos) 1 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2021).
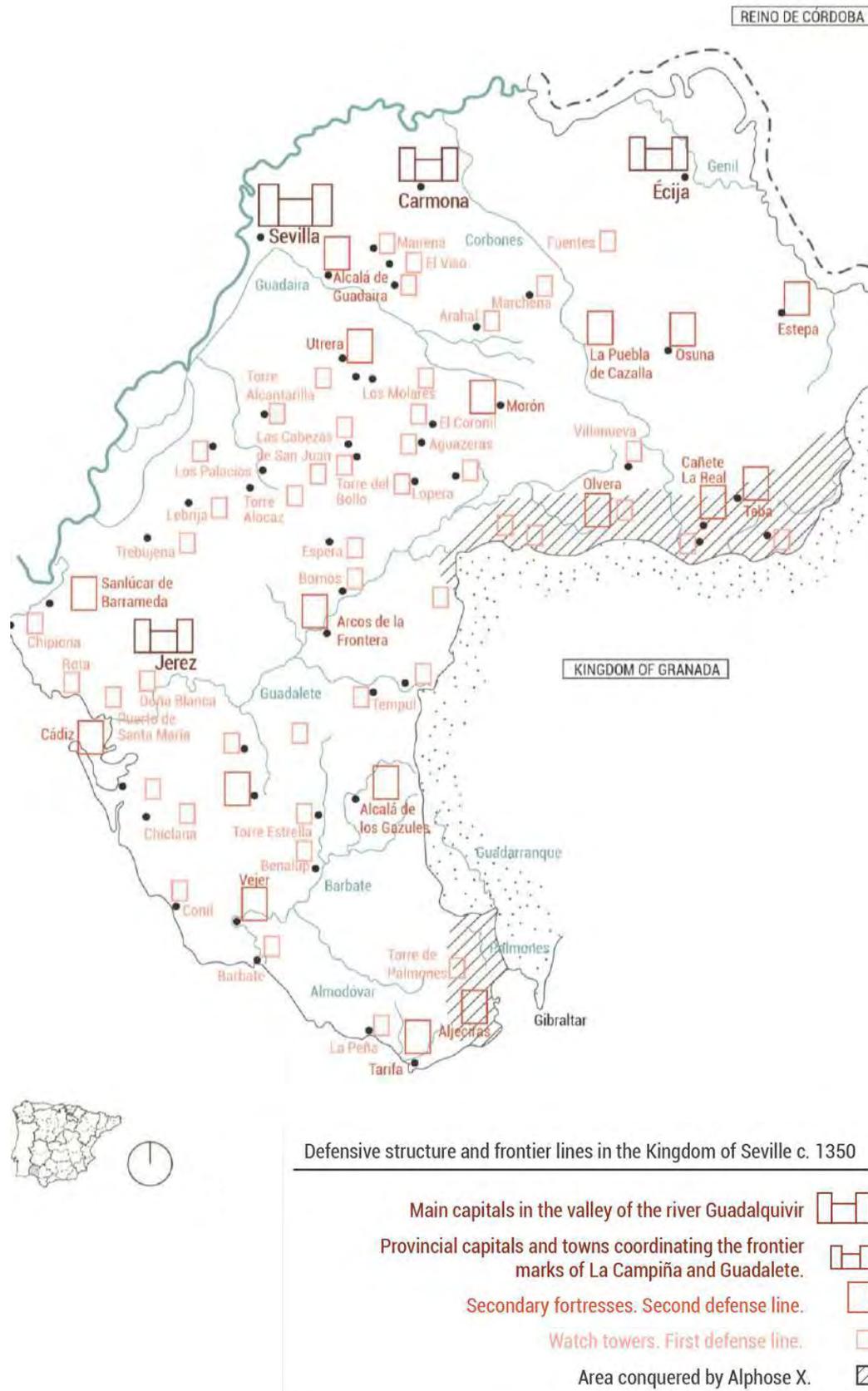
Figure 109: Defensive network and territorial division of the Kingdom of Seville c. 1350. Regional capitals, intermediate fortifications, and watchtowers appear highlighted. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Manuel García Fernández.[446]
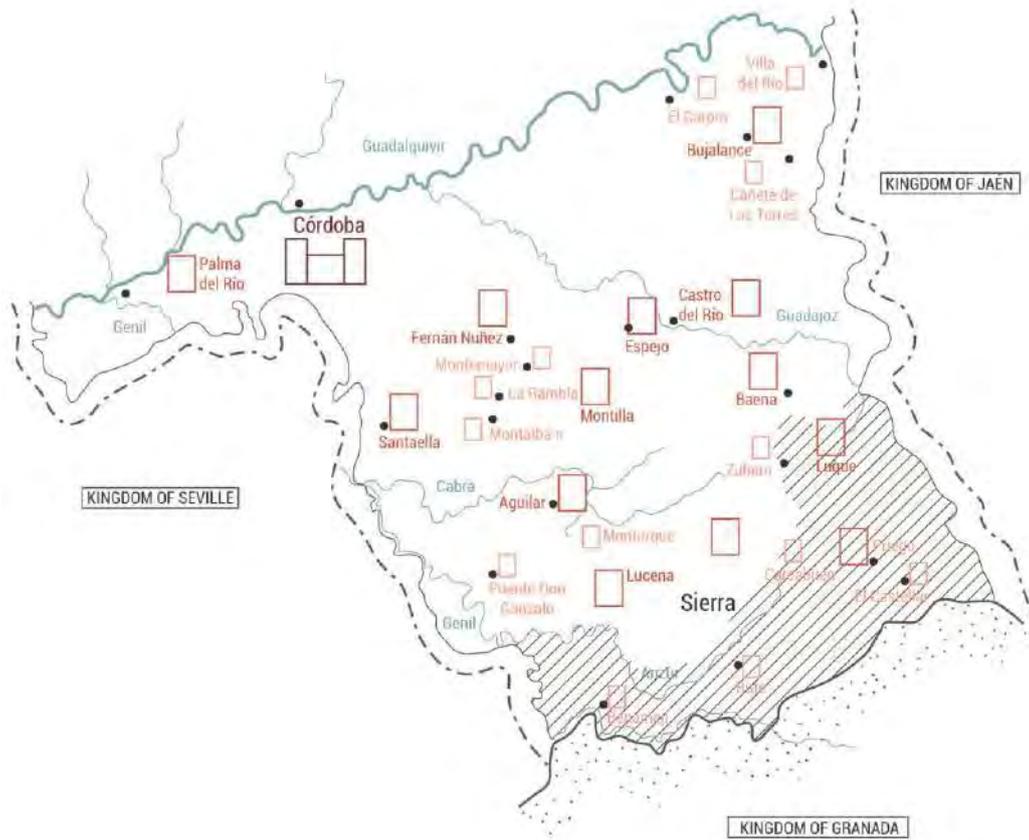
**Figure 110: Defensive network and territorial division of the Kingdom of Córdoba c. 1350. Regional capitals, intermediate fortifications, and watchtowers appear highlighted. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Manuel García Fernández.**[447]

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[447] García Fernández, 82.
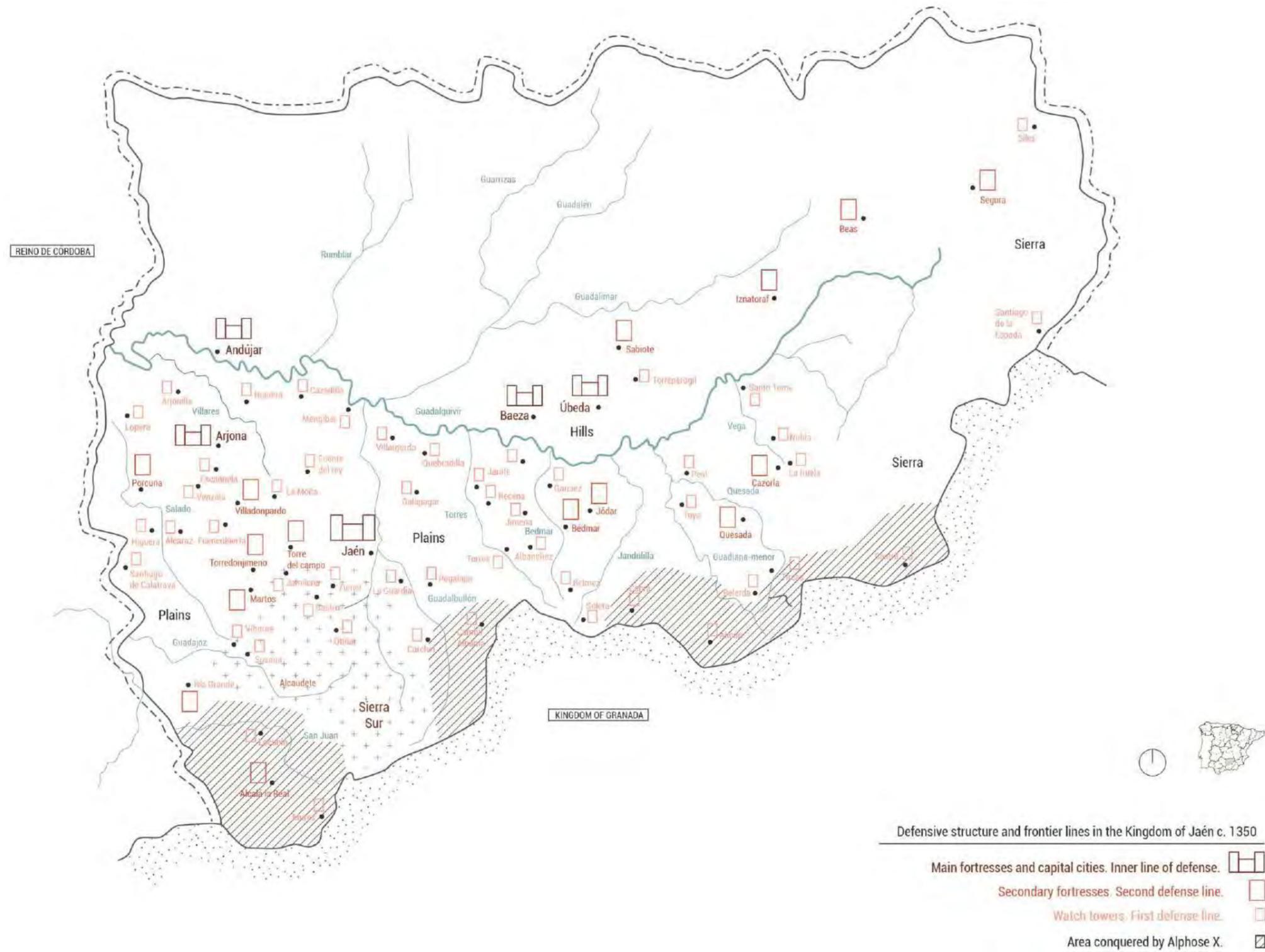
Figure 111: Defensive network and territorial division of the Kingdom of Jaen c. 1350. Regional capitals, intermediate fortifications, and watchtowers appear highlighted. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on Manuel García Fernández.[448]

The main object of study in this research are the truces or *treguas* signed by Granada and Castile between the Pact of Jaen in 1246 and the last truce signed in 1486 before the Granada War. According to Melo, this period can be subdivided in three stages: a initial one between 1246 and 1291 marked by frontier violence and Alphonse X advances in Cádiz, Jérez, and Niebla; a more stable second phase in the 14th century featuring moderate violence and limited war actions; and a third phase in the 15th century that started with the Battle of Collejares (1406), the conquest of Antequera (140), and the Battle of Higueruela (1431), but remained mostly stable until 1488.[449] Truces and pacts were signed almost every year during the last period, showing a sense of permanence in Jaen's frontier even in the decades immediately before the Catholic Monarchs campaigns.

This lower intensity at the macro scale did not mean absence of conflicts and violence in everyday life. Horsemen raids known as *cabalgadas* or *razias* were common in either side of the border, destroying crops, plundering goods, and kidnapping people for ransom. Life in the region needed a high level of protection and regulation to flourish. This gave birth to diverse legal principles and public figures specialized in the particular issues of the borderland, all of them enacted through consecutive truce pacts. For example, commerce was especially important for the kingdom of Granada since its high density demanded a regular supply of cereals, olive oil and livestock that the Nasrid were unable to provide in enough quantity. Granada did not only imported goods but also exported their own products, such as fish from its ample Mediterranean shore, nuts, sugar, and silk.[450] These exchanges was conducted mainly by land, crossing a stablished set of commercial posts known as *puertos secos* or "dry ports," as they operated in the same way that a seaport custom but in mountain passes. The most important Castilian *puertos* in Sierra Sur surrounding area where Lucena, Alcalá la Real and Jaén, while Huelma, Jódar and Quesada controlled exchanges going through Sierra Mágina. All goods crossing the border had to pay taxes in both sides. In Granada this toll was known as *magrán* and taxed 10% of the total value. The imposition was higher in the Castilian side, taxing 15% or *diezmo y medio de lo morisco* [one time and a half of the Moorish tax].[451] Traders were provided with safe passage through the frontier, although it did not protect them from bandits and brigands inhabiting the harsher sections of the mountain. Livestock and shepherding were also common in the frontier since beasts could be moved and guarded in

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[449] Melo Carrasco, *Las relaciones fronterizas entre Granada y Castilla (siglos XIII-XV). Un estudio a partir de las Treguas*, 87–95.

[450] José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, "Comercio exterior del reino de Granada," in *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza* (Sevilla: Diputación provincial de Sevilla, 1982), 375. Referenced in: Melo Carrasco, *Las relaciones fronterizas entre Granada y Castilla (siglos XIII-XV). Un estudio a partir de las Treguas*, 36–37. José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, *El Reino de Granada en la época de los Reyes Católicos: repoblación, comercio y frontera* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989).

[451] Melo Carrasco, *Las relaciones fronterizas entre Granada y Castilla (siglos XIII-XV). Un estudio a partir de las Treguas*, 40–41.

case of conflict. Pastures in both sides where consequently regulated and even shared in time of peace.

Independently of legal regulation and institutional control, contraband was common in the frontier. Outlaws and other free agents operated in certain sections of Sierra Sur that official representatives would not reach. Horsemen raids often ended in pillage and kidnapping, with ransoms being negotiated across the frontier. All these activities were officially rejected by both sides, hence truce pacts named specific agents to persecute them and deal with their consequences. Some of the more important among them were the *jueces de las querellas* [complaint judges], in charge of hearing and sentencing those involved in any conflicts involving both sides of the border. This figure existed since 1310 and was later substituted by the *alcalde entre moros y cristianos* [mayor between Moors and Christians], a higher position with considerable benefits that was often occupied by members of the local elite. In the Granadan side there was a similar kind of agent known as *Juez entre los Reyes* (*al-qāḍī bayna l-mulūk*) [Judge among Kings]. They acted in pairs, one from each side of the frontier, and had authority over most sphere of civil, military, and religious society.[452] These judges were served by other agents such as the *fieles del rastro* [tracking devotees], men specialized in tracking down captives through the border and, once found, contacting the appropriate authorities. Their actions were coordinated by *alcaldes del rastro* [tracking mayors], while team of *escribanos del rastro* [tracking notaries] was responsible of providing an extensive register of their actions, essential for further legal procedures.[453]

Last but not least there are the ransom negotiators or *alfaqueques,* Castilian word derivate from the Arab *al-fakkāk* [captive redeemer]. These agents had a key role in the frontier at least since the 12th century and their activity was regulated by Alphonse X *Siete Partidas*. Their presence in the Granadan frontier is registered since 1341, featuring men with high negotiation skills and fluency in both Castilian and Arab. It was common to find Jews and foreigners working as *alfaqueques* since they needed a level of social flexibility that allowed movement freedom in both sides of the border. Their duty was highly hierarchized and divided in tiers, with *alfaqueques* operating as free agents, linked to small villages, appointed by greater town councils, and even an *Alfaqueque Mayor* or High Negotiator coordinating the operations along the whole Castilian border with Granada. Their activities where quite profitable with rates as high as 10% of the paid ransom, which explains their long-lasting presence in the Hispanic sphere until the 17th century.[454]

This brief survey presents just a small selection of the agents influencing everyday life in the Granadan frontier and the protocols that governed their operation. The overall picture is that of a permeable frontier, either for good or for bad. At

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[452] Melo Carrasco, 63–65.
[453] Melo Carrasco, 68–69.
[454] Melo Carrasco, 70–77.

the same time that truce periods allowed commerce to flourish and goods to be exchange, outlaws and subversive agents watched closely in search of prey. Regardless of the measures put in place by both Granadans and Castilians, the frontier was not an easy place to life. Its particular circumstances were closely connected to its natural conditions and mountainous orography, producing a very particular setting that conditioned the configuration of cities, towns, villages, and their associated fortifications.

> *"La tregua fue desde siempre una institución fronteriza tremendamente monótona, que repitió desde el siglo XIII idénticas cláusulas, todas derivadas del modelo que se establece a partir del vasallaje granadino del Pacto de Jaén de 1246, protocolos y obligaciones genéricas, a nivel siempre de estado o reino; que, sin embargo, presentó importantes cláusulas particulares, específicas de cada momento histórico que no sólo las diferencian sino que las explican."*
>
> Manuel García Fernández, 1988.[455]

[The truce was always a tremendously monotonous frontier institution, which repeated identical clauses since the 13th century, all derived from the model stablished by the Pact of Jaen of 1246, generic protocols and obligations, at the level of the state or the kingdom; truces that, however, presented important particular clauses, specific of each historical period that not only differentiated them but also explained them.]

### *Two fortified belts around Sierra Sur: West and East.*

Jaen's Sierra Sur occupied a strategic position in this frontier context. Jaen, the main Castilian capital in the province, is located in its north slope, providing an advantageous defensive position against any approaches from the south and the west. Sierra Sur operated as a natural fortification at the territorial scale, a hard chain of mountains and hills devoid of communication infrastructure separating the southern valleys of Granada from the Guadalquivir depression in the north. Armies could not pass through Sierra Sur directly: they had to move around it using either of its side valleys which have quite distinct configurations. This difference translates not only to separate defensive strategies, but also to different configurations in their cities and contrasting positions of their lords in the current hierarchy of the frontier. The survey of town concessions and assignment of fortifications around Sierra Sur offers an interesting view of how the political stage was set up during the first period of truces, before the ending of the 13th century (Figure 112)

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[455] Manuel García Fernández, "Las Treguas Entre Castilla y Granada En Tiempos de Alfonso XI," *Ifigea: Revista de La Sección de Geografía e Historia* 5–6 (1989 1988): 135. Quoted in Melo Carrasco, *Las relaciones fronterizas entre Granada y Castilla (siglos XIII-XV). Un estudio a partir de las Treguas*, 35.
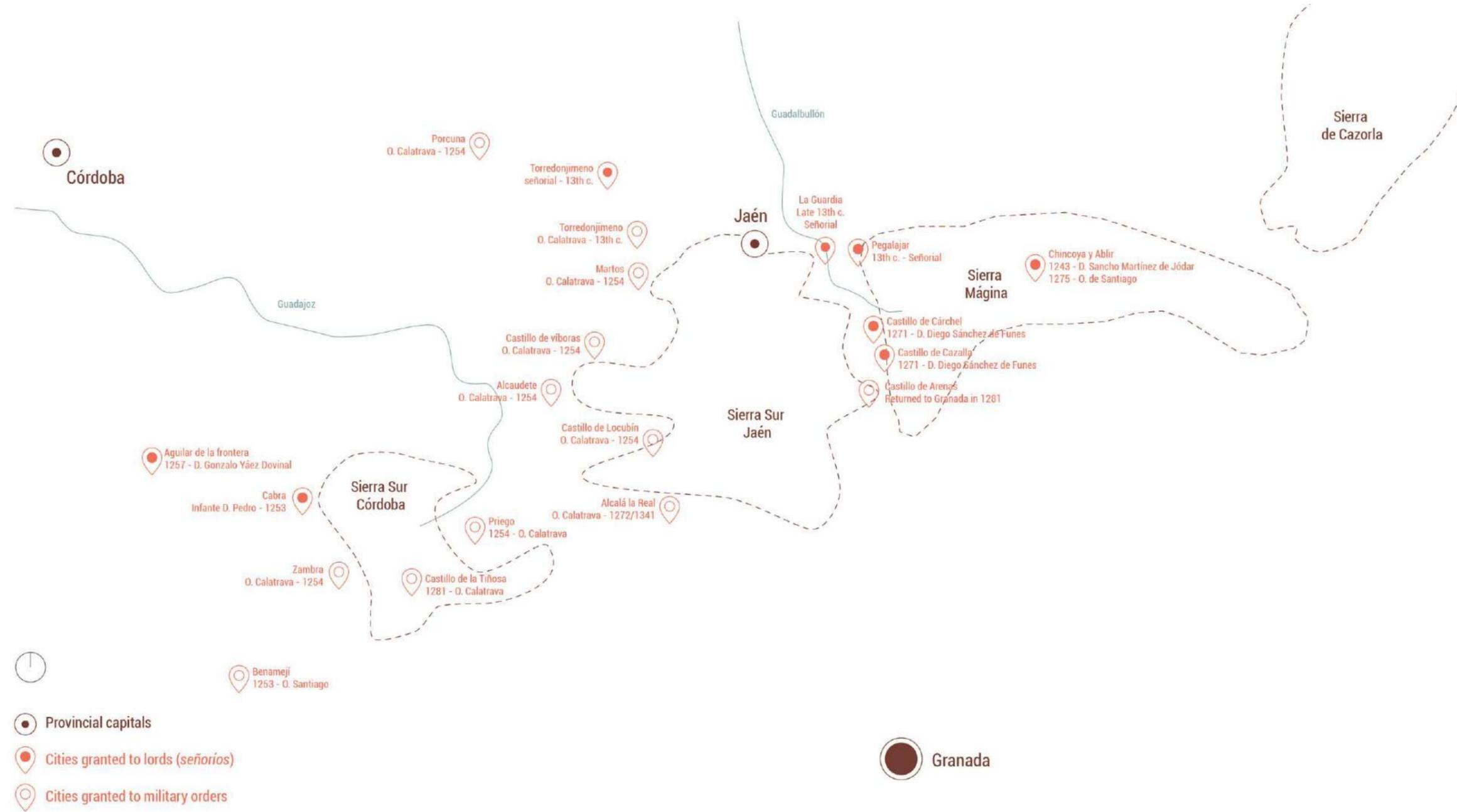
**Figure 112: Concessions of towns and villas surrounding Sierra Sur to lords, adelantados, and the military orders of Calatrava and Santiago during the 13th century. © Manuel Sánchez García, based on José María Alcántara Valle.[456]**

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[456] Alcántara Valle, "Nobleza y señoríos en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X. Aproximación a su estudio."

The west side of Sierra Sur borders the valley of the river Guadajoz, a quite ample and hilly area that acts as a transitional space between the provinces of Jaen, Granada, and Córdoba. It is limited in the west by Lucena, one of the head of *alfoz* in the region with authority to manage commercial customs taxes through its own *puerto seco*. The head of *alfoz* in the Guadajoz valley was Alcalá la Real,[457] one of the most fortified positions in the region spearheading a belt of castles and watchtowers ranging to this point from Lucena and Jaén. This network was managed in its majority by the military order of Calatrava, founded during the previous century in the villa of the same name. In the 1100s Calatrava was a frontier position north of Sierra Morena while Seville was still standing. When the Islamic border moved south to Jaen in the 1200s, and the order of Calatrava advanced with it. This organization of templar monk-soldiers was sworn to wage religious war against Muslim enemies, an endeavour in which it had became the main specialist in the zone. The knights of Calatrava performed important functions during invasions and military campaigns, but in the Granadan context they excelled for their capacity to organize and maintain the defence of Castille's borderland. Their role as frontier guardians peaked after conflicts such as the Mudejar revolution in 1264, the Marinid invasion in 1275, and the failed siege of Algeciras in 1278. These events evidenced how the border was a quite dangerous place, always under risk of confrontation even in times of accorded peace. As a consequence, a number of fortified towns originally gifted to the archiepiscopate and lesser frontier lords without sufficient capacity to defend and maintain them, were re-assign to the order of Calatrava given their superior organizational power.[458] Moreover, in 1272, king Alphonse X ceded Alcalá la Real to the order of Calatrava under condition of its conquest. The king was gifting a price that was not yet his own. The city was effectively conquered and its defence assigned to the Order of Calatrava in 1341, fulfilling the promise almost seven decades later.

As a result, fortied towns around Sierra Sur conceded to the Calatravans outnumber by far those assigned to frontier lords and the archiepiscopate, particularly in the Guadajoz valley. Their belt of defensive structures covered all the way from the frontmost Castilian position in the region and the Sub-Baetic mountains in Cordoba, to the fertile plains in Jaen's backyard. The exploitation of agricultural fields and other resources in these lands offered substantial benefits to the order, more than enough for maintaining garrisons in their fortified emplacements. Many of these watchtowers and *alcázares*[459] [castles] in Jaen's frontier are still conserved today. Their structures are typically medieval, often heirs of older Andalusian fortifications, with high, thin walls. Their base was originally built

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[457] Originally known as *Alcalá de Abenzaide*. The Spanish term "*Alcalá*," present in the names of many Iberian cities, comes from the transformation of the Arab voice "*al-qal'at*" literally meaning "the castle." It was used to differentiate the main castle in a given province from other lesser fortifications depending on it.

[458] Alcántara Valle, "Nobleza y señoríos en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X. Aproximación a su estudio," 226.

[459] Another Castilian term for castle (*Castillo*). Derived from the Arab "*al-qsar*", meaning "the fortress."

with the Moorish technique for construction in earth and mud. After their Christianization, most fortified walls were reconstructed in stone. Their structures were laid down over limestone promontories, providing then with an advantageous position over the surroundings. Castles in this region often feature one or more towers, either squared or rounded. The most important among them was the *torre del homenaje*, a higher and reinforced tower that could operate as a separate keep in case that the enemy overpowered the outer defences of the castle.

One of the most monumental fortification examples in the area is the Fortaleza de la Mota, in the already mentioned Alcalá la Real (Figure 113). It was indeed an imposing presence designed not only as a military installation, but also as a show of Castilian power close to the neighbouring Granadan castles of Montefrío, Íllora and Moclín (Figure 114).[460] This fortress is placed over a hill 1029 meters high over the sea level, with a plain at is top measuring roughly 30.000 square meters. Its position is naturally dominant, allowing for lower but stronger fortification. The interior space was originally divided in two parts by a north-south wall. The one in west was bigger and probably more popular. The east part contained the main castle and the abbey (Figure 115). In the lower part of the hill there was a second walled precinct, today in ruins. It was the first Islamic suburb of the city, protected under the shadow of the main fortress, repopulated after the Christian conquest and later abandoned in the 18th century.[461]

Fortaleza de la Mota was an important regional hub for military operations, with a substantial area (*alfoz*) under its vigilance. It functioned effectively as a second line fortress responsible of managing a set of minor-first line castles and look-outs. In fact, the territorial network of watchtowers (*atalayas*) around Alcalá la Real is quite peculiar. Towers facing the north side of Alcalá are older than those in the south, since they were built to guard the city against Castilian invaders when it was still under Islamic domain. These are spread over the plains around Alcalá, separated by a distance of 10 kilometres approximately. In the southern face, most watchtowers were instead built in the 14th century, after the Christian conquest, to guard the neighbouring Granadans. They were placed much nearer to the city in close, defensive formation (Figure 116).

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[460] Fernández Cacho et al., "Informe Paisaje 28: Sierra de Cazorla, Segura y La Sagra."
[461] Cerezo Moreno and Eslava Galán, *Castillos y Atalayas del Reino de Jaén*, 35.

**Figure 113: Aerial view of Fortaleza de la Mota, Alcalá la Real. By Michelangelo-36, 2005, public domain, via Wikimedia Commons**



**Figure 114: Alcalá la Real and its Fortaleza de la Mota dominating the landscape. By Laglloria-bendita, 2017, via Wikimedia Commons.**[462]

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[462] Laglloriabendita, *Vista Panorámica de Alcala La Real, Coronada Por La Fortaleza de La Mota*, 2017, 2017, Own work, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alcala_La_Real,_Castillo.jpg.
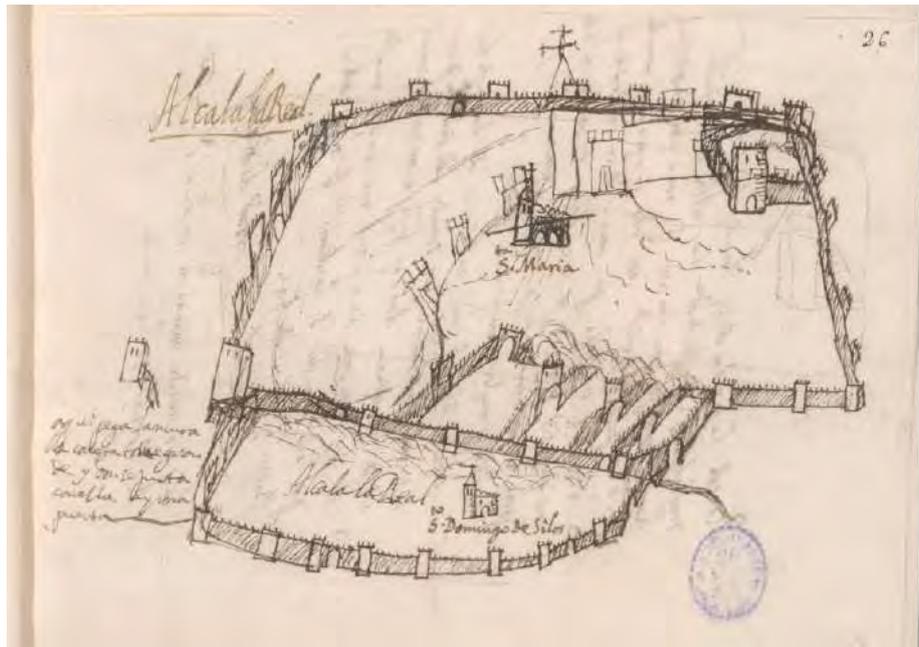
**Figure 115: Fortaleza de la Mota as drawn by Martín de Ximena Jurado in 1639, as part of his hand written book "Antigüedades del Reino de Jaén" © Biblioteca Nacional de España.[463]**
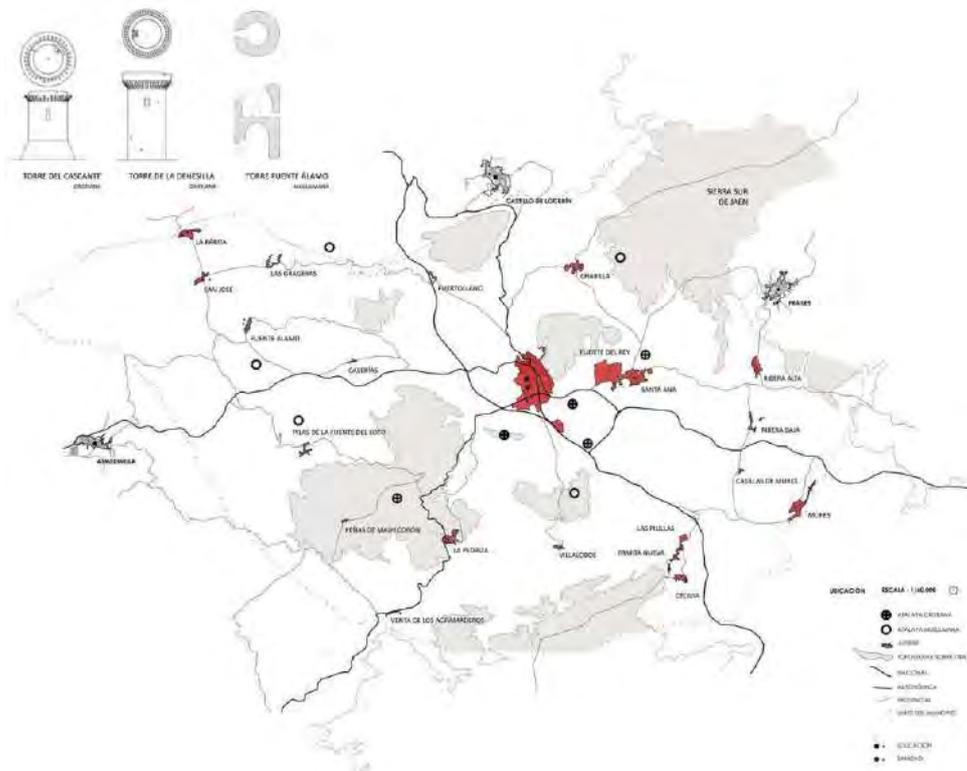


**Figure 116: Network of medieval watchtowers around Alcalá la Real. Developed by architecture students at Universidad de Granada during the academic year 2019/20: Raúl Duarte Mora, Elena Filipponi, María Gámez, Gatien Levecque, Aida Manrique Forné.**

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[463] Martín de Ximena Jurado, "Antigüedades del Reino de Jaén" (Jaén, 1639), Mss/1180, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Sala Cervantes. Item number: Mss/1180-fol. 220, v. y 221, r.

Along with watchtowers there were also secondary fortifications: minor castles designed to house a small detachment but unable to withstand prolonged sieges. One of them was located in the town of Locubín, now known as Castillo de Locubín, guarding the valley of the river San Juan and acting as a gate between the *alfoz* of Alcalá la Real and the interior of Sierra Sur (Figure 117). Castillo de Locubín presents the typical structure of Jaen's castles, with high stone walls built over pre-existent Islamic structures. What differentiates this fortification is its unusual placing: instead of dominating its own hill separated from the town below, Castillo de Locubín was built in the slope the mountain. Houses for villagers depending on the castle were built just at its back. Eventually, the town would grow to the area directly in front of the castle and engulf it, something quite unfitting for an effective defensive structure. Today the castle has been partially recovered and restored as a private house, while some of the buildings around it have been demolished. Its image contrast with other military placements in the lower plains and hill of the region, declaring its own character as a mountain guard post inserted between narrow valleys and stiff slopes. It changed hands several times from Granadans to Castilians and vice versa between the 13th and14th centuries, signalling the volatility at the local scale of a frontier supposed to be mostly pacified at the time.

A final fortification worth mentioning is Alcaudete, located North of Castillo de Locubin, guarding the north-west corner of Sierra Sur (Figure 118). It was consecutively conquered and occupied by Christians and Muslims several times between 1225 and 1351, when it was finally assigned to the order of Calatrava.[464] The whole fortification is built in stone, with a three levelled central keep dominating the inner court. Originally there was a second much larger walled perimeter, now lost, stablishing a band of empty land separating the town of Alcaudete from its castle. The castle of Alcaudete, along with other neighbouring fortifications such as Martos and Torredonjimeno, acted as the inner front of defence separating the region controlled by the order of Calatrava and Jaen's council. Their *alfoces* were coordinated but operated independently, contributing to the growing political and economic complexity in the region. That separation perdured after the conquest of Granada and is present some of the first maps of the regions, drawn in the 16th century. For example, in the 1588 map by Doctor Salzedo and developed by cartographers Juan Domenico Villaroel and Baptista Camila, the area controlled by the Calatravans is clearly differentiated from Jaen's jurisdiction (Figure 119). The coats of arms of both regions are placed side to side: the cross of Calatrava over the rivers Víboras and Locubín, and the quartered coat of Jaen on the right over the river "Campillo," now known as Guadalbullón. Salzedo shows how their difference is geographical and defensive -sizes of cities signal the hierarchy of fortifications-, but also political, indicating their jurisdictional limits. Each subregion had its own ruling council, court of law, tax collection system, among other privileges.

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[464] Cerezo Moreno and Eslava Galán, *Castillos y Atalayas del Reino de Jaén*, 41.

**Figure 117: Castillo de Locubín, secondary fortress near Alcalá la Real, placed over the slopes of Sierra Sur instead of an isolated hill. Because of this, the town grew around until it totally engulfed the fortress. In more recent times, several houses built directly over the castle's walls have been demolished and its inner areas have been restored as a private house. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 118: 2018, Castle of Alcaudete and the town around it. © Ayuntamiento de Alcaudete.**

**Figure 119: 1588, fragment of the map titled "Descripción del Reino de Jaen Ordenada por el Doctor Gaspar Salcedo de Aguirre", by Juan Domenico Villaroel and Baptista Camila. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.[465]**

When the political aspects come into consideration, the contrast between both sides of Sierra Sur is even more evident. The first feature that separate the valley of the river Guadalbullón, in the east side of Sierra Sur, from the western area around Alcalá la Real, is the structure of its government. After the conquest in 1246, Jaen was stablished as a local administrative center, ruling over most towns and villas in the territory limited by the Guadalquivir river to the north, Arroyovil to the east, Arroyo Salado de los Villares to the west, and to the south, Sierra Sur and Sierra Mágina.[466] Its jurisdiction, emptied of its former Muslim inhabitants, was redistributed among Castilian settlers in a same way to Seville, Valencia, and other territories conquered in the 13th century including the Portuguese Algarve. None of the distribution books or *Libros del Repartimiento* from this period have

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[465] Juan Domenico de Villaroel and Baptista Camila, *Descripción del Reino de Jaen Ordenada por el Doctor Gaspar Salcedo de Aguirre, natural de Baeza y Prior de Arjonilla [Material cartográfico] / dibujada por Juan Domenico de Villarroel, Cosmógrafo del Rey nro. Señor. Cortada en Sevilla por Baptista Camila*, s.e. (Jaén (Provincia), 1588), MV/8 JAÉN (PROVINCIA) M. GENERALES. 1588, Biblioteca Nacional de España, http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/cgisirsi/x/0/0/57/5/3?searchdata1=13352{CKEY}&searchfield1=GENE-RAL^SUBJECT^GENERAL^^&user_id=WEBSERVER. Item number: **MV/8 JAÉN (PROVINCIA) M. GENERALES. 1588**

[466] Eva María Alcázar Hernández, "Formación y articulación de un concejo fronterizo: Jaén en el Siglo XIII," *Arqueología y Territorio Medieval* 10, no. 2 (2003): 256, https://doi.org/10.17561/aytm.v10i2.1561.

been conserved, but the process is clearly mentioned in the First General Chronicle of Castile, composed during that same century:

> *des y enbió por pobladores a todas partes, enbiando prometer grandes libertades a quantos y veniesen a poblar; et venieron y muchas gentes de toda la tierra, et mandolos partir la villa et los heredamientos a todos muy comunalmente, a cada uno segunt pertenescie, et desy aforolos et conpliolos quanto les prometiera.*[467]

[in this way (the king) sent settlers to all places (in Castile), ordering the promise of great freedoms to all who came to settle; and came many peoples from all the land (of Castile), and (the king) ordered to divide the villa and give heir to all (the settlers) very communally, to each one according to tenure (to a certain class), and in this way (the king) provided them with *fueros*[468] and complied as much as promised.][469]

This distribution of lands and properties was most beneficial to powerful individuals who were close to the royal court, the newly created archiepiscopate of Jaen, military orders such as Santiago and Calatrava, knights and war veterans, among others. By no means were they enough to populate and activate the productive infrastructure in the area. The biggest part of the immigration movement from Castile to Jaen came from humble classes, attracted by new opportunities near the frontier that were particularly unique during the first two years after the pact of Jaen in 1246 but before the conquest of Seville in 1248. Most of these landowners were governed by the council of Jaen, but, of course, there were exceptions. As it has been previously mentioned, among the towns and villages in ruled by bigger capitals, there were also independent *royal villas* that were gifted directly by the crown to certain individuals. This particular kind of villas were present in Jaen since its conquest, with examples such as the Castle of Cárchel, originally conceded to Jaen Archiepiscopate and the castle of La Guardia, originally gifted to Dª Juana de Ponthieu, wife of King Ferdinand III.[470] The word 'originally' is quite relevant here. Once the frontier was fully stablished in its full reality of risks and opportunities, it became clear that most ecclesiastic and aristocratic rulers were not fit to provide the kind of militaristic approach needed in the borderlands. While the western side of Sierra Sur operated as a network of castles under the common management of the order of Calatrava, its eastern valley facing Sierra Mágina was structured through concessions to frontier lords or

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[467] Antonio Menéndez Pidal and Diego Catalán, eds., *Primera Crónica General de España. Alfonso X, rey de Castilla* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1977), vol. VII, chapter 1071. Quoted in Alcázar Hernández, "Formación y articulación de un concejo fronterizo," 256–57.
[468] *Aforolos.*
[469] English translation and brackets by the author.
[470] Alcázar Hernández, "Formación y articulación de un concejo fronterizo," 261–62.

*adelantados*.[471] For example, in 1271 the castle of Cárchel was re-assigned along with the castle of Cazalla to the *adelantado* Don Diego Sánchez de Funes, as well as many other positions all over the borderland. Sánchez de Funes had been previously appointed in 1258 as "*Adelantado Mayor de la Frontera*", with responsibilities in Jaén but also in Córdoba and Seville.[472] Juan Ruiz de Baeza received the castle of La Guardia later in the 13th century, a great responsibility given that, as it names points out, this fortification was the main "guard" of Jaen against any enemies coming from the south. Don Sancho Martínez de Jódar, another *adelantado* who had occupied the charge of Adelantado Mayor between 1257-1258, owned the castles of Chincóyar and Neblir in the inner valleys of Sierra Mágina, protecting the easternmost access to the Guadalbullón valley (Figure 120). The presence of so many *villas de señorío* -towns ruled by individual frontier lords- was quite inconvenient for the council of Jaen, deprived of control and taxation of most of its southern domains. In exchange, the capital was free of many of the costs produced by their defence: each frontier lord was responsible of garrisoning their castles at its own expense. The resultant political landscape was peculiar: a provincial capital accessible from two valleys, one protected by appointed independent lords and the other, in a different jurisdiction, managed by an organization of templar knights (Figure 112). Of course, Jaen counted with its fortifications managed directly by its own council, including its own local castle and minor fortifications such as Fuente el Rey (Figure 121).[473]

The architecture of castles under control of adelantados was not unlike other fortifications in the region. For example, La Guardia stands out with its three square towers and a central rounded one. Its inner walled perimeter, visible in Figure 122, was inside a much bigger outer wall that enclosed a restricted area for military operations.[474] What is most relevant for the topic of this dissertation is their territorial distribution. In the map titled "Geographia o description nueua del obispado de Jaen", developed by Doctor Salcedo de Aguirre in 1587, where all the mentioned fortifications are depicted in a clearly strategic distribution along the Guadalbullón Valley[475] (Figure 123). In this map, it is clearly visible how the Guadalbullón valley ended in a natural gate called "Puerta de Arenas," enclosed by two natural crags. This entrance from the kingdom of Granada -the map is oriented south wise- worked as a geological bottleneck, easy to defend.

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[471] Alcántara Valle, "Nobleza y señoríos en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X. Aproximación a su estudio."

[472] Braulio Vázquez Campos, "Diego Sánchez de Funes," Diccionario biográfico español, Real Academia de Historia., 2018, https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/36128/diego-sanchez-de-funes.

[473] Pedro Andrés Porras Arboledas, "El legado de la Edad Media: el régimen señorial en el Reino de Jaén (siglos XV-XVIII)," *En la España medieval* 5 (1984): 807.

[474] A. Vargas-Machuca Caballero and M. Palma Crespo, "Proyecto básico y de ejecución de restauración del alcázar y obras de emergencia en el recinto del castillo de La Guardia (Jaén)," *Sumuntán*, no. 20 (2004): 29–104.

[475] Named as "río del Campillo" as in its 1588 version (Figure 119).
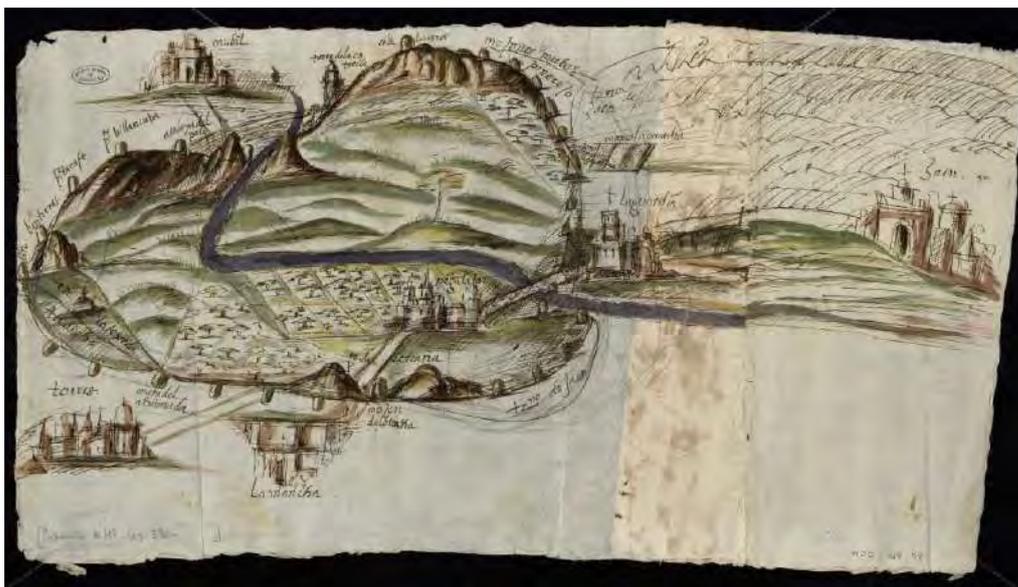
**Figure 120: Drawing of the Guadalbullón valley from Jaen to Cambil, 1559. It depicts the fortress of La Guardia and the network of watchtowers around the valley. © Archivo General de Simancas.**[476]



**Figure 121: Description of the castle of Fuente el Rey by Martín de Ximena Jurado, 1639. The text mentions its four round corner towers and the central one, as well as square watchtower and the parish besides the castle. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**[477]

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[476] *Dibujo En Perspectiva Del Término de La Villa de Pegalajar, Limitando Con Cambil, La Guardia, La Mancha y Torres*, Deslindes municipales., Sin escala (Pegalajar (Municipio, Jaén), 1559), MPD_0048_0098, Archivo General de Simancas.

[477] Martín de Ximena Jurado, "Antigüedades del Reino de Jaén," 137. Item number: Mss/1180

It was defended by the castle of Arenas, a fortification of irregular geometry with the typical walls of this region: an Andalusian earth base heightened with stone during Christian times. This strategic point was conquered during the 1280 campaign of Alphonse X and returned to Granada after 1282. It would change hands again on several occasions until its definitive conquest in 1485.[478] The castle was located in the north side of Puerta de Arenas, parapeted behind it. From there, Granadans could guard the gate from its front, but Christians were in a much better position, able to attack Andalusian invaders from their flank while crossing the bottleneck. During peace time, Puerta de Arenas functioned as a frontier control for peoples and -more importantly- highly taxed goods. The Guadalbullón valley was the most direct commercial connection between Granada and Castile, hence the control and taxation of all crossing goods was particularly important. There were several *puertos secos* in this route, including Castillo de Arenas, Cambil, Pegalajar, and Puerto de la Estrella (Figure 124). Pegalajar is in the same latitude than La Guardia, effectively functioning as two pillars guarding the north access to the valley.

> *La frontera de Granada nació de las conquistas de los siglos XIII y XIV y, desde entonces, la violencia fue un mal endémico que afectó de manera profunda la vida y los comportamientos de las poblaciones asentadas en sus proximidades. Es cierto que, como hemos visto, esta violencia se atemperaba por las treguas y por los mecanismos de paz que las acompañaban, pero no hasta el punto de hacerla desaparecer del todo. [...] Por ello no era infrecuente que las poblaciones fronterizas se viesen sacudidas por actos de violencia que, dada su frecuencia y reiteración, formaban parte de la crónica menuda y casi diaria de los lugares fronterizos. Mi maestro el Prof. Carriazo habló a este respecto de la existencia de una "guerra atenuada y vergonzante".*
>
> Manuel González Jiménez, 2014[479]

[Granada's frontier was born from the conquests of the 13th and 14th centuries and, since then, violence was an endemic evil that deeply affected the life and behaviour of the population settled in its proximity. It is true that, as we have seen, this violence was tempered by truces and peace mechanisms accompanying them, but not to the point of making it

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478 Enrique Fernández Hervás, "Campillo de Arenas, Villa fundada después de la reconquista, con motivo de la repoblación de la Sierra de Jaén," *Boletín Instituto de Estudios Jiennenses* 137 (1989): 47–55; Tomás Quesada Quesada, *La Serranía de Mágina En La Baja Edad Media: Una Tierra Fronteriza Con El Reino Nazarí de Granada* (Universidad de Granada, 1989); Francisco Olivares Barragán, *Castillos de la provincia de Jaén* (Diputación Provincial de Jaén, Instituto de Estudios Jiennenses, 1992); Pérez Rodríguez, "Campillo de Arenas"; Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico, "Ficha Patrimonio Inmueble - Castillo de Arenas," 2018, https://guiadigital.iaph.es/bien/inmueble/3734/jaen/campillo-de-arenas/castillo.

479 González Jiménez, "La frontera de Granada. Tres siglos de paz y de guerra," 23.

disappear completely. […] Because of this, it was not uncommon that frontier villages were shaken by acts of violence that, given their frequency and continuity, formed part of the daily life chronicle of the borderlands. My mentor Prof. Carriazo spoke on this regard about the existence of a "attenuated and shameful peace."]



**Figure 122: Castle of La Guardia, 1989. © Francisco Cerezo Moreno, Juan Eslava Galán.**[480]

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[480] Cerezo Moreno and Eslava Galán, *Castillos y Atalayas del Reino de Jaén*, 104.

**Figure 123: "Geographia o description nueua del obispado de Jaen", 1587. Map of Jaen Archiepisco-pate, with a detail showing fortified towns in the Guadalbullón valley. South orientation. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.[481]**

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[481] Salcedo de Aguirre, "Geographia o description nueua del obispado de Jaen fecha en el 2º anno del Pontificado de Nrô mui Sancto Padre Sixto. V. y del reinado del Rey dô Phillippe el.2º. nro señor en el anno de treintayuno por orden del obispo de Jaen Frâcisco en el anno. 7 de su Obispado y del nascimiento de N. S. Jesuchîo de 1587."

**Figure 124: Territorial analysis of Guadalbullon valley, including its main mountain ports and fortified towns. Areas of opportunity appear in green. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2021.**

### *Some changes in Sierra Sur after the Granada War.*

The territorial structure of the Guadalbullón river reveals the existence of two fertile farming areas, one south of Puerta de Arenas and another north of Pegalajar. These places were not formally settled until decades after the conquest of Granada as part of the strategy devised by the Castilian Crown to repopulate Sierra Sur. In the 1587 map by Doctor Salcedo Castillo de Arenas is already missing: it was abandoned after the "deactivation" of the frontier. Instead, the cartographer depicted four very particular towns: Campillo de Arenas -south of Puerta de Arenas-, Mancha Real -north of Pegalajar-, Valdepeñas de Jaén -in the hearth of Sierra Sur-, and Los Villares -in the lower valleys to the north-. These were open settlements, without any fortifications or military regiment, designed solely for the distribution of farming lands among civilians. They picture a new territorial logic, moved by the royal desire of activating the land and profiting from its outcomes instead of the tight fortified defensive logic that ruled this region for 250 years.

Fortified towns and castles did not lose their role in the province, but they did change their role as the militaristic interests were relegated as a lower priority. Numerous fortifications were maintained with the bare minimum personnel or abandoned like in the case of Castillo de Arenas. Castles such as La Guardia, Alcaudete, and Fortaleza de la Mota were too significant to be left alone. They also performed as administrative centers of cities experiencing the economical bloom brought up by the end of the war. Instead of dismantling their military installations, these were transformed to offer an image closer to that of aristocratic and ecclesiastical power, more adequate to times of peace. For example, the keep of Alcaudete, with its towered perimeter and inner monastery built by the order of Calatrava between the 13th and 14th centuries, were unfit for the new lords arrived in the 16th century when the city was elevated to the range of county. A church was built in its front -Santa María la Mayor- and the monastery was expanded and restored to house the counts palace (

Figure 125).

These transformations in medieval fortified architecture evidence a relationship between Jaen's fortresses and their towns that was quite peculiar in the 16th century. Early modern fortresses and bastions built at that time across the Mediterranean Empire acted as mechanisms for imperial oppression not only against enemies, but mostly over its own local population.[482] In contrast, the former Andalusian frontier re-shaped the built image of its ruling powers to show a gentler visage, more pious than military, closely connected to the local post-(re)Conquista population and its sentiment imbued with Catholic, counter reformist fervour.

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[482] Cámara Muñoz, "La ciudad en los tratados de ingeniería del Renacimiento."
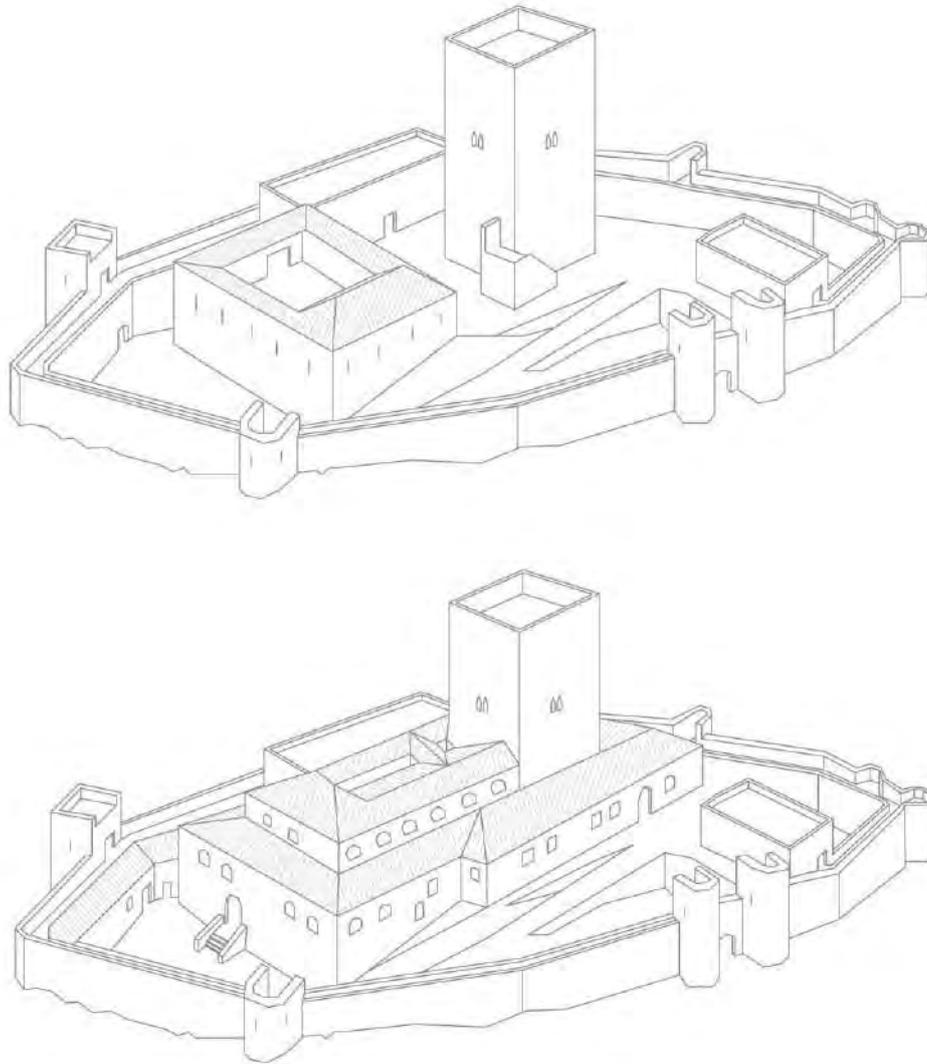
**Figure 125: Castle of Alcaudete under the rule of the order of Calatrava (Top) and after its transformation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Bottom). © José María Martínez Rodríguez, architecture student at Granada University, 2020.**

## 2.3 General aspects of the Sierra Sur new towns project. Socio-political context. Founding agents. Landscape and territory.

### Motivations, objectives, and impact of the project

#### *Particularities of the repopulation of Granada in the 16th century*

In sum, Jaen's Sierra Sur is one of the most iconic examples of medieval frontier dynamism in the Iberian Peninsula. While reproducing some of the policies and strategies applied in previous conquests such as de distribution of lands, the employment of military orders and the concession of positions to *adelantados*, its relative stability and longevity for 250 years implied a quite singular pattern of population and urban planning. Jaen's network of medieval castles and watchtowers, one of the densest in the world, required a specific citizen profile, often men involved in the war effort or accustomed to the risks of everyday life in the border. When king Boabdil surrendered Granada to the Catholic Monarch, his realm and its surroundings would experiment changes similar to what had been seen before in Seville, Valencia, or Southern Castile. According to profs. Delgado Barrado, Fernández García and López Arandia:

> *La finalización de la guerra, que culminó con la caída de Granada en 1492, conllevó una serie de cambios. Después de una primera mitad de siglo donde la ciudad de Jaén había sufrido notablemente la pérdida de posiciones estratégicas, como el castillo de Arenas, lo que favoreció diversas incursiones musulmanas aún en fechas tan tardías como 1449, la terminación de la lucha trajo consigo, por una parte, una ampliación notable de los límites jurisdiccionales del alfoz de Jaén, con la incorporación definitiva de las fortalezas de Cambil, Alhabar y Matabejid; y por otra, las lógicas consecuencias de un fuerte crecimiento demográfico.*
>
> *Tanto uno como otro factor llevaron al concejo de Jaén a promover, antes de la finalización del siglo XV, la ocupación de estos lugares en su término -Cambil, Alhabar…- hasta entonces despoblados o con una población en su mayoría masculina y dedicada únicamente a garantizar la defensa de su territorio [...]*
>
> José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García, María Amparo López Arandia, 2009.[483]

[The end of the war, culminated with the fall of Granada in 1492, implied a series of changes. After a first half century during which the city of Jaen had notably suffered the lost of strategic position such as the castle of Arenas, favouring Muslim incursions even in such late dates as 1449, the end of the fight brought with it, on one side, a notable expansion of Jaen's *alfoz*

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[483] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia*, 34.

jurisdictional limits, with the definitive incorporation of the fortresses of Cambil, Alhabar and Matabejid; and on the other side, the logical consequences of consequences of a high demographic growth.

Both one and the other factor brought Jaen's council to promote, before the ending of the 15th century, the occupation of these places inside its limits - Cambil, Alhabar…- until then depopulated or with a mainly masculine population solely dedicated to guarantee the defence of its territory [...]].

Despite the similarities, there were a set of factors and features that differentiated the repopulation process in Granada from those that took place before. Firstly, it was the first time since 711 that the Christian/Islamic frontier was moved out of the Iberian Peninsula. The Mediterranean coast became the new borderland, shared by of southern Europe against sea warfare and piracy. Its defensive structure was thin in comparison with the wider areas of the Banda Morisca or the Subbetic mountain range. If the 15th was the century of Andalusian hillside fortification, the 16th brought a whole new network of bastions and watchtowers promoted by Philip II all along the coast, from Cadiz to Valencia, Cataluña, and the Balearic Islands.[484]

Another differentiating factor is the coexistence of Christian settlers, migrated to repopulate the conquered lands, and Granadan citizens who remained thanks to the *capitulaciones* signed by Boabdil. According to the surrender pact, all Granadans had the right to stay and maintain their faith if they desired so. This led to a quite unprecedent and complicated situation for the new Castilian authorities in Granada. The resulting political and social instability led to the first Morisco Rebellion in the Albayzin in 1499-1500, and subsequent conflicts in the Alpujarras until the final Moorish expulsion between 1609 and 1613.[485] Granada did not suffer the same quick depopulation lived in Seville and Cordoba during the 13th century, instead, it maintained remains of Muslim activity all across the province, sometimes in form of complicated coexistence, others in open conflict against the Castilian occupation. New settlements and towns had to deal with this dual demographic dimension, bringing institutional control to areas that could potentially become pockets of resistance. These were meant to exclusively house Castilian colonists, but there were exceptions that transpired the peculiarity of the Granadan political context. For example, Campillo de Arenas counted with a Moorish citizen among its most privileged settlers in 1539, a gesture of royal

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[484] Alicia Cámara Muñoz, "Las torres del litoral en el reinado de Felipe II: una arquitectura para la defensa del territorio (y II)," *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie VII, Historia del arte*, no. 4 (1991): 53–94.

[485] For more information on the Granadan context immediately after 1492, see: Peinado Santaella, *Cómo disfrutan los vencedores cuando se reparten el botín. El reino de Granada tras la conquista castellana (1483-1526)*, 152–85. For a more general overview of coexistence and conflicts between Granadan Christian and Morisco groups, see Bernard Vincent, *El río morisco*, trans. Antonio Luis Cortés Peña, Biblioteca de Estudios Moriscos 2 (Valencia, Granada, Zaragoza: Publicacions de la Universitat de València, Editorial Universidad de Granada, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2015).

gratification that shows how Christian and converse cultural elites were slowly merging through their higher social circles.

Last but not least, the repopulation of Granada had a singular ideological significance in at least three ways: first through its role as peak point the Reconquista and completion of the Granadan conquest, secondly as articulation space for the configuration of the Spanish transoceanic empire, and thirdly through its social and political transformations motivated by the counter reformist movement that became most relevant in the decades between the late 16th and early 17th centuries.[486] Actions taken during the population were often presented in a ceremonious manner, highlighting how certain actors and their decisions were active part in a highly transcendental process. This spirit, combined with the imperial ambitions of Spain in Africa, America, and the Mediterranean, put Granada once more in a strategic position.

Its political and institutional developments had all sort of consequences that could be felt both abroad and in its own territory. For example, we have already discussed the dissemination of military innovation, along with its local and global effects. In contrast, the re-population process is more connected with the second kind of urban innovation in post-war Granada, the one related with Santa Fe, the urban grid and its rules for the partition and distribution of conquered land. In Jaen, the end of the war brought with it the end of the frontier, and with it the disappearance of a profitable commercial structure that justified well-nurtured guard posts in Sierra Sur. As it has been mentioned, frontier commerce was highly dynamic and profitable to the institutions in charge of its taxation, including the 10% charged by Granada, 15% by Castile, and an additional 5% by the *adelantados* in charge of protecting the whole system. The demilitarization of Jaen frontier brought with it the proliferation of unaligned groups and robberies in roads, especially in mountain passes such as the Guadalbullón Valley. Its roads and trails needed a new kind of vigilance adequate for times of peace, this is, vigilance through use. Insufflating human activity to the province and its farming lands, registering private property over the land, and taxing local production, was the strategy to achieve this goal.

### *Impact of Sierra Sur project in historical cartography, 16th to 18th centuries. From no-man's land to all-man's ambition.*

Populating a territory such as Sierra Sur was a quite different task to the general re-population of Granada's province. While most of Granada counted with abundant urban hubs and infrastructures, the frontier had been traditionally devoid of permanent settlements. Early cartographical documents show how this circumstance was still present at the midpoint of the 16th century, featuring a territorial

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[486] Ladero Quesada, *Granada, historia de un país islámico*; A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, 2007); Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *El ciclo falsario de Granada: de los Libros plúmbeos a los Fraudes de la Alcazaba* (Granada: Comares, 2021).

structure of clearly defined regions divided by natural limits. For example, in the 1555-1570 map of Eastern Andalusia by Alonso de Santa Cruz et al. (Figure 126) the provinces of Granada (south), Jaen (north) and Almería (east) appear separated by a diagonal strip of hills and mountains, with river valleys acting as connecting passages. Jaen's Sierra Sur appear as an 'empty' area framed by a series of towns and rivers on its left and the river Guadajoz on its right, which separates it from the bigger mountain chain of Sierra Mágina. The 1595 chart of Granada's kingdom by Natalius Metellus shows a similar depiction, with Sierra Sur enclosed by towns and permeated by cities and towns (Figure 127). However, a closer look allows to identify the addition of a '*villa nueva*' or 'new town' next to La Guardia.[487] That settlement is actually Mancha Real, the bigger plantation in the new towns project of Sierra Sur. Although the other three do not appear in this map, it is quite interesting to acknowledge how the colonization of Sierra Sur was starting to appear in maps and charts, even if they were general charts of the region developed by foreign cartographers such as Johannes Natalius Metellus. Later maps such as 1634 Pedro Texeira's great atlas, commissioned by Phillip IV to survey the Spanish imperial domains at the time, feature a similar image of emptiness in Jaén Sierra Sur (Figure 128).[488] The bigger scale of this work, which may justify a certain level of inaccuracy and omission, perpetuates the image of Granada's kingdom as an urban network with gaps and lower density areas in its frontier.

To find more detailed depictions of Sierra Sur and its new plantations is necessary to look for maps based on data from local institutions such as Jaen's archiepiscopate, which had jurisdiction over the diverse *alfoces* that were part of this province. The earlier map showing the colonization of Sierra Sur is the one commissioned by Jaen archbishop and developed by Gaspar Salcedo in 1587, showing not only the inclusion of all four new plantations but also its more relevant natural features such as Puerta de Arenas (Figure 123). A number of later maps of the same province use Salcedo's work as its base and feature Sierra Sur in increasing detail. Its importance and circulation among cult spheres of Jaen's society and its clerical circles is made evident by its inclusion in the already mentioned Ximena Jurado's work of 1634-41, occupying a relevant position among his depictions of Roman remains and medieval fortifications. Ximena Jurado inverted Salcedo's map, positioning the north to its south and sketching its dense urban network in a quite small piece of paper, with a graphic scale of 27 leagues (Figure 129).[489] However, Sierra Sur appear in rich detail, including all its new plantations and presenting its geographical structure in a clear manner, considering the limited size of his manuscript book. The 1653 description of Jaen archiepiscopate by

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[487] Not to be mistaken with Villanueva del Arzobispo, with is located north of Ubeda and also appear in this map.

[488] The Texeira Atlas is one of the more relevant works in the history of Spanish cartography. See: Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda, *El Atlas del Rey Planeta: La descripción de España y de las costas y puertos de sus reinos de Pedro Texeira (1634)* (Hondarribia: Editorial Nerea, 2002).

[489] The medieval Castilian league, also known as *legua legal* for its use in court and legal documents, was equivalent to 5000 Castilian varas, that is, 4200 meters.

Gregorio Forst Man[490] shows a very similar structure to Salcedo's and Ximena's but developed with a more precise scaling of 6,5 leagues and showing the natural mountain and river systems of Jaen (Figure 130). Forst's work presents Jaen as an intermediate territory, developed around the basin of the Guadalquivir River and limited by Sierra Morena by the north, Sierra de Segura by the east, and Sierra Sur and Sierra Mágina by the south. The result of the colonization of Sierra Sur appear with all its elements, including the four new towns, the abandoned fortification of Castillo de Arenas, as well as other fortifications of the Granadan frontier and northern Granadan capitals such as Guadix and Baza. Finally, the 18th century brought with it some of the most important works for creating systematic knowledge of Spain's territories and populations, including the cadastre by the 1st Marquess of Ensenada Zenón de Somodevilla, and the cartographic Atlas developed by Tomás López.[491] López map of Jaen's kingdom or "Reyno de Jaen" in 1787 is a fully-fledged and dense depiction of the province in all its complexity, including not only capitals, towns, and administrative limits but also small farmhouses, villages, hamlets, along with minor roads and mountain trails connecting them (Figure 131). López cartographic shows its own period mapping techniques, including the abstraction of cities and towns into symbolic shapes similar to those of Salcedo, as well as a relatively high level of inaccuracy in areas with difficult terrains such as Sierra Sur.[492] Nonetheless, his work presents the completion of Sierra Sur colonization project, complying with its original objectives of activating its communications and permeating its harsh terrain. Moreover, the atlas of Tomás López was based on an abundant archive of correspondence solicited to a wide selection of institutional representatives, particularly to parish priests, who answered the call providing with detailed descriptions of their towns and surroundings.[493] Sometimes these descriptions were supported by small plans and maps that, despite the diversity of skill-levels with which they were produced, provide such a rich image of local landscapes and their communities.

This succession of cartographic works shows the slow but determining effect that the project for the colonization of Sierra Sur had upon this province. The aspiration of structuring and organizing the land was fulfilled and registered by religious and social institutions, eventually making its way to the official image of the region. In this way, besides the military urban spaces designed for the *new war* of artillery and black powder of the late 15th century, Jaen and its Sierra Sur are also rich in urban solutions and experiments for the *new peace* in occupied

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[490] Also known as Gregorio Fosman y Medina, Fostman or Frosman.

[491] Agustín Hernando, "Génesis de una tradición geográfica: Los atlas publicados por Tomás López (1730-1802)," *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales* XX, no. 534 (2016): 1–48.

[492] As it has been evidenced in the last decade through GIS analysis: Josefina Martínez García, Francisco Manzano Augliario, and Jose Carlos de San Antonio Gomez, "El Atlas Geográfico de España de Tomás López: Análisis mediante SIG de las poblaciones del «Reyno de Jaén» (1787)," *CT/Catastro*, no. 74 (April 2012): 111–38.

[493] Antonio López Gómez, "El método cartográfico de Tomás López: El interrogatorio y los mapas de España," *Estudios geográficos* 57, no. 225 (1996): 667–710.

Granadan territories. Its interior territory, used as natural frontier and no-man's land during 250 years of truces and conflicts, became an ambitioned space after the war, articulating innovations for the use of the land and its administration. This process blurs the traditional periodization that separates 'medieval' and 'early modern' phenomena, presenting a continuate and dynamic process were the reality of the local political situation overcomes any external categorization.

For all this reasons, evidenced through their impact the formation of Jaen territory across history, the urban practices developed during the plantation of four new towns in Sierra Sur merit closer study. The following sections focus on their analysis, from the general aspects and documents of the process to the primary case of Mancha Real and its foundational plan, and ending with the cases of Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas.
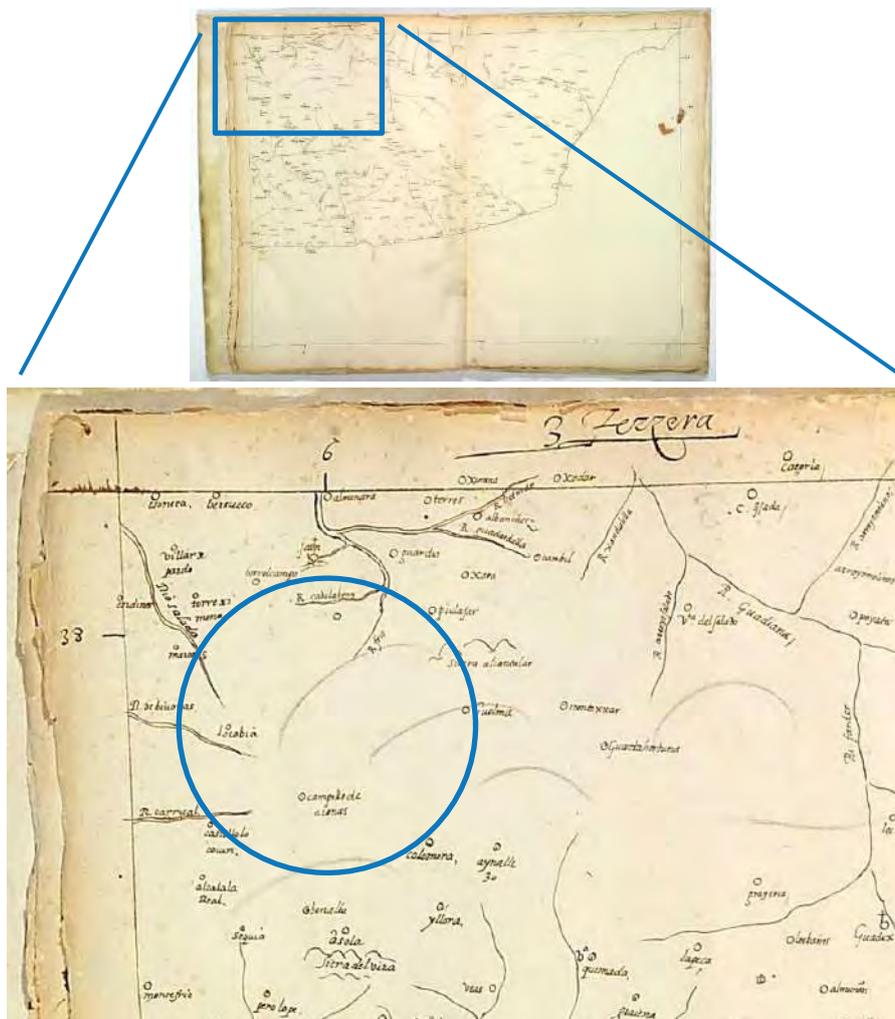


**Figure 126: Map of Eastern Andalusia by Alonso de Santa Cruz, Pedro de Esquivel, Felipe de Guevara, Diego de Guevara and Juan de Herrera, 1555-1570. Top: complete map. Bottom: Detail of the area of Sierra Sur, Between Jaen and Campillo de Arenas, which appears as an 'empty' region. © Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.**[494]

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[494] Alonso de Santa Cruz et al., *Mapa de La Parte Suroriental de Andalucía Que Se Extiende Entre Las Poblaciones de El Berrueco, Cuevas Del Almanzora, Almería y Vélez-Málaga*, 1570
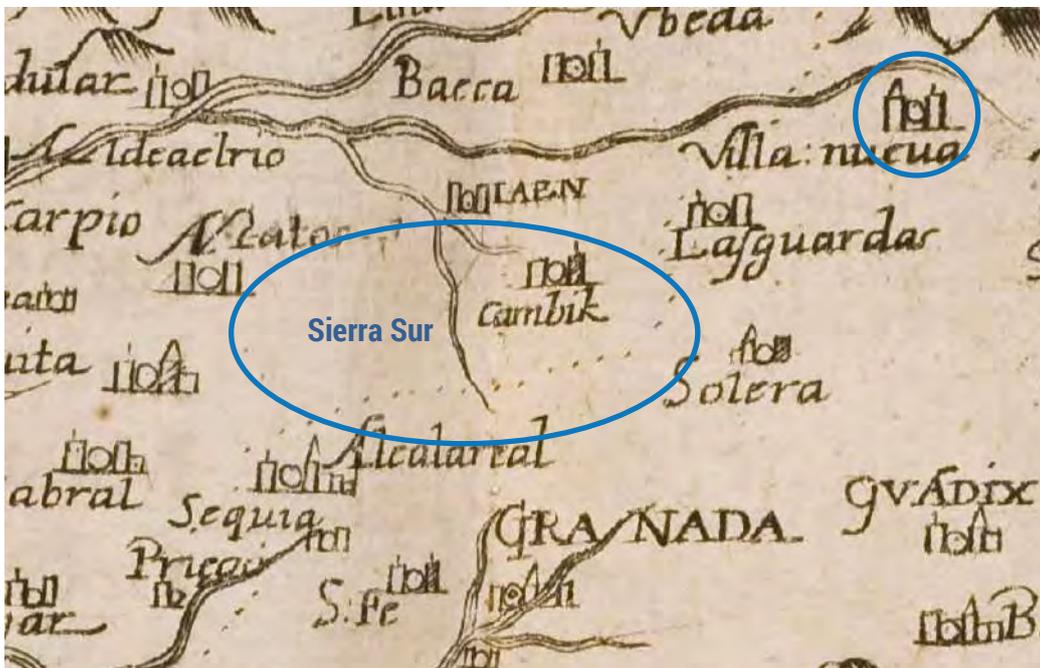
**Figure 127: Granatae Regnû = Reÿno de Granada, map of the kingdom of Granada developed in 1595 by Johannes Natalius Metelus and Conrad Loew. Top: complete map. Bottom: Detail of the area of Sierra Sur. Mancha Real appears tagged as a "Villa nueva". © Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla.[495]**

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1555, Andalucía suroriental. Mapas generales., 1:430000, 1570 1555, Ms. K-I-1, ff. 7v-8, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

[495] Johannes Natalius Metellus and Conrad Loew, *Granatae Regnû = Reÿno de Granada*, Mapas generales., 1:2300000 (Andalucía oriental, 1595), A Res. 77/3/04, mapa 7, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Sevilla, Fondo Antiguo.

**Figure 128: 1634 'Reino de Granada', chart by Pedro Texeira Albernas. Top: complete map. Bottom: detail of the region between Jaen and Granada. Sierra Sur appears as an empty space surrounded by cities such as Jaen, Martos, Alcalá la Real, Guarda Fortuna, and Cambil. Many other towns have been omitted, including the four new plantations of 1539. © Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.[496]**

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[496] Pedro Texeira Albernas, *Reino de Granada*, Mapas generales, 1:520000 (Andalucía oriental, 1634), Codex Miniatus 46 ff. 61v-62, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Viena).
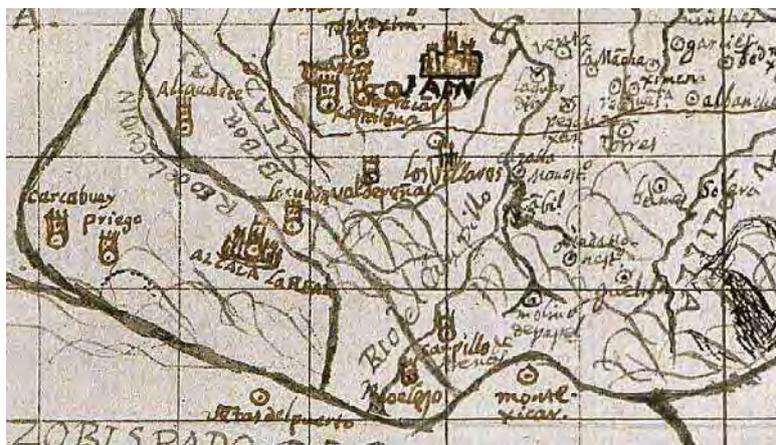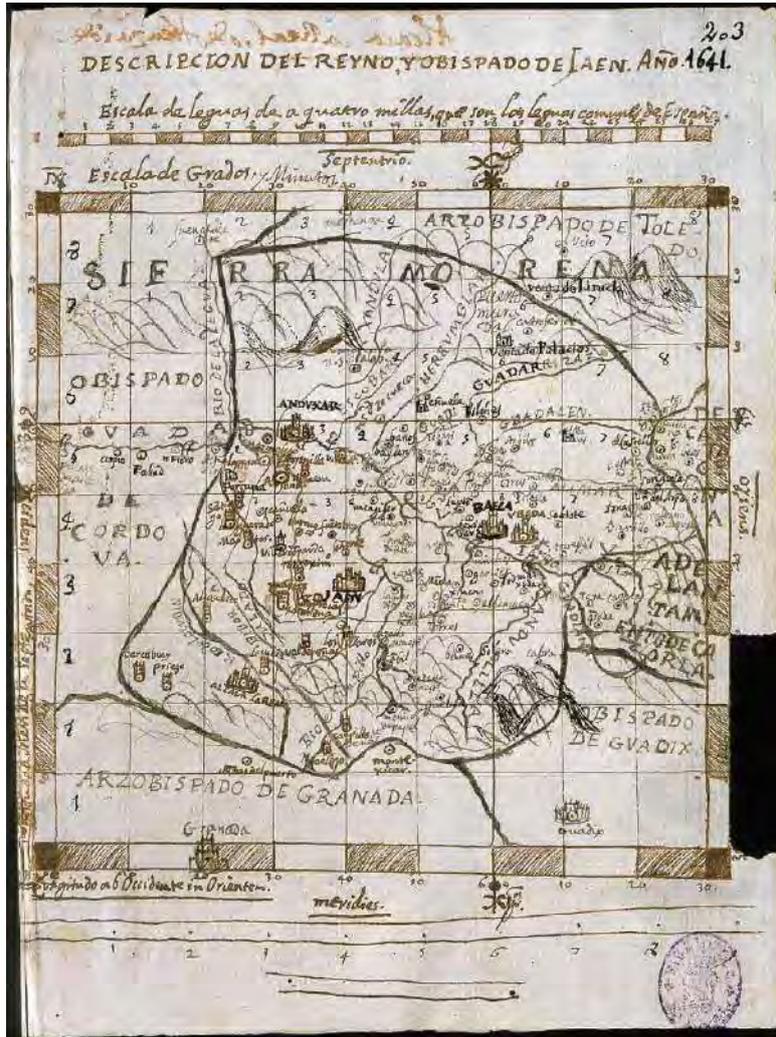
**Figure 129: 1639 'Descripcion del Reyno y Obispado de Jaen', copy by Martín de Ximena Jurado of Doctor Salcedo's 1587 map of the same province. Included in the manuscripted book "Antigüedades del Reino de Jaén." © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**[497]

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[497] Martín de Ximena Jurado, *Descripcion del Reyno, y Obispado de Iaen*, 1:325000, Escala gráfica de 27 leguas de a quatro millas, que son las leguas comunes de España (Jaén (Provincia), 1641 1639), Sala Cervantes, Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid).
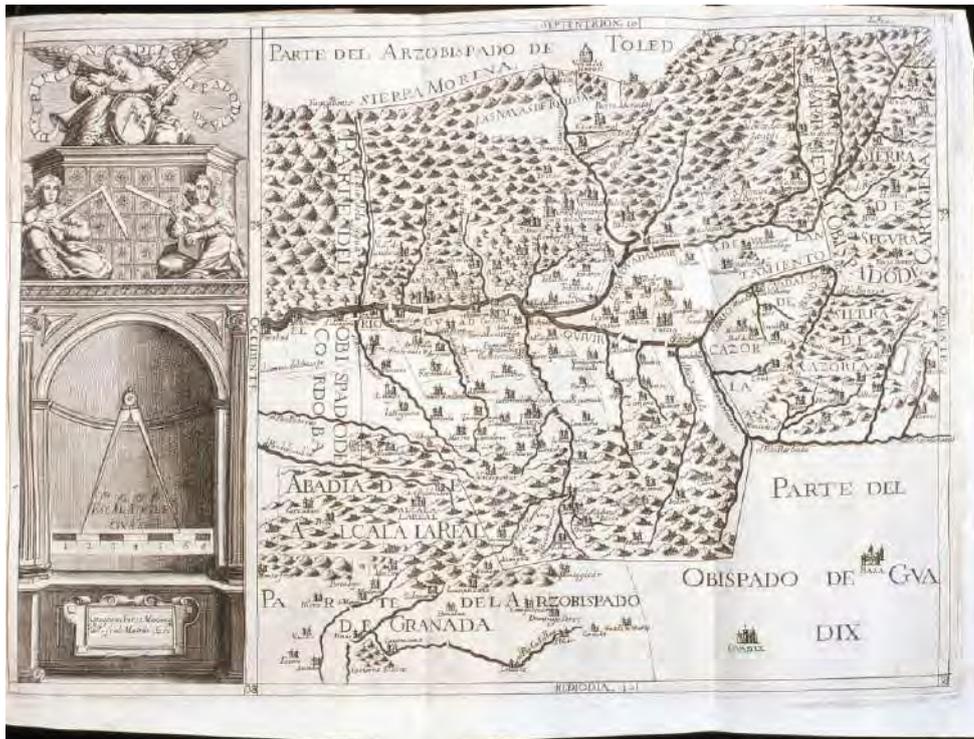
**Figure 130: 1653 'Descripción del Obispado de Jaén' by Gregorio Forst Man. Top: complete map. Bottom: detail of Sierra Sur where all four new plantations are depicted. © Biblioteca de Andalucía, Granada.**[498]

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[498] Gregorio Forst Man Matritensis, *Descripcion del Obispado de Jaen*, Organización territorial de la Iglesia, 1:650000. Escala gráfica de 6 leguas y media. 28 x 38 cm (Jaén (Provincia), 1653), ANT-XVII-152, Biblioteca de Andalucía (Granada).

**Figure 131: 1787 'Mapa geográfico del Reyno de Jaén, dividido en los partidos de Jaen, Baeza, Ubeda, Andujar, Martos y las poblaciones de Sierra Morena', by Tomás López. Top: Complete map. Bottom: detailed of Sierra Sur between Jaen's capital and Alcalá la Real, showing its dense network of mountain roads and connected villages. © Biblioteca de Andalucía (Granada).[499]**

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[499] Tomás López, *Mapa geográfico del Reyno de Jaén, dividido en los partidos de Jaen, Baeza, Ubeda, Andujar, Martos y las poblaciones de Sierra Morena.*, [ca. 1:353.481]. Escala gráfica de 6 Leguas de 20 al grado, llamadas de una hora de camino o maritimas [= 9,6 cm] (Madrid: Tomás López e hijos, 1787), MD 4-19, Biblioteca de Andalucía (Granada). Appears in: Tomás López, *Atlas geográfico de España, que Comprehende el Mapa General del Reyno, y los Particulares de Sus Provincias / Por D. Tomás Lopez, Geógrafo que fue de los Dominios de S.M., de varias academias y sociedades*, Atlas, Varias escalas (Madrid, 1804), GMg/832, Biblioteca Nacional de España, http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000001859.

## Sources and documents for the study of foundational actions in the 1539 new towns of Sierra Sur

One of the features that make the Sierra Sur project such an interesting case study is the variety of sources that depict not only its urban evolution and its territorial impact, but the discussions, disputes, and actions taken for its plantation. The four new towns -Mancha Real, Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas- were urban projects in its form but legal entrepreneurships in its essence. The planning tools used in its development included population charters, executive orders, distribution books, and other documents dictated by judges and written down by scribes. These did not prescind from geometrical measures, sketches, and designs, which are mentioned on several occasions through the documentation. Sadly, the majority of the graphic component in these sources is lost today. The main documents conserved regarding the new towns project in Sierra Sur are:

### 1508 - Carta puebla from Juana I [Population Charter]

This is the original population charter issued by Queen Juana I and developed by her Royal Council. Although the charter written in first person voice as if it were the queen speaking, the person who signed it was his father king Ferdinand II of Aragon, who became king regent of Castille in 1506 when Juana was considered mentally unstable and unfit to rule after the death of her husband, Philip I "el Hermoso" [the Handsome].[500] This letter includes the main motivations of the project and a list of seven new towns to be planted. Distances, landmarks, and natural resources are listed for each town, presenting a territorial strategy to populate the area and secure its roads.

### 1537 - Real Ejecutoria from Juana I and Charles V [Executory Order] - Appendix A

The project was delayed because of a series of legal conflicts involving the settlers of the new towns, the council of Jaen responsible of their plantation, and the Mesta council who protested against the project. In 1537 the Royal Council ruled in favour of the settlers and reactivated the project, ordering to "execute" the plantations as they were ordered in 1508. The executory order includes certified copies of documents and decisions taken during the whole process, including the original population charter, the minutes from a Council meeting in 1536 when the Royal Council ordered a visitor to survey the area of Sierra Sur and report if it was fit for stable urban settlements or not, the final decision in 1537. The final

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[500] The discussion on Juana's *madness* plays a great role on Spanish historiography, art, and literature. See: Cristina Segura Graíño, "Isabel I y Juana I de Castilla. Formación de un modelo y de su contramodelo. Influencias recíprocas entre Historia y Literatura," *Arenal: Revista de historia de las mujeres* 11, no. 1 (2004): 29–57; María Pilar Queralt del Hierro, "Todos contra Juana," *Historia y vida* 561 (2014): 52–61.

order commands the *corregidor*[501] in Jaén to plant the new cities *sin dilación* [without delay]. In case the *corregidor* failed to meet these expectations, a new agent would be sent directly from the Royal Council to proceed with the foundation himself, and the *corregidor* would have to pay a fine of 10,000 *maravedies*[502] to cover his costs.

### *1539 – Foundational books [Libros de Repartimiento] by Judge Juan de Rivadeneyra and his commission*

The person who finally planted the new towns in Sierra Sur was the judge Juan de Rivadeneyra, sent from Valladolid by the Royal Council. He arrived to Jaen on April 2nd 1539 and reunited a team to survey, trace, plant and distribute the whole group of new settlements, which was reduced from seven to four. He was accompanied by Juan Vázquez, the royal notary *[escribano]*[503] who logged all of his actions during the following motnhs. Four foundational books or "*Libros de Repartimiento*" were created from these documents, one for each new settlement, guarded in a coffer by their mayors and councillors. Those original documents were subsequently copied and bind together as books, eventually producing the copies (*traslados*) that are conserved today. The books for Mancha Real and Campillo de Arenas are held at *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén*, while the ones for Valdepeñas de Jaén and Los Villares are conserved in their respective local archives. All of them have been transcribed and published.[504]

Each of these books include a certified copy of the 1537 executory order and other documents regarding its foundation. For example, the book of Valdepeñas de Jaén presents its contents in its first paragraph with the following words:

*Libro primero que trata de la/ fundazion y poblazion desta villa de Baldepeñas/, y el prinzipio y primer mot(i)uo que vbo para su fun-/dazion y poblazion, y los juezes que binieron/ con comision de Su Magestad y las ynstruziones/ y orden que vbieron de tener, y como la ziudad/ de Jaen pidio que se fundase y*

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[501] Royal representative in a given province who acted as link between the local authorities -town council, judges, Mesta council- and the Royal Council.

[502] The *maravedí* (pl. *maravedíes*) was the official currency in Castile in the 16th century. It was originally introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the Almoravids in the 11th century.

[503] The direct English translation of *escribano* would be "scribe" or "clerk;" however, none of those terms cover the role of an agent such as Juan Vázquez. He was a trained scholar who knew his way across the many complicated formulae of early modern Spanish law and its written culture. He had the authorization of the Royal Council to certify acts and documents with his sign, which was registered at legal institutions such as Granada's Royal Chancery. During the whole foundational process at Sierra Sur, Juan Vázquez acted as Rivadeneyra's second in command, accounting for actions of other agents and supervising ceremonies. For these reasons, we have opted for the more significant term "notary" for Juan Vázquez and his colleagues acting in other regions of the Spanish Empire. Even though they had no active voice in the foundational protocols. they must not be mistaken as mere scribes.

[504] Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*; Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia*; Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación, repoblación y buen gobierno en Castilla. Campillo de Arenas, 1508-1543*; Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*.

*poblase, y las/ contradiziones que hizo despues para ynpedir/ que no se fundase ni poblase, y despues de poblada/ los pleytos que le mobio y los demas suzesos/ que de aberse poblado a abido que todo ello vno en/ pos de otro para sigun y como aqui yra escrito/ y declarado, ques como se sigue.*[505]

[First book about the foundation and settlement of this town of Baldepeñas (sic), and the original and first motive for its foundation and settlement, and the judges who came commissioned by its Magesty, and the instructions and orders received by them, and how the city of Jaen asked this to be founded and settled, and the contradictions that it later did to prevent the foundation and settlement, and after settled, the lawsuits and other events caused by the settlements, for others (this is recorded) in the way as it is written and declared here, which is as follows.][506]

In this way, the population book presents itself as a compilation of a variety of documents depicting complex processes and, in some cases, contradictions. All four books in Sierra Sur contain similar documents. The process between 1508 and 1539 was shared for the whole group, hence that part reads mostly the same in all of them. Then, the procedure for each specific plantation is registered in a similar way for each particular book, including the first visits by the judge and his team, the establishment of territorial limits, the tracing of the plans, the distribution of land plots, etc. Although the records are consistent, variations do exist between the books and there are missing pieces of information in some of them.

In this dissertation, the books of Valdepeñas de Jaén and Mancha Real have been used as representative case studies for the whole group. As it has been already discussed, the book of Mancha Real is conserved with copies of all its documents and its foundational plan. The book of Valdepeñas de Jaén is presented here as example of one of the settlements that does not conserves it plan. Also, the detailed distribution of urban plots is missing in Valdepeñas' book; making it difficult to infer in which plot was assigned to each settler, institution, or public service. The foundational books of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas cover this gap and offer great potential for future research.

### 16th c. - Lawsuits and registers in Granada's Royal Chancery, including a copy of Mancha Real plan made in 1570.

Granada's Royal Chancery has in its archive a wide array of legal documents regarding lawsuits and legal procedures involving agents in Sierra Sur during the 16th and 17th centuries. One of them stands out, the "*Pleito entre Melchor de*

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[505] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples da algunas noticias para actuarse de la Fundación de esta villa erigida en lugar a sus principios con el nombre de El Valdepeñas. Sacado del Libro de Población y todo simple" (1508 1554), fol. 1 r., Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén.

[506] English translation and text in brackets by the author.

*Vergara, prior de Mancha Real, con Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera y Mari Pérez, su mujer, vecinos de dicha villa "* [Lawsuit between Melchor de Vergara, prior of Mancha Real, with Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera and Mari Pérez, his wife, citizens of this town]. This conflict involved the correction of the distribution plan of Mancha Real because of two parcels or urban plots that were incorrectly noted. They were assigned in a different order to the one that appears in the plan. Because of this, Alonso Rodríguez and his wife Mari Pérez asked for a correction. The judge commissioned a copy of the foundational plan, which was elaborated by Luis de Molina in 1570 and archived at the Royal Chancery. While the original plans of all four towns were lost at some moment in time, the 1570 copy of Mancha Real survived and can be studied today as the single remaining cartographic document from the whole foundational process, hence its relevance to this dissertation.

### *16th - 17th cc. - Maps and cartographic surveys of Jaen's Archiepiscopate.*

Maps and territorial surveys of Jaen and its surroundings offer a great deal of information about its infrastructure and the network of human settlements supporting it. It has already made evident in previous sections how the mountains of Sierra Sur were depicted either as an empty area or a group of frontier settlements with variable levels of interconnection. The more accurate maps were those based on local sources, often coming from Jaen's Archiepiscopate, parish priests, and other clerical institutions.

## 2.4 Orders and actions regarding the colonization of Sierra Sur as a unitary project.

### The 1508 *carta puebla* by Juana I[507]

As mentioned before, the written document that officially started the process of colonization of Sierra Sur is known as *carta puebla*. It is a royal order developed by the Castilian Royal Council and signed by Queen Juana I in 1508, commanding the creation of seven new towns. The copy of this document conserved today is part of the foundational books of those towns that were finally planted in Sierra Sur. More specifically, the transcribed version of the population chart commented in this dissertation is the one included in Valdepeñás de Jaén book, copied years before and compiled in a folder along with diverse documents and registers of the foundation, under the title "*Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples da algunas noticias para actuarse de la Fundación de esta villa erigida en lugar a sus principios con el nombre de El Valdepeñas. Sacado del Libro de Población*

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[507] Transcription included in Appendix A.

*y todo simple*" (Figure 132).[508] It is conserved at Valdepeñas de Jaén's local archive, where I was able to access it thanks to the local archivist Serafín Parra. It was transcribed by María Amparo López and published in 2009.[509]
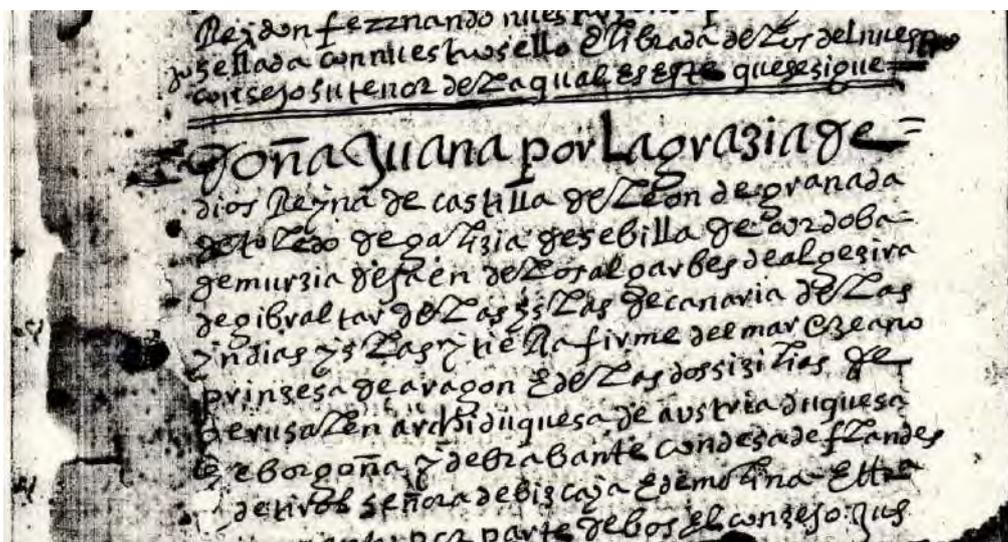


**Figure 132: 1537-1540. Fragment of Valdepeñas de Jaén foundational book (photocopied) where the transcription of the population chart begins. It starts with the presentation of the Queen Doña Juana and her titles. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén.[510]**

Before this *carta puebla*, the only registered authorization for creating populating the area is a license granted for twenty settlers to build their houses near the Otíñar Castle, a location that ended up deserted at some point between the 13th and 14th centuries.[511] This project was not executed and, by the beginning of the 16th century, Sierra Sur was still seen as a place of opportunity.

At some point before 1508, the city counsil of Jaén known as *Conzejo de Justizia Beyntiquatros* or "*Veinticuatro de Jaén*"[512] asked the Crown for permission to populate a certain area considered available for creating new settlements.[513] The population chart is a direct answer to the request, even though Jaen's town council immediately changed their mind and, along with the Mesta council, protested against the project. The document of Jaen's original petition has not been conserved.

The population chart occupies is only two pages long and quite synthetic and systematic in its structure. It opens with the introduction of queen Doña Juana and her titles, which are cut short by a quite convenient *ettz* [etc.].[514] As it is usual in

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[508] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples..."

[509] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia*.

[510] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 1 r.

[511] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia*, 35.

[512] Because it was composed by twenty four appointed lords. This institutions had a long tradition in medieval Castile and was implemented also in Granada immediately after its conquest.

[513] "...a*y dispusizion para hacer e poblar algunos lugares...*". In "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.

[514] **Doña Juana, por la grazia de**/ Dios, reyna de Castilla, de Leon, de Granada,/ de Toledo, de Galizia, de Sebilla, de Córdoba,/ de Murzia de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algezira,/ de Gibraltar,

this period, kingdoms in Andalusia appear individualized (*Granada, Sebilla, Córdoba, Jaén*), as well as Toledo, Galizia, los Algarbes (now south of Portugal), Algeciras and the Canary Islands in Africa, and the *Yndias*, including the islands and the continent (tierra firme). Other territories to which Juana held only the title of princess as daugther of King Ferdinand II are Aragon, las dos Sizilias (Naples and Sicily), and Jerusalem, as well as other minor titles. This kind of formula is conventional during this period and shows the inner hierarchy of early modern monarchies, ruling over a polycentric structure of kingdoms, each one with its own laws and administrative procedures. Of course, there is no mention to the "Spanish Empire," "Spain," or any other of the categories used today.

### *Systemic approach to population coordinates*

After this protocolary introduction, the population chart list each of the places to be settled, seven in total. The formula is the same for all of them, first introducing their distance to Jaen as petitioners for the population, then stating the number of settlers[515] and finally listing a number of qualities and available resources for each specific location. For example, the first location mentioned is *Campillo de Arenas* (sic). It is said to be "located seven leagues from the aforementioned city (Jaén) and another seven leagues from Granada,"[516] this is, in the middle point between the two provincial capitals bordering the region. Then, the main reason for the plantation is given: "because all the road that goes from the aforementioned city (Jaén) to Granada is deserted."[517] Next we have the number of one hundred settlers who could live there because: "there are very good waters and calm lands and hills that could be broken for vineyards and olive groves, and all the other necessary things for a settlement."[518] This formula is then repeated for the remaining six locations (

Table 1).

After listing all the locations and the possibilities, the charter summarizes the reasons given by the petitioners in support of settling them. The very first is a political one: all seven belong to Jaen's administrative area and under its jurisdiction.[519] Moreover, their plantation would be "cause of ennoblement for the city",

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de las yslas de Canaria, de las/ Yndias, yslas y tier(r)a firme del mar ozeano,/ princesa de Aragon e de las dos Sizilias, de/ Gerusalen, archiduquesa de Austria, duquesa/ de Borgoña y de Brabante, condesa de Flndes,/ de Tirol, señora de Bizcata e de Molina, ettzª "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.

[515] Named as *bezinos* (neighbours).

[516] "*...questa siete/leguas desa d(ic)ha ciudad y otras siete leguas De la ciudad de Granada.*" "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2v.-2r.

[517] "*...porque todo el camino/ questa y ay desa d(ic)ha ciudad a la d(ic)ha ciudad de Granada/ esta despoblado...*" "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 r.

[518] "*...en el qual d(ic)ho lugar podrían/ bibir zien bezinos, porque allí muy buenas aguas/ y tier(r)as calmas e montes que se podrian ron-/per para biñas y olivares, y todas las otras/ cosas nezesarias a la población...*" "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 r.

[519] "*...heran terminos/ e jurisdizion desa d(ic)ha ziudad...*" "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.

improving its prestige and power.[520] Then comes the practical argument: "to benefit from those lands for wheat, wine (vineyards), orchards, and olive trees." The chart then adds other elements that were not mentioned in the previous section: "and houses, and livestock, and beehives, and wood, and coal."[521] This particular line became relevant later in the process, when Jaen wielded the need of lands for livestock, wood, and coal as an argument to stop the creation of these very same new towns. The chart follows by adding what can be considered as the most territorial line in the document, revealing the strategy that was being put in place to structure this former borderland: "because the mountain (*dicha sierra*) is deserted, Jaen cannot benefit from it, and because the roads would be more secure."[522]

It has already been clear how the location of the four new towns that were finally planted support this same strategy: positioned in couples, two inside Sierra Sur and two in its eastern side. The distances provided by the population chart acts also as coordinates, supporting a distribution that uses the road between Granada and Jaén as a spine and Campillo de Arenas as its main source. From there, the chart distributes a series of points and connections that permeates the interior of the Sierra, seeking to control it through populations and farming labor. Although the chart has no visual support, plans, or diagrams of any kind, its spatial logic can be easily reproduced using the measurements it provides (Figure 133).

### *Closing of the population chart*

Once the facts and arguments have been presented, the chart describes who revised the petition. It was "seen by those of my council", referring to the Royal Council of Castile, and by "the king, my lord and father", referring to King Ferdinand II of Aragon. Then, "it was agreed that this, my letter (order), was to be given." Juana was never an active voice in this argument, there were others, all of them men, deciding and approving the words that were to be said. The chart is not signed by the queen herself but by the King and "by Lope de Conchillos, secretary of the Queen, our lady, who wrote it by order of the King, her father."[523] Juana I had been officially considered unfit to rule because of her mental instability in 1506, after the death of his husband King Phillip the Habsburg. This is still a discussed and polemic point in Spanish historiography, and it is still debated if Juana really suffered of mental illness or if she was just silenced because of her strong critic voice and other problems in her marriage. Juana kept the title of Queen of Castille from 1506 until her death in 1555, but she was never able to exercise any power.

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[520] *"...cavsa de ennoblezer mas a esa d(ic)ha ziudad..."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.

[521] *"...aprobecharlas de pan, e bino, e huertas,/ y olibares, y casas, e ganados, e colmenares,/ e leña e carbon..."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.

[522] "...porque a cavsa destar la/ d(ic)ha sier(r)a despoblada desa d(ic)ha ziudad , no se po-/dria aprobechar della, e porque los caminos/ serian mas siguros..." "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.

[523] *"...Yo, Lope de Conchillos, secretario de la Reyna, nuestra/ señora, la dize escrebir por su mandado del Rey..."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 3 r.

| Location Name | Distance | Nº of settlers | Details | Land quality |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canpillo de Arenas | 7 leagues from Jaen and 7 more from Granada. | 100 | The road is deserted | - Water<br>- Calm lands<br>- Hills to be broken for vineyards and olive groves |
| Naba el Can | 2 leagues north of Campillo de Arenas and 6 leagues from Jaen | 50 | - | - Water<br>- Places for mills<br>- lands for vineyards, olive groves, and wheat (tieras de pan) |
| Susana y Ranera, and arroyo el Cerezo (Valdepeñas de Jaén) | 5 leagues from Jaen and 3 leagues from Alcalá la Real | 100-150 | At some moment there was a settlement here. Its original irrigation. | - Water, rivers, and fountains.<br>- Many orchards, vineyards, olive groves.<br>- Mills<br>- Lands for both rainfed and irrigated cultivation.<br>- Many hills that can be broken for farming. |
| El Hoyo e Cabañeros | 4 leagues from Jaen | 100 | - | - Water.<br>- Lands for orchards, vineyards, wheat.<br>- Calm lands.<br>- Hills to be broken. |
| Otiñas (Otíñar) | 3 leagues from Jaén. | 50 | It was a walled town with a fortress.<br>A named farming field: Campo de los Almogárabes. | - Lands for wheat.<br>- River<br>- Fig trees, orchards, morales.<br>- Many other trees |
| El zero El Biento en los Billares de Heliche (Los Villares) | 1,5 leagues from Jaen. | 300 | Located in the lower skirts of the mountains Puerto Viejo and Jabalcuz, near the rivers Riofrioand Heliche.<br><br>There was a previous population. | - Abundant irrigation for wheat, orchards, vineyards, olive groves and mills. |
| La Mancha e la Tore el Moral (Mancha Real) | 3 leagues from Jaen | 100 | Torre el Moral is a watchtower built before the plantation. | - Water.<br>- Many lands for wheat and vineyards. |

Table 1: Locations to be settled and their description in Sierra Sur population chart, 1508.
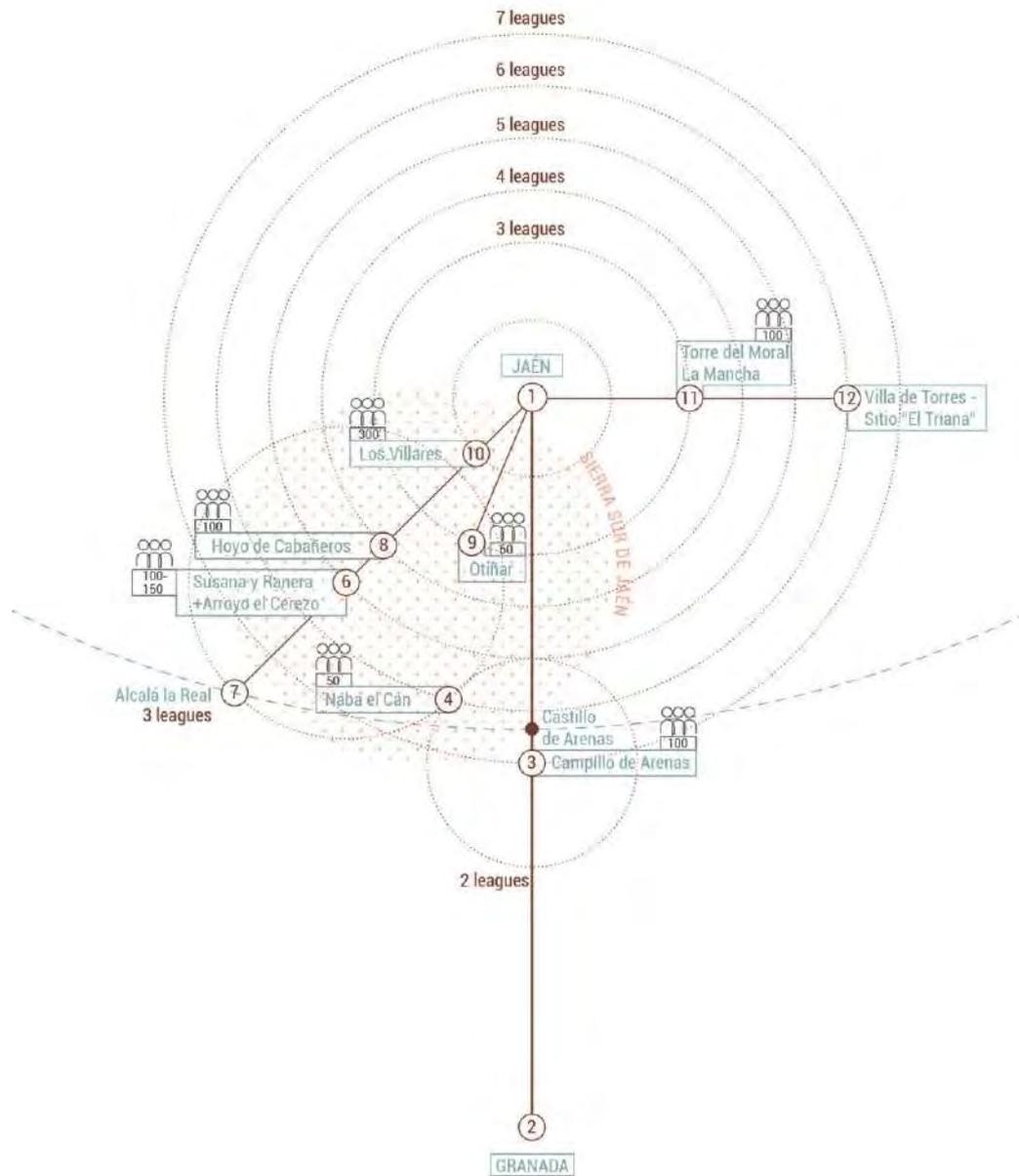
**Figure 133: Coordinates of locations in Jaen Sierra Sur as indicated in the first population charter for Sierra Sur, signed by Juana I in 1508. Even though the general positions of foundational sites are mostly precise, there are some errors in the document. The most evident of them is that Hoyo de Cabañeros © Manuel Sánchez García.**

To summarize, it is evident that, although the population chart is know as "Carta Puebla de Juana I," it was never a queen's direct order. In fact, it is improbable that the order was born from King Ferdinand himself. The chart has all the features of a small-scale administrative project designed by the Royal Council after receiving Jaen council's petition and discussing a fitting strategy to control the former borderland. The conditions of the chart are clear in this sense: "I give license and power to, in the areas declared and being them part of your jurisdiction, and without harm to any given place, you are allowed to populate the declared locations and settlements."[524] In this way, Jaen was authorized to settle a number of new villages in its outskirts and farm Sierra Sur to its own benefit, under the condition of securing the roads and guaranteeing all legal conditions and privileges that the capital was already providing for the other towns in its jurisdiction.

## The legal conflicts between 1508 and 1537 and the reactivation of the process in 1537.[525]

### *The imperial nature of the royal executory order, 1537.*

Although the population charter of Juana I is the oldest document copied in the foundational book, the version of it that was in fact part of a larger manuscript: the 1537 *ejecutoria* from Emperor Charles V. The executory order occupies the first ten pages of the folder, presenting most discussions, actions, and facts considered from 1508 to 1537, when the order was issued.

The document begins with the presentation of Charles, *emperador Semper avgusto* and King of Germany. Then the Queen Juana I is introduced as co-ruler of Castile, the two Sicilies, Gerusalen, the Indies, Granada, and all the other realms in the Castilian Monarchy. The order also mentions the realms that belonged to the Aragonese crown, inherited by Juana and consequently by Charles after the death of their father/grandfather in 1516: Aragon, Valencia, Mallorca, counts of Barcelona, counts of the Roussillon and Sardinia, among others. Finally, we have the Habsburg domains: Austria, Flanders, Bourgogne, etc.

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[524] *"...por esta/ mi carta bos doy lizenzia e facultad para/ que en los d(ic)hos terminos de suso declarados,/ siendo buestros e dentro de los terminos/ e juridizion desa d(ic)ha ziudad, e no/ siendo en perjuyzio de d(ic)ho lugar alguno,// podays poblar e pobleys los d(ic)hos lugares y pobla-/ziones de suso declarados, con tanto que la jurisdizion/ dellos sea desa d(ic)ha ziudad y de sus terminos e jurisdizion/ para agora e para sienpre jamas, y con que los ter-/minos donde se hizieren las d(ic)has poblaziones sean/ comunes a todos los bezinos desa d(ic)ha ziudad e de las/ billas y lugares de su tier(r)a e jurisdizion, sigun y de/ la manera que los son los terminos de los otros/ lugares desa d(ic)ha ziudad que agora estan poblados..."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 v.-3 r.

[525] The full transcription of Charles V executory order can be consulted in Appendix A, document 1.
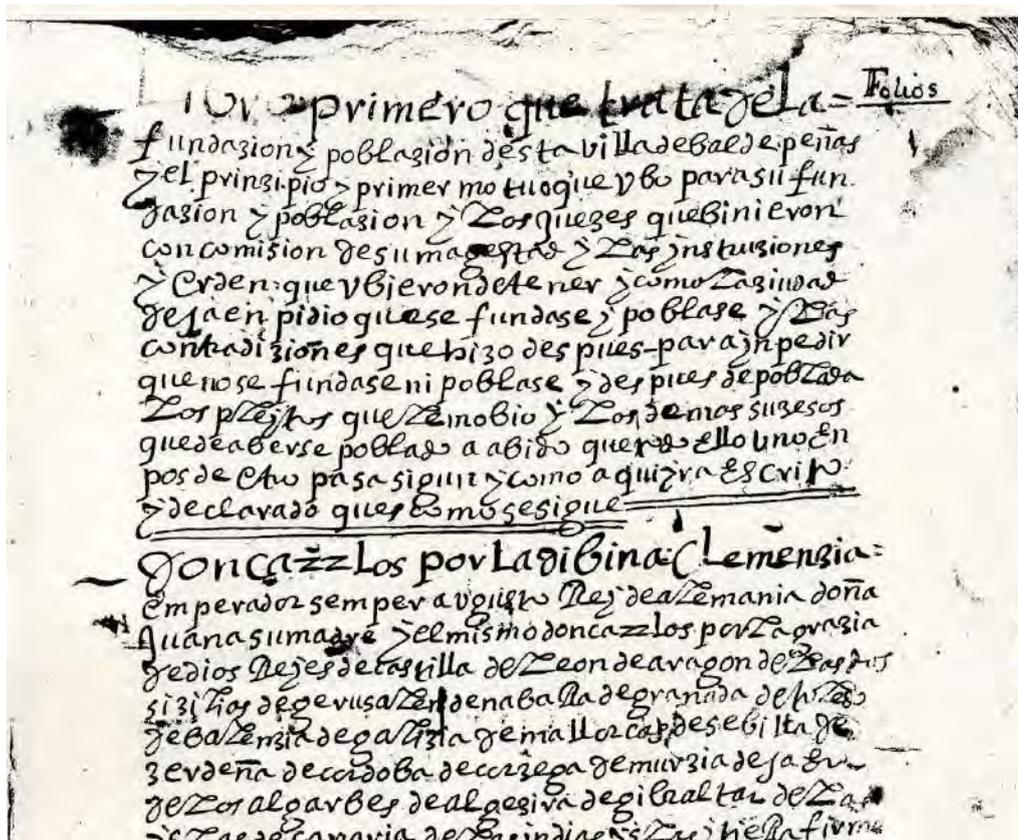
**Figure 134: First page of Valdepeñas de Jaen foundational book, including de presentation of the folder and the first paragraph of Charles V executory order. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén.**[526]

As it has been discussed in the previous section, Doña Juana was still Queen in 1537 and her position in the royal hierarchy could not be ignored even though she had no effective power. Hence, even though this executory order is known as "of Charles V," Queen Juana still was involved in the process, at least nominally.

The order was addressed firstly to the royal council and its high judge (*justicia mayor*). Then, it names "all our audiences, majors, deputies of our house and court, chancelleries, and to all *regidores*, assistants, governors, prosecutors, judges..." making clear that it refers to "those in the city of Jaen and in all other cities, villas, and towns in our kingdoms and realms and their jurisdictions."[527] In this way, the *ejecutoria* presents itself as an imperial edict since the very first moment. It had grown from a petition raised by a provincial capital to a royal order in 1508 and an even stronger will in 1537. This fact elevated the new towns project of Sierra Sur to higher category, differentiating them from other repopulation endeavors in the area through several features.

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[526] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 1 r.

[527] "...a bos, el nuestro justicia mayor y a/ los del nuestro consejo, presidente y oidores/ de las nuestras avdienzias, alcaldes, alguaziles/ de nuestra casa y corte y chanzillerias y a todos/ los cor(r)egidores, asistentes, gobernadores [sic] al-/Caldes y alguaziles y otros juztizias y jueces/ qualesquier, así de la ciudad de Jaen como de/ todas las otras ciudades, billas y lugares de los/ nuestros reynos y señoríos, y cada vno de los/ vuestros lugares e juridiziones..." "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 1 r.

Firstly, it was the Crown who controlled the project, even though Jaen's council was the original petitioner and there were several local agents involved in the plantation's execution. In this way, it was above other processes for land redistribution in the area including those in towns and villages near Granada. It was also different from the royal concessions of castles and fortresses, quite abundant around Jaen in the 13th and 14th centuries as it has been already discussed, including those gifted to frontier lords, the order of Calatrava, and members of the clergy.

Secondly, this project was based not on the occupation of previously stablished urban center, but on the creation of a new network of settlements. Creating new urban structures inside and around abandoned villages was much easier to do – and to control – than building and institutionalizing a new town in locations with no previous trace, fortification structure or religious community. It had already been proven challenging in the Americas and, even there, Spanish settlers sought to stablish themselves in areas whose habitability was proven by the presence of native communities.[528] Because of this, the project in Sierra Sur included a set of clauses and conditions to ensure that the new cities were planted according to urban principles considered to be right and lawful. Settlers were attracted by that level of royal protection and legal rigor, which guaranteed their right to enjoy any promised properties and privileges. These new citizens, listed in the distribution act as *"vecinos por cédula y merced real"* [neighbors by license and royal mercy], were mostly farmers whose presence in Sierra Sur would ensure the activation of its economy and improve security in its roads. Moreover, the citizens of these new towns enjoyed the freedom of not being subjected to any lord or local governor other than Jaen's council, and even that provincial level of control would be promptly sorted out, as it will be discussed in later sections.

Third and last, the plantation of new towns in Sierra Sur encompassed a valuable opportunity for the Crown to repay favors. High-ranking agents and members of the aristocracy received land lots "by Royal grace" [*suertes por gracia real*] for their services as courtiers or royal butlers, as veterans of the Granadan conflict, and/or for their support to the war efforts with money, men, weapons, and horses.

Sierra Sur, as a former borderland, was an untapped source of properties for the crown to take and distribute, effectively creating value out of thin air to repay its many debts. In this group, we can find influential characters with properties in other cities and regions. In most cases, these people were not physically present in the new town and named representatives for taking the property of their assigned lots and managing the land from afar. Almost one third of all the land plots distributed in Sierra Sur in 1539 were taken by these representatives, a considerable portion for a set of new towns whose objective was supposed to be the

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[528] Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista*; Bonet Correa, *El urbanismo en España e Hispanoamérica*.

securing and activation of farming areas.[529] This practice was despised by most neighbors, as it meant the intromission of new elites in the already complex local politics, as well as the presence of underexploited farmlands. The new towns did not have fortified walls, castles, watchtowers, or garrisons of any kind to be maintained and paid for, so there was no motivation to introduce aristocratic settlers other than to gift them with properties.

*Pobladores por Gracia* were more common in the towns placed on terrains inside the mountain that were not excellent for agriculture [530]. Among that privileged group, we can find very interesting characters like veterans of Granada's war, donors who had contributed to its economic effort, former royal stewards, and other members of the court. One fascinating case is Juan Tavera *El Africano*, one of the former members of the Nasrid Elite who converted to Christianism and became part of the Castilian noble houses in Granada. Tavera, who held significant influence upon Granada's city council, was a *Poblador por Gracia* who received four urban plots and their associated farming lands in Campillo de Arenas.[531]

In sum, these conditions make Sierra Sur a quite particular project in the Andalusian region. It is easy to imagine how the involvement of the crown and its interest in the distribution of land could have collided with the original petition of Jaen's council, who most probably wanted to keep the project under its own control. If Jaen council was deprived of the privilege to gift lands for its own interest from the very beginning of the project in 1508, the stalling of the project can be easily understood as a natural consequence of Jaen's disinterest in the project.

### Beginning of the legal conflict in 1526 - 1537

According to the facts presented in the executory order, it was Sebastián de Torres, citizen of Jaen and legal representative of the Sierra Sur settlers appointed in 1508, who presented Juana I population charter to the royal council and asked them to reactivate the project. This happened on August 12, 1526, eighteen years after the original settlement order. That date marks the beginning of the lawsuit maintained by the settlers of Sierra Sur against Jaen council [*Conzejo, Justizia y rejidores de la d(ic)ha ciudad*] and the Mesta council [*Cofradía de la Mesta*].[532] No prior demands, petitions, or complaints appear in the foundational books.

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[529] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 81.

[530] María Amparo López Arandia, ed., "De las ciudades del Renacimiento a las ciudades de la Ilustración. El caso del Reino de Jaén.," in *Ciudades de Jaén en la historia (siglos XV-XXI): mitos y realidades* (Universidad de Sevilla, 2011), 219–64; José Miguel Delgado Barrado and María Amparo López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)* (Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2013).

[531] López Arandia, "Colonizando La Frontera. Proyectos Repobladores En Castilla a Inicios de La Edad Moderna."

[532] "...pleyto se trata ante los del/ nuestro consejo entre partes, de la vna, avtores/ demandantes ziertos bezinos particulares de la/ ciudad de Jaen y de los lugares de su tier(r)a, e de/ la otra, reos defendientes, el Conzejo, Justizia/ y rejidores de la d(ic)ha ciudad e la cofradía de la Mesta/ della e sus procuradores en sus nombres sobre ra-/ zon quen la ciudad de Granada, a doce días del mes/

After presenting the lawsuit and copying the contents of Juana I population charter, the document follows with the full lawsuit and its many procedures. It works as a conversation of letters going back and forth from the representatives of Sierra Sur settlers, Jaen's council, and the royal council itself. These communications contain many interesting arguments, presenting opposed facts and other useful data to singularize the interests and aspirations of each group.

First, it details the communication by Juan de Torres who argued that the population charter probed the "great utility and benefit that would result of settling the places in it contained." De Torres then asked the royal council to provide a confirmation of the chart [*carta y sobrecarta*] ordering its effective execution.[533] The executory order then states the notification of this event to Jaen's council, who stated that they had received the original population charter and that Zibrian de Ortega, local judge, argued that was caused of harm for the city. Then, Martin Despinosa presented a counter-petition to the royal council in representation of Jaen's council and the Mesta brotherhood. They defended that the population charter should be revoked, that the petition by Sebastián de Torres and the settlers had been considered inadequate [*siniestra*], and that its execution would bring great harm to the city of Jaen. The document then lists several facts and arguments to explain this harm, offering to prove them if necessary:[534]

- That the city of Jaen had a dense population and its outskirts (Sierra Sur) non settled because those empty lands were needed for livestock. If the new towns were planted, Jaen would then lack pastures for horses, cows, and other animals (sheep, goats).
- That Jaen needed pastures and wood. Hence, if its lands were to be populated, the prices of these goods would rise.
- That if Sierra Sur was populated by citizens of Jaen the city would get depopulated [*abian de faltar en ella*] and. If those settlers were foreigners, the citizens of Jaen would suffer scarcity and leave the city.
- That it was not necessary to create new farms and orchards in Sierra Sur because these were abundant in Jaen.

These arguments were communicated to Sebastián de Torres and the settlers by the royal council. They responded with another petition, defending that the

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de agosto del año pasado de mil y quinientos/ y veinte y seis años, Sebastian de Tor(r)es, jurado / e bezino de d(ic)ha ciudad, por si y en nombre de los/ d(ic)hos bezinos della e de su tier(r)a, presento ante nos/ en el nuestro Consejo vna carta e probision/ real de mi, la Reyna, firmada del católico/ rey don Ferrnando [sic], nuestro señor padre y abuelo..." "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 1 v.

[533] "...vbo muy bastante ynformazion a pedimiento/ del procurador jeneral della, por la qual constaba/ la grande vtilidad y probecho que resultaba de/ se hazer poblar en los lugares en la d(ic)ha nuestra/ carta contenidos, como todo resultaba por la d(ic)ha/ ynformazion que asimismo ante nos presentaba,/ por ende que nos suplicaba le mandasemos dar/ carta e sobrecarta de la d(ic)ha carta, mandando/ por ella se hiziesen los d(ic)hos lugares e pobla-/ziones..." "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 3 r.

[534] All of them listed in fol. 4 r.

arguments presented by Jaen's council were insufficient. Their answer included their own set of arguments:[535]

- That the benefit of creating the new towns as universal.
- That no wood was being brought to Jaen from Sierra Sur.
- That livestock was harmed by wolves because the mountain was not properly settled.
- That settlers would come from both Jaen and other territories, which would be beneficial for the region.

This petition was sent back to Jaen council, which was required to provide a response before a given deadline.[536] After that we have another agent, Baltasar de la Fuente, who presented himself to the royal council in representation of the Mesta brotherhood to defend their shared interests with Jaen's council. De la Fuente stated that, following what was ordered in Juana I population charter, all involved parts were summoned and had a discussion on the matter, coming to the decision that the chart was misinformed, and the new plantations would cause harm. In consequence, Jaen's council voted that the settlement project was against the interest of the city. He also argues that this decision was reached after the Mesta brotherhood reported certain information to Jaen's council, although its contents are not detailed.

At this point, all involved parts had manifested their respective points in favor or against the project. On August 14, 1536, a decade after the petition by Sebastian de Torres, the royal council revised the lawsuit once more. They ordered a *regidor* and a *corregidor* from Jaen to report on the reality of the land and its adequacy to be settled. These people were to be free from conflicts of interests [*sin sospecha en el negocio*] and had to visit Sierra Sur personally [*baya a ver por bista de ojos la dicha sierra*]. It was ordered that the report emphasized the road to Granada, as well as the quality and availability of lands in Sierra Sur, and all other impediments, potential harms and benefits involving the creation of new settlements. The visit was then fulfilled, and its report sent back to the royal council. The report was accompanied by a letter signed by Luis de Godoy in representation of Sierra Sur settlers, presenting once more the benefits of the project and petitioning the Crown to execute it. Godoy's letter introduced some new ideas to the discussion, such as the project was convenient not only for the Crown [*lo que mas conbiniese a nuestro serbizio*] but also por the public interest [*al bien publico*]. He also accused Jaen's council of disobedience and added a series of arguments that are not detailed in the document [*acusadas las rebeldias, e dichas e alegadas otras ziertas razones*]. The royal council met again on July 4, 1537, to dictate sentence on the lawsuit. They confirmed that the visitors' report was positive on the availability of the land and benefit of the project [*confirmaron el grado de rebista lo*

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[535] Listed in fols. 4 r. and 4 v.

[536] The specific date is not mentioned.

*por ellos probeydo e mandado*] and confirmed the original population charter from 1508, dismissing all the arguments and petitions against it [*sin embargo de las suplicaziones ynterpuestas por la dicha ziudad e conzejo de la Mesta*]. [537] [538]

Almost three decades after the first order to populate Sierra Sur and eleven years after the beginning of their lawsuit, the settlers had finally won their right. A whole generation had passed in the process. Many of the original farmers granted with a place in the new towns were now elders or had passed away. Their widows and heirs took their place in the process. The memory of their legal fight would still linger for a long time, inspiring additional lawsuits and leading to their seek for independence during the reign of Philip II.

Another interesting aspect of this process is how the involved groups argue the matter in terms of its potential benefits and harms. The main issue on the table is not a hierarchical one: Voted decisions and other consensual discussions are mentioned. The only figure issuing top-down orders is the Queen, through his father King Ferdinand in 1508 and along his son the Emperor Charles in 1526-37, and even they do so through the royal council who officially accounts for every confronted argument and position. The intention behind the project may be emanated from particular individuals such as royal advisors or the monarchs themselves; however, its execution was collective, not immediate, requiring a long legal process to ensure its legitimacy. All parts involved had at least some voice in it, including powerful institutions such as Jaen's council and the Mesta brotherhood, but also low-class farmers and other settlers who presented a collective lawsuit. It is a complex system, filled with steps and nuances, far from a technical project or a feudal imposition. In other words, the modernity of Sierra Sur new towns project is not just in the morphology of its plan, but also in the elaborate discussions and procedures behind it. The plantation instructions that follow the royal council's sentence could not be less ordered and precise. All thing considered; they were meant to rule the material shape of the immaterial, written accords that legitimated these cities.

### *1537 Instructions to settle Sierra Sur*

From this point on, the lawsuit is considered closed. From that point on, the executive order details the instructions and principles that were to be followed during the plantation of the new towns. Two particular terms appear for the first time in this section of the order: *repartimiento* [distribution] and *ynstruzion* [instruction].

*"...por probision de Su Magestad les era man-/dado azerca de la manera que se a de tener en el/ repartimiento de las d(ic)has tier(r)as, y a que per-/sonas*

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[537] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 5 v.

[538] The procedure is recorded consistently in all four foundational books. For its inclusion in Mancha Real Foundational documents, see: Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*, 9–21.

*se a de dar, e con que condiziones e ynstruzion/ sobre la d(ic)ha pobla-zion...* "[539]

[... by the right of his Magesty they were ordered about the way in which the distribution of those lands must be done, and to which people must be given, and with which conditions and instructions over that settlement...][540]

The *repartimiento*, as it has been already explained, names the specific point in the plantation when land plots were distributed to settlers. That precise moment represented the fulfillment of the foundational process and legally binded the new town to its new citizen. Its execution demanded uttermost correctness and rigor to avoid any inconsistencies that could lead to further lawsuits. Because of this, the royal council issued precise *ynstruziones* governing a wide arrange of urban aspects. These instructions were originally issued to Jaen's *corregidor* and the local judge who were responsible for the plantation's execution, including a fine of 10.000 *maravedíes* if they did not comply. A simplified summary of each point in the instruction would read as follows:

1. All settlers had to be married men and had one year to move the new towns with their wives. In case they did not comply, they would lose their privilege and properties [*bezindades*] and these would be trans-ferred to other people.
2. When possible, the settlers had to come from regions different than Jaen.
3. The settlers were obliged to reside in their given property for at least ten consecutive years and, during that period, they could not sell them to any person regardless of their rank or condition. If they were to break this rule, both the seller and the buyer would lose their proper-ties, and these would be transferred to new settlers. After the 10 years period, the properties could be sold only to a person with the intention of transferring their residence to the new town.
4. The settlers had two years to build a house with proper foundations. If they had not the means to do so [*si obiere algunos pobres*], they had permission to build a shack.
5. The settlers had the right to receive enough irrigation water to plant orchards and vineyards in their given farming lands.
6. The settlers had three years to plant orchards and vineyards in their lands.

After these six initial points, the order dedicates a longer paragraph to explain the exact procedure for the plantation. Since the royal council could not know the exact amount of settler rights [*bezindades*] or the farming lands that were

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[539] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 6 r.
[540] Translation by the author.

available for each citizen, the *corregidor* of Jaen was ordered to visit the sites accompanied with "three or four honest people, citizens of Jaen, free of suspicion, with experience in these matters, with care for the public good."[541] They ought to survey the lands and state how many neighbours would fit in each plantation. They were also responsible of organizing the distribution of lands and record the whole process in a relation signed by the local judge, which had to be sent back to the royal council to fulfill the process. In this way, the first section of the instruction is focused on the obligations and rights for every settlers, the designation of the local officials responsible for executing the foundation, and their obligation to provide a binding signed report of all their actions to the royal authorities. As we will discuss later, most of these conditions were very similar to the Indies Laws applied in the American colonies. Even though the plantations in Sierra Sur were executed in 1539 before the 1573 American instructions by Philip II, there were already laws put in place by Charles V and the Catholic Monarchs stating parallel obligations for settlers in the Americas.

Contrary to these shared conditions, the next one is quite specific for Sierra Sur and responds to its circumstances. It states that all settlers who participated in the lawsuit until its sentence in 1537 were to be admitted in the new plantation, even though most of them were residents of Jaen or its region. This exception to the rule applied to so many people that, in the end, most of the new towns in Sierra Sur were settled by citizens of that same province. People in this group were named "settlers by justice" [*pobladores por justicia*] or "old settlers" [*pobladores viejos*] to signal their particular condition. They were in a different category than those named as "settlers by concession and royal mercy" [*Pobladores por Cédula y Merced Real],* which were new settlers incorporated between 1537 and 1539. As it has been mentioned before, there was a third group formed by settlers directly appointed by the Crown.

After these two particularities, the instruction continues four more conditions:

7. The *corregidor* and his collaborators [*repartidores*] in charge of the plantations ought to reserve a part of the farming lands for each towns council [*exido e dehesa de conzejo*], as it was considered the most important part in each settlement.
8. All land lots [*solares*] for houses and for the town's square had to be set up appropriately, tracing the streets "in order" (forming a grid), and reserving lots for shops and a butchery managed by the town's council.
9. Another lot had to be signaled for the town's church, along with a piece of land to be used by its parish. The fact that this point appears

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[541] "...se manda quel/ cor(r)egidor de Jaen tome consigo tres o quatro per-/sonas honr(r)adas, bezinos del pueblo, que sean/ sin sospecha y desperenzia en semejantes cosas/ y que tengan el zelo que conbiene al bien pu-/blico, con los quales baya a ber los terminos..." "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 7 v.

separately to the previous may be explained by the different shape that the church lot has in each town, while the regular lots for houses, shops, and everything else all had the same standard measures.

10. Lots had to be signaled also for public mills owned by each town's council to serve the general needs of the population. The daily operation of each mill was assigned to a miller, an important public charge at the time.

It is interesting to see how, while the points one to six in the instruction controls the conditions and obligations of settlers, the last four points focuses on its physical distribution [*repartimiento*] and guarantees a reserve of land for the town council, the church, and other indispensable services. In this way, the instruction recognizes the double dimension of the city: law and mater, *civitas* and *urbs*, bound through a royal order of the highest category.

The instruction wraps up with indications on how to record the plantation properly. It was ordered that the whole process had to be written down in a bound book by an official notary, including a detailed listing of all settling rights granted and to whom, the exact quantity of land given and their status, and the description of how each individual settler took possession of their lot. That record was to be safeguarded in the town's council coffer so "it can be known and its contents investigated if needed" [*para que se sepa y aberigue lo que conbiniere zerca de lo aqui contenido*]. This book is the manuscript now known as foundational book or *libro de repartimiento*: a document planned designed to perform as point zero of the plantation and its most essential manifestation. In this way, the foundational book is recognized at the real cornerstone of each new town, not the main square, the council, or the church.

A written copy of these instructions was given to Jaen's *corregidor* who, after kissing them and putting them over his head, swear to fulfill what was ordered. Another copy was granted to Luis de Godoy, representative of the collective of Sierra Sur settlers who started the lawsuit.

The instruction is accompanied by one more section, signed eight days later, on July 18, 1537, repeating the verdict of the lawsuit and commanding the original order to be executed under penalty of 10.000 *maravedíes*. After confirming these key points, the document bears the signs of the royal council. With this document, everything was set up to begin the plantations of seven new towns in Sierra Sur. However, the process would not be easy.

## Additional instructions and *jueces de repartimiento* between 1537 and 1539.

### *Appointment and cease of Francisco Salvago, substituted by Jerónimo Bustamante.*

The following document found in Valdepeñas' foundational book, signed by the royal council on September 19,1537, narrates a series of conflicts and discussions between Luis de Godoy and Jaen's council. It ends with a confirmation of the executory order signed two months before.

The book continues with the appointment of the very first *juez de repartimiento* or distribution judge in charge of the plantations: Francisco Salvago, local judge of Jaen.[542] He was selected directly by the Royal Council and was responsible of managing the whole process, from the formation of a commission of collaborators and advisors to the tracing of the new towns and the distribution of land lots. Salvago's team was formed by Hernando de Quesada (member of Jaen's council[543]), Alonso Hernández de Dueñas and Gonzalo Messia (both neighbors of Jaen), and the notary Sancho de Quesada. Salvago visited Sierra Sur, chose the locations for some of the new towns and even began distributing land lots, but his work was shortly interrupted. Alonso de Arauz, representative of Sierra Sur settlers, denounces "excesses in the fulfillment of the executory order" [*ezesos que vbo e cunplimiento de la d(ic)ha executoria*]. In his place, the Royal Council appointed Geronimo de Bustamante, a judge who resided in Alcalá de Henares, 300 kilometers north of Jaen. This was a clearly strategic move to ensure the equanimity of the main responsible for Sierra Sur plantations and avoid any conflicts of interest.

### *Plantation instructions for Jeronimo Bustamante, 1538.*

In 1538, Bustamante received a new instruction. It begins ordering that all previous documents produced by Salvago had to be handed to Bustamante and issued to the Royal Council.[544] All settlers who received lands from Salvago were forbidden from building or cultivating in their properties, which were suspended until new notice. Bustamante had total freedom to decide the sites for the new towns and their plans, including or rejecting the work previously done by Salvago as he saw fit. Then, the instruction follows with a list of conditions and obligations similar to the previous one, adding additional some additional details. The most relevant additions go as follows:

1. The first point refers to the fulfillment of the original population charter and the planning of the traces and land lots for its town. It adds that the judge had to hire to surveyors [*medidores*], honest and experienced

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[542] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 12 r.
[543] *Caballero veinticuatro de Jaén.*
[544] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 13 r.

enough [*personas fieles y sabias*] who, under oath, would measure the jurisdictional limits for each town and divide their farming lands and low hills to be distributed among settlers. The appointment of these two professionals would be key in later stages of the foundational process.

2. The instruction follows stating that the decision on how many settlers would fit in each town and how much land would they received, would be taken only <u>after</u> their jurisdictional limits [*terminos*] had been traced and the land surveyed.

3. The instruction then insists on the precision of the measures for urban plots [*que se señale particularmente quanto/ sitio le pareze que sera menester que se de de (sic) lo/ que asi midieren para poblar*] which were to be distributed depending on the category of each settler [*sigun la calidad de los bezinos*].

4. In the paragraph that indicates the conditions of non-urban lands, this new instruction states that their extension must be proportional to the number of settlers, distinguishing among lands dedicated to livestock [*dehesa boyal*] and farming lands [*exido*], which would be located in "convenient" hill lands with access to irrigation and any other required resource [*lugares conbenientes de monte y pasto, y aguas y las otras calidades que se requieren*].

5. In the paragraph dedicated to the creation the main square and the church, this second instruction adds a house for the parish priest beside the church, a cementery, and a hospital whose size would be proportional to the number of settlers in each location [*considerando lo que ar(r)iba esta/ d(ic)ho del numero de bezinos*].

6. The following point adds further details on how the assignment of lands was to be executed. The distribution judge first had to gather the settlers of each new town. Each settler needed to declare their name, their places of origin and current residence and their profession. The judge would then communicate to the settlers the specific conditions they had to comply in order to enjoy their new privilege. In fact, this second instruction specifically states that the document to be used during this action was "the one signed by Alonso de la Peña, notary of the Royal Council.[545] This point also insists on the condition that only those who really intend to reside in the newly planted town should receive settling rights [*la tal bezindad no se a de dar sino al que/ berdaderamente se fuere a bibir y morar*].

7. Then, the instruction names those settlers who pursued the lawsuit against Jaen's council. The distribution judge was responsible of

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[545] *"...las condiziones con que se an de dar las/ tales bezindades, que son las que llban firmadas/ de Al(ons)o de la Peña, escr(ua)no de camara de los que re/siden en el consejo..."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 14 r.

identifying them and reserve enough land plots to satisfy their right. The judge also had to discover which of these original settlers were deceased and who had widows or sons willing to take their rightful settling rights [*de los difuntos que mujer y hijos tienen/ que quieran tomar bezindades y sean suficientes para ello*]. The order insists on the judge's responsibility to settle the matter once and for all, without any mistake or fraud in the process [*pazi-/ficando particularmente cada cosa dello por/ manera que no aya fravde*].

8. Finally, the second instruction orders Bustamante to find out how much money had been collected by the settlers' representatives to cover the costs of completing the plantations [*aberigue por todas las bias/que pudieren que m(aravedi)s son los que se an repartido,/ e co-brado e cohechado*].[546] Since it was not their responsibility to cover these expenses, the judge was commanded to develop a detail chart of how much had been paid and by whom. This report would be later sent to the Royal Council. Any future expense would be covered by the judge own budget and later reimbursed. In this way, the instruction makes Bustamante responsible not only of fixing previous mistakes in the process of surveying and distributing lands, but also on the juridical and economical aspects of the plantation.

The second instruction is accompanied by a third one, quite shorter, which acts as a summary of the requirements and obligations for all settlers in Sierra Sur. This document does not add any new conditions to those issued in previous orders. It was probably meant to be used during the distribution of land plots, to be read to the new settlers and ensure that they understood correctly what compromises they were acquiring. For this, the third instruction is written in a clearer way than the original one from 1537, synthetizing most points and joining them in just five paragraphs.

### *Official appointment act of Jeronimo Bustamante, 1538*

After these two instructions, the document that follows is much longer and complex. It is the official appointment act of judge Jerónimo de Bustamante, signed by the Royal Council in representation of the Emperor Charles V, on March 5, 1538, and accompanied by a longer order signed three days before.[547] It summarizes most of the facts already provided in previous acts and orders, comprising a new act that could operate independently of its documental precedents without missing any information.

It starts by naming the emperor and his titles, addressing Jerónimo de Busta-mante, and discussing how Alonso de Aravz and Miguel Martinez Chamorro sued the previous judge, Francisco Salvago, for its lack of honesty when executing the

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[546] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 14 v.
[547] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 15 v.-18 r.

new towns plantation in Sierra Sur. This document does not add new orders or conditions additional to what was stated in the previous instructions. However, it provides new details on why Salvago's actions were considered unfaithful and even fraudulent. According to the Aravz and Martinez, Salvago followed the self-interest [*pasiones*] of the counselors and aristocrats in Jaen who opposed the new towns project in Sierra Sur and litigated against it. Salvago was accused of never being honest in his intention of fulfilling what was ordered to him, and to show partiality and self interest in his actions [*nunca abia querido cunplir lo por nos man-/dado, antes, mostrandose en ello muy parzial y apa-/sionado*]. Salvago visited the sites for the new towns with these aristocrats and started distributing lands and privileges without followed the required order. Moreover, he asked the aristocrat to provide a shortlist of twelve men from which Salvago would name the four collaborators who would accompany him during the plantation of each town. When the original settlers of Sierra Sur protested, Salvago commanded them to stop hindering the procedure and let him do as he may. The judge was even accused of extorting those who disagreed with him. In a later section of the document, it is said that Salvago visited Sierra Sur without convening with all the settlers as he was ordered, signaling only some of the locations for the new towns. The settlers accused Salvago of leaving some of the towns unplaced including Navaelcan among others [*dexaron de señalar vn sitio/que dizen La Nava el Can y otras tier(r)as que dexaron/ de señalar*]. Moreover, in the new towns that the judge did distribute, the streets were not properly traced [*haziendo sus calles/ sin horden*] and no land lots were reserved for farming lots, the church, the bread oven, and the butchery. The way these are mentioned pictures what elements were considered indispensable in a plantation and with what criteria were they evaluated. For example, the width of the streets is not mentioned, neither the existence of any walls or fortifications. The new towns of Sierra Sur were really meant to be open settlements meant for civil life and agricultural activities, not guarder posts or garrisoned placements.

For all these reasons, Aravz and Martinez, in representation of Sierra Sur settlers, solicited the Royal Council to name a new judge [*juez executor*] and notary [*escribano*] and even offered to pay their salary at their own expense. In turn, they petitioned for a judge from outside Jaen's province to ensure his impartiality. This man was Jerónimo de Bustamante. The missing and incorrect urban elements in Salvago's plantations were all highlighted in Bustamante's instruction in response to the settlers demands and to ensure that the same mistakes were not committed by the second distribution judge. The appointment also states the duration of the plantation works - 100 days - and the salaries for Bustamante and his accompanying notary: 500 *maravedíes*/day for the judge, and 90 for the notary. These expenses would be covered by the recipients of settling rights and land lots [*que los ayades e cbredes, e bos sean dados e pagados por las/ personas e bienes a quien repartieredes las d(ic)has bezindades*]. The judge would be responsible of recording each payment and reporting them to the Royal Council, making him responsible of maintaining the accounting straight while also giving him powers to

pursue those who did not pay. The appointment finalizes the official compromise of Bustamante to accomplish the order and with the usual fine of 10.000 *maravedíes* in case he wouldn't do so.

### *Actions by Jerónimo de Bustamante: sentence, announcements, and destitution.*

Bustamante took immediate action and sent the royal notary Juan Vázquez to Jaen with the commitment of communicating the news to Salvago and invalidate his previous actions. According to the historian Martin Jiménez Cobo who transcribed the foundational book of Mancha Real, Vázquez arrived at Jaen on March 22, 1538, and from there traveled to the site of Los Villares were Salvago was working on its plantation.[548] According to Jiménez Cobo, in Mancha Real's book there is another order dated on May 16th, insisting on the commandment for Salvago to cease his activities. The records of Salvago's activities were brought to the Royal Council in Valladolid by Sancho de Quesada, public notary of Jaén, who was sent back to the city with a new order signed on July 18th which summarizes the previous appointment of Jeronimo de Bustamante. Sancho de Quesada handed that document to Juan Vazquez back in Jaen, who in turn delivered it to the president of Granada's Chancery judge Morillas. Morillas provided advice to Bustamante and, together with him, signed a sentence on August 8th that officially cancelled Salvago's distribution once and for all. This sentence adds one interesting detail: all settlers who received lands from Salvago were ordered to leave them [*las dexe libres y desenbargadas*] and to not occupy them again under fine of no less than 100.000 *maravedíes*, a quite considerable sum.[549] The sentence was publicly announced that same day at Jaen's main square and at San Juan square by the official crier Diego de Bargas, both acts counting with eyewitness who signed their correct completion.

The public announcement included a citation for all Sierra Sur settlers, old or new, to present themselves to the judge in the following ten natural days and provide details on their involvement in the process. On August 18th, when that time limit was due, Bustamante authorized an extension of six natural days, with was once more announced publicly in Jaen's main plaza, voiced by the same crier Diego de Bargas. The same exact process was repeated on August 24th for a prorogue of three additional days.[550]

At this point, the narration changes its detailed description of acts and announcement to make a jump in time. The original time limit of one hundred days for the completion of the settling process by Salvago showed to be quite optimistic. It was postponed up to three times for a total of 240 days that Bustamante spent at Jaen – from August 1538 to March 1539 – working on "these businesses" [*los d(ic)hos negozios*]. The text may refer to the whole "business" of Sierra Sur

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[548] Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*, 22–23.
[549] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 20 v.
[550] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 21 v.-22 v.

settling or to the interviewing and listing of settlers, as it was a complicated process requiring the untangling of previous accords and conflicts. Then, Jerónimo Bustamante was retired from his appointment by the Royal Council for undisclosed causes.[551] His substitute was Juan de Rivadeneyra: The third and last judge assigned to Sierra Sur settling project. In this way, the act of urban plantation began not with the tracing of streets and houses but with the listing of their rightful settlers. Enacting and protecting that right had been the priority through the whole process before 1539.

### Appointment of Juan de Rivadeneyra: instruction, arrival, and prolegomena of the four settlements' effective execution.

With this conclusion, the foundational book closes its first section referred to the orders, lawsuits, reports, sentences, instructions, and other events leading to the effective foundation of new towns in Sierra Sur. In them, the plantations are almost always mentioned as a group, being only individualized in the original 1508 population charter. Hence, all four foundational books conserved today read the same up to this point, with some minor variations and particular additions in some of them that, overall, do not alter the general narrative. After it, each book opens its own particular chapter dedicated to its own foundation. For example, in the case of Valdepeñas de Jaén, an inner cover was inserted bearing the title: *"De la Fundacion y Poblazion de esta Villa de Baldepeñas del Tiempo del Lic(cencia)do Juan de Ribadeneyra"* [About the Foundation and Settlement of this Villa of Baldepeñas in the Time of the Judge Juan de Ribadeneyra] (Figure 135). This second part starts with the instruction given to Judge Rivadeneyra, his arrival to Jaen, and his initial activities prior to the foundation of each specific town, so the first pages still coincide across the four foundational books.

Rivadeneyra's instruction is much similar to his predecessors'. It includes all the same points with almost the same exact wording, including the obligation of visiting the lands and taking accurate measures before deciding on the number of settlers for each town, the requirement of reserving land lots for the church and other institutions, and the command to record the whole process in a bound book for each town to be safeguarded in its council's coffer.

After the instruction we have the royal order or *comisión* given to Rivadeneyra by the Royal Council.[552] In the same way than the instruction, the order also follows the same scheme than the orders given to Salbago and Bustamante, summarizing the whole previous process, issuing tasks, and imposing fines in case these are not fulfilled. Still, there are some new details added in this summary.

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[551] *"...por Su Magestad, e por los señores de su muy alto/ Consejo, por cavsas que les mobieron, fuere-/ mobido del d(ic)ho cargo..."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 23 r.

[552] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 26 r.-27 v.

**Figure 135: 1539, interior cover of Valdepeñas de Jaen foundational book (Top). First page after the interior cover of Valdepeñas de Jaén foundational book, presenting the instruction issued to Judge Juan de Rivadeneyra in 1539 (Bottom). © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén.**[553]
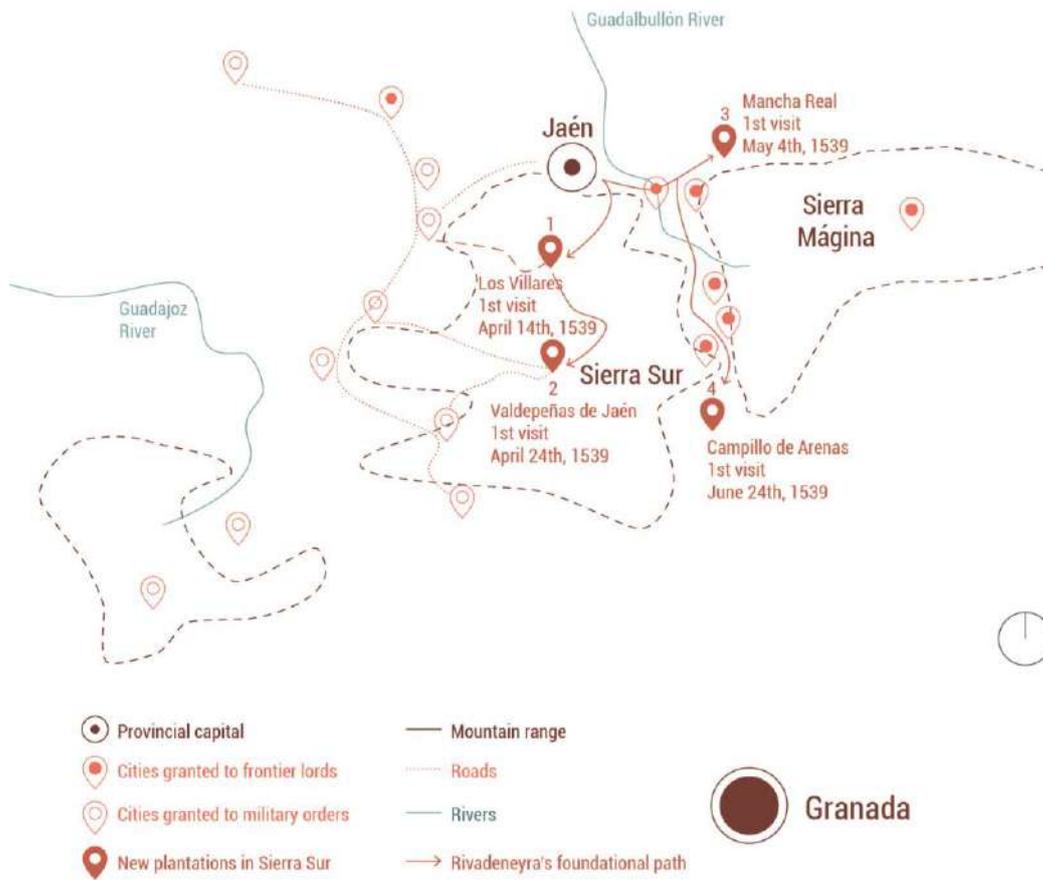
**Figure 136: Strategic location of new towns in Sierra Sur de Jaén, 1539. The path of Juan de Rivadeneyra has been highlighted, along with the new roads inside Sierra Sur stablished thanks to Los Villares and Valdepeñas de Jaén. © Manuel Sánchez García, from data gathered by José María Alcántara Valle.[554]**

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[554] Alcántara Valle, "Nobleza y señoríos en la frontera de Granada durante el reinado de Alfonso X. Aproximación a su estudio."

For example, when explaining the issues with Salbago, he is mentioned as being considered "hateful and shady" [*odioso y sospechoso*] by the settlers who denounced him. There is also additional information on the reasons why Bustamante was retired from the charge. According to the order, Jaen's city council demanded Bustamante for certain grievances and excesses committed during the execution of his tasks, and petitioned the Royal Council to imprison the judge, retire him from the project, and punish him accordingly. They provided abundant testimonies and reports to support their case. Then, Geronimo de Bustamante presented himself to the Royal Council (it is not detailed if he went willingly or forced) and discussed the matter with them, reaching the conclusion that the plantation project required "a man of letters who understood of these matters" [*era nezesario/ persona de letras que entendiese de ello*]. That man was Juan de Rivadeneyra. If Bustamante was punished in any way, that we do not know. The order continues by summarizing the tasks, the salary (which was the same as Bustamante), the appointed notary who was still Juan Vázquez, etc. The order was signed at Toledo on March 12, 1539 and issued a time frame of 70 days for Rivadeneyra to travel to Jaen and start his work. According to Valdepeñas' foundational book, the judge did not linger and on March 19 he was already at the Andalusian city. The books of Los Villares and Mancha Real include a correction in this point and specify that Rivadeneyra left Toledo on March 27 and arrived at Jaen on April 2. That last date can be considered as the official start of the effective plantation procedures at Sierra Sur.

The four foundational books for the new towns in Sierra Sur run parallel up to this exact point. After it, each of the books begins the narration of its own plantation, starting with the judge's arrival to the site. This happened on April 14th for Los Villares, April 24th for Valdepeñas, May 4th for Mancha Real, and July 4th for Campillo de Arenas. In this way, the Rivadeneyra developed the plantation process from Jaen, permeating the interior of Sierra Sur by planting Los Villares first and then Valdepeñas at the highest and most central site of the mountain. Then, he came back downhills to Mancha Real on the northern slope of Sierra Mágina, and finally crossed the Guadalbullón Valley and Puerta de Arenas to the site of Campillo de Arenas, on the south side of Sierra Sur facing Kingdom of Granada (Figure 136).

## Discussion of legal processes behind Sierra Sur plantation.

Before the plantation of new towns in Sierra Sur was executed as an urban project in 1539, it had already been a legal project and a source of disputes for three decades. A complete generation of settlers grew old maintaining their lawsuit against Jaen's city council, in some cases even dying before getting to enjoy the lands promised to them. It could be said that, while the *urbs* of the new towns was stablished in just one year, its *civitas* had been decades in the making.

The documentation produced during the process is extremely valuable for any historiographical approach on the matter. The urban reality that was to be created

in Sierra Sur was consciously designed, discussed, criticized, re-designed, and iterated many times, passing through the hands of experts coming mainly from the legal field. If the sixteenth century was the time of great military engineers and their fortified developments devised through drawn geometry, it certainly beheld also plantations designed for peace and agriculture through legal protection and written geometrical specifications. Even though the judicial process for unfortified plantations was devoid of iron and steel weaponry, it was not exempt of conflict, menaces, conflicts, and institutional violence.

Each of these documents offers its own arguments and points of views, highlighting certain elements and structuring the discourse on behalf of their authors, their recipients, and their aspirations. Although it is the Royal Council who speaks, discusses, and decides in the name of the Spanish Monarchs, the names of Juana I and Charles V are invoked in every document, listing titles and domains around the world and signalling the global scale of the institutions involved in Sierra Sur settlement.

Queen Juana's 1508 population chart states the initial strategy, treating the southern extension of Jaen's province as a space for opportunity that was to be occupied and protected. It announced the masterplan that was to be followed: a set of territorial coordinates that transformed Sierra Sur forever. Its impact can be felt in its landscape still today. The 1537 royal executory order, produced 29 years later, displays a long exchange of accusations, complaints, and petitions from Sierra Sur settlers and Jaen's council, with testimonies recorded as soon as 1526. The years of legal conflicts that this document comprised presents the main political issues regarding Sierra Sur, showing the hierarchical structure of Jaen's society at the time. Concepts such as the" general good" and "public service" are repeated through these documents, wielded by every agent as synonym of honourability and loyalty to the kingdom. This order includes the first instruction enacted for Sierra Sur, accounting for what was to be granted to each settler, what obligations did they acquired in return, and how the plantation was to be traced so it could guarantee the fulfilment of rights and privileges for all the interested parts. Three instructions were issued in 1537, 1538, and 1539 to three different judges (Salvago, Bustamante, and Rivadeneyra). As the process advanced, each instruction gathered the errors of its predecessors and included new rules and details to avoid further mistakes. The concept of *order* was ever present in these instructions. If the plantation was to be successful, it needed to be *ordered*, to comply with its legal requirements, and to probe that it had accomplished them through proper records, listings, testimonies, and other evidence, all signed by the responsible judge, his notary, and a small cohort of collaborators.

The documentation produced by these judges and their first actions transpire the political tensions accumulated up to that point. The first distribution judge for Sierra Sur, Francisco Salvago, was also the local judge for Jaen and its jurisdiction. His position was tied to the elites and aristocratic powers in the region; hence his impartiality was put in question from the very beginning. Jaen's council and the Mesta brotherhood, both on the losing side of the previous lawsuit, would not

remain inactive after their defeat, twirling their thumbs while the new settlers took what they thought was theirs. Through Salvago, they took action and tried to twist the foundational project to serve their better interest. The collective of settlers would soon protest. They accused Salvago of planting the new towns in an unjust way, disregarding the royal instructions and, more importantly, producing a *disordered* result, a capital sin in such a regulated urban process.

Salvago's substitute was Jerónimo de Bustamante, a judge coming from Alcalá de Henares, that is, quite a long way from Jaen, Granada, and their local conflicts. His appointment was a victory for the settlers' side. When Bustamante arrived at Jaen, his first task was to investigate Salvago's actions, take testimonies from all parties involved, and re-*order* the foundational process so it could be completed once and for all. The Royal Council had planned a time limit of 100 days to fix Salvago's mistakes and finish the plantations. They were far too optimistic. In the end, Bustamante needed three time-extensions for a total of 240 days, and, at that point, he had just solved the starting issues. When Bustamante resigned in 1539, no site had been visited and no distribution of land had been completed. Through the few documents conserved from that stage, it becomes clear that Bustamante aimed to give the process as much formal rigor as possible. His decisions and requirements were recorded in signed edicts, these were publicly announced through the voice of an official crier in public spaces, and even the crier actions were recorded and signed by witnesses and other personalities. Despite this, Bustamante's delayed progress authorized Jaen's council to protest again, urging the Royal council to retire Bustamante from his charge and even sent him to prison. Was this Jaen's elites last ditch effort to bring down Sierra Sur's project?

Whatever their intention, the Royal Council did not show particular harshness towards Bustamante. They received him at Toledo, probably not in chains, and heard his opinions on the matter. Bustamante stated that, from that point on, a different kind of man was needed for the task, a "man of letters instructed in the matter." That man was Juan de Rivadeneyra, yet another Castilian judge, this time from Madrid. Rivadeneyra arrived at Jaen shortly after his appointment. It took him only fifteen days to prepare, one additional week for the travel, and to days to set things up to visit the first of the sites to be founded: Susana y Ranera, later known as Valdepeñas de Jaen. In my opinion, Rivadeneyra's swiftness signals that most preliminary procedures had been already completed by Bustamante, including the investigation of Salvago's actions, the revocation of the privileges he gifted, and the cancelation of his edicts and orders. These were all complicated tasks that most probably were responded with opposition and resistance, explaining Bustamante's delay. Three decades of legal in-fighting could not be solved in just three months. His request of a "man of letters" in 1539 is symptom of a change in the project at hand: A shift to activities less related with the previous litigations and, hopefully, more definitive for the lay-out of the new towns. As we will see in the exemplary case of Mancha Real, the urban plan was the embodiment of the

whole previous process. A highly refined product that, in a few lines and some symbolic elements, gave fruition to pages over pages of orders and demands.

## 2.5   Mancha Real as a case study. Foundational book and distribution plan, 1539.

*The foundational process: a common protocol for all four new towns in Sierra Sur.*

From the moment when Rivadeneyra began his visits to each of the settlement sites, the records in each of the foundational books diverges and focuses on each individual new town. This being said, the methodology applied for all four plantation is the same, following the parallel tasks and stages. It includes a standardized series of action such as the first visit and survey of the land; the consultation with neighbours and local experts; the location of sources for raw construction materials; the election of the plantation site and its future name; the determination of the settlement's jurisdictional limits [*alfoz*]; the tracing of the town's plan and distribution of land lots; the institutionalization of the city's public charges, mayors, councilmen, etc.; the foundation of the city's church and its devotion to a particular Saint; among others actions and rituals. The final section of the record presents the acts of possession for each settler, their representatives, their widows, or their heirs, along with every allegation and correction applied to the original distribution in the years after.

In what respects to the shape of these new towns, Sierra Sur's foundational protocol can be framed in the Spanish grid urbanism tradition of the early 16th century. Valdepeñas, Los Villares, Mancha Real and Campillo de Arenas all present a plan of sensibly orthogonal streets and rectangular blocks divided in equal lots. The regularity of the grid is clear in Mancha Real and Campillo de Arenas, both located in lower plains around Sierra Sur. The remaining two settlements located inside the mountain had to be adapted to the particular conditions of their sites, adapting the orthogonal plan to slopes and rivers. The regularity of these structures highlights their synchronicity with other Spanish urban enterprises of this period. For example, the official year of all Sierra Sur plantations, 1539, is contemporary to the settlement of American colonies such as Santa Fe de Bogotá and Tunja in the New Kingdom of Granada, now Colombia. Moreover, among the groups responsible for Sierra Sur's plantations it is possible to find agents experienced in the foundation of grid cities. Judges, notaries, and other experts in law were well aware of urban regulation laws, enforced by the orders and instructions provided by the Royal Council. Other agents who participated in the process were war veterans, including Diego Fernández de Iranzo, member of Jaen's council and nephew of Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo,[555] and Francisco de

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[555] Miguel Lucas de Iranzo was *Canciller Mayor de Castilla*, this is, one of the highest ranked members of the Royal Council and head of the Royal Archive.

Bobadilla, warden of the Castles of Cambil and Alhabar in the northern border of Granada. Both were present at the plantation of Santa Fe whose influence over Sierra Sur new towns is quite evident.[556]

All four foundational books of Sierra Sur make specific mention that their distribution plans were drawn by the same man: Juan de Reolid. Reolid was a stonemason trained at Granada and Jaen Cathedrals' construction sites but who had no known previous experience in urban works[557]. The foundational books show how Reolid was given specifications and measures for urban plots, street widths, main squares, and churches. The objective of his designs was to generate an urban project in the modern sense, but the plantation understood as a lawful distribution of parcels for settlers, institutions, and public services. Once finished, the plans were signed by the distribution judge and, a few days later, the names of the colonists would be written down inside each assigned parcel. Additional lots were assigned for institutions and services such as the town's council hall, the hospital, butcher shops, wheat mills, bread ovens, etc. Other plots remained blank, reserved for future settlers. After the distribution was finished, settlers had to officially take possession of their land through a particular ceremony. In it, the new citizen was accompanied to the parcel by the judge's representative, a scribe, and several witnesses. Settlers were asked three times if they were content with the assigned plot. They had to answer affirmatively three consecutive times, and, after that, in signal of their possession they performed actions such as walking through the parcel, cutting a branch of a bush or moving some rocks. Similar ritual actions can be traced back to ancient urban traditions and ceremonies in Mediterranean societies[558]. The whole ritual was recorded in the logbook and confirmed in the plan, which consequently acquired the category of *Plano de Repartimiento*. These plans were not just designs of how the city was meant to be, but official collective certificates for land property and guarantee of multiple legal rights.

Sadly, none of the original Sierra Sur's plans of 1539 survived. The foundational books conserved today have no visual inputs or drawings of any kind. However, a copy of Mancha Real's distribution plan was safeguarded in the archive of Granada's Royal Chancery. It was copied in 1570 by Luis de Molina, official notary of Mancha Real, as a supporting document for a lawsuit regarding the correction of two names that were wrongly placed in the first distribution. Therefore, the plan is a faithful reproduction of the original layout with just some minor adjustments. As the other three new towns were planned and supervised by the same agents and their plans traced by the same man, this 1570 copy of Mancha Real's

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[556] Peinado Santaella, *La Fundación de Santa Fe*, 68–110; López Arandia, "Colonizando La Frontera. Proyectos Repobladores En Castilla a Inicios de La Edad Moderna.," 110.

[557] José Domínguez Cubero, *De la tradición al clasicismo pretridentino en la escultura jiennense*, Investigación (Instituto de Estudios Giennenses) (Jaén: Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, 1995); Jiménez Cobo, "Un Interesante Documento Sobre Mancha Real Del Tiempo de La Fundación"; José Manuel Almansa Moreno, "Juan Reolid | Real Academia de la Historia," Madrid: Real Academia de Historia., Diccionario Biográfico Español., 2018, http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/85722/juan-reolid.

[558] Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1988.

plan must stand-in for the others whose early layouts do not survive. For this reason, *Siblings Overseas* presents the plantation of Mancha Real as its first and main case of study in Sierra Sur. The upcoming sections follows Mancha Real foundational book, detailing how the process evolved, who was involved in it, and what actions did they perform. This book, considered lost for a long time, was found at Valencia's Provincial Historical Archive[559] towards 1995 and then moved to Jaen's Provincial Historical Archive, [560] where the local chronist of Mancha Real Martín Jiménez Cobo worked in its transcription and published it in 1998.[561]

The book specifies the specific point in time when Mancha Real foundational plan was commissioned by the judge Juan de Rivadeneyra to the artist Juan de Reolid. De Reolid was ordered to follow a set of very precise rules and conditions, as his plan was meant to support the distribution of land plots and the ceremonial act of possession taking by their settlers.

In the following paragraph, *Siblings Overseas* presents each stage in Mancha Real's foundational process and supports it in a specific document or section of the foundational book. After describing the case of Mancha Real, this chapter follows with the other three new towns in Sierra Sur which do not conserve their original plans along with other documents. For example, the foundational book of Valdepeñas de Jaén is missing the distribution of urban plots, hence it is impossible to know where settlers were placed with a 100%. Through the comparison of these other three settlements with Mancha Real, *Siblings Overseas* develops hypotheses on their missing gaps and offer visual theories based on the forensic reconstruction of their plantation processes.

## Actions for the plantation of Mancha Real

### *May 4th, 1539: The first visit to La Mancha[562]*

The record of Mancha Real's plantation starts on May 4th, 1539, with the list of people accompanying Rivadeneyra in his first visit to the plantation site. These men formed the founder commission in charge of all four plantations, moving across Sierra Sur and stopping at several sites at different moments through the year. The team was composed by:

- Juan de Rivadeneyra, distribution judge coordinating the foundational process. He was the main responsible for it, responding only to the

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[559] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valencia.

[560] *Libro de repartimiento y fundación de Mancha Real*. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén [A.H.P.J.]. Legajo 34610.

[561] Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*. At the moment this dissertation is being written, there are other transcription projects in progress that should see light in the next years.

[562] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real" (Mancha Real, 1539), fol. 40 v.-42 r., Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén. No digitization of this document is publicly accessible, neither at digital catalogues or databases, nor by direct visit and consultation with the archive's staff. Direct access to the documents requires a long and complicated bureaucratic procedure, no pictures allowed.

Royal Council, hence, independent from Jaen's council and other lo-cal powers.

- Juan Vázquez, royal notary in charge of recording the foundational process. He had already worked for the previous judge, Jerónimo de Bustamante, and had a deep knowledge of the documents and proce-dures regarding the plantations, including its conflicts and issues.

- Juan de Requena and Sebastián Ruiz del Salto, surveyors and con-struction workers [*alarifes*][563] in charge of measuring the plantation site and its jurisdictional limits.

- Juan de Reolid. In the text is referred to as a "carver" [*entallador*], but his main duty would be to trace the foundational plans.

- Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernández, measurers. De Molina was a key agent since he had collaborated with the previous judge Jerónimo Bustamante and was aware of some of his actions and decisions that had not been officially recorded. He was supported by Alonso Her-nández.

After naming the commission, the record includes their oath over the Bible and their Christian beliefs to be truthful in their testimonies [*dirán la verdad de lo supieren e alcanzaren en todo lo que por el dicho señor juez les fuere mandado e preguntado*]. The oath was binding, officially recorded, and signed by two wit-nesses: Francisco de Granados and Lázaro de Alfaro, both citizens of Jaén. Then, the foundational book details the route followed by the judge and his commission, following the road known as Camino de los Cañameros[564] from Jaén to the site for the plantation and visiting locations such as Fuente de la Parra, Dehesa de Riez, Peña Horadada, Arroyo Vil, El Pilarejo, Cañada del Arcachofal, Cortijo de la Mancha, Loma Retamosa, and Torre del Moral (Figure 137).[565] The last three were active farms where the commission could check the quality of the land and their suitability for a more intensive and extensive agricultural exploitation. The commission was particularly interested in the quality of the bread made in that area, as it was considered a indicator for the land's quality. After a full day of inspection, the commission crossed the *puerto* of Pegalajar, one of the commercial *puertos secos* that operated in the region during the Nasrid Period, to spend the night in that town. There, Rivadeneyra asked his team to ask around the town and collect additional information. The record of this visit was considered important enough to need the signs of four witnesses: Pedro de Barreda, Juan Ruyz, Juan de Vitoria, and Pedro de Requena, citizens of Pegalajar.

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[563] From now on they will be referred as the *alarifes*.

[564] Section of the *Camino de Santiago* that crosses the city of Jaén towards the west area of its province.

[565] A transcription of the full record for that day has been included in appendix A.
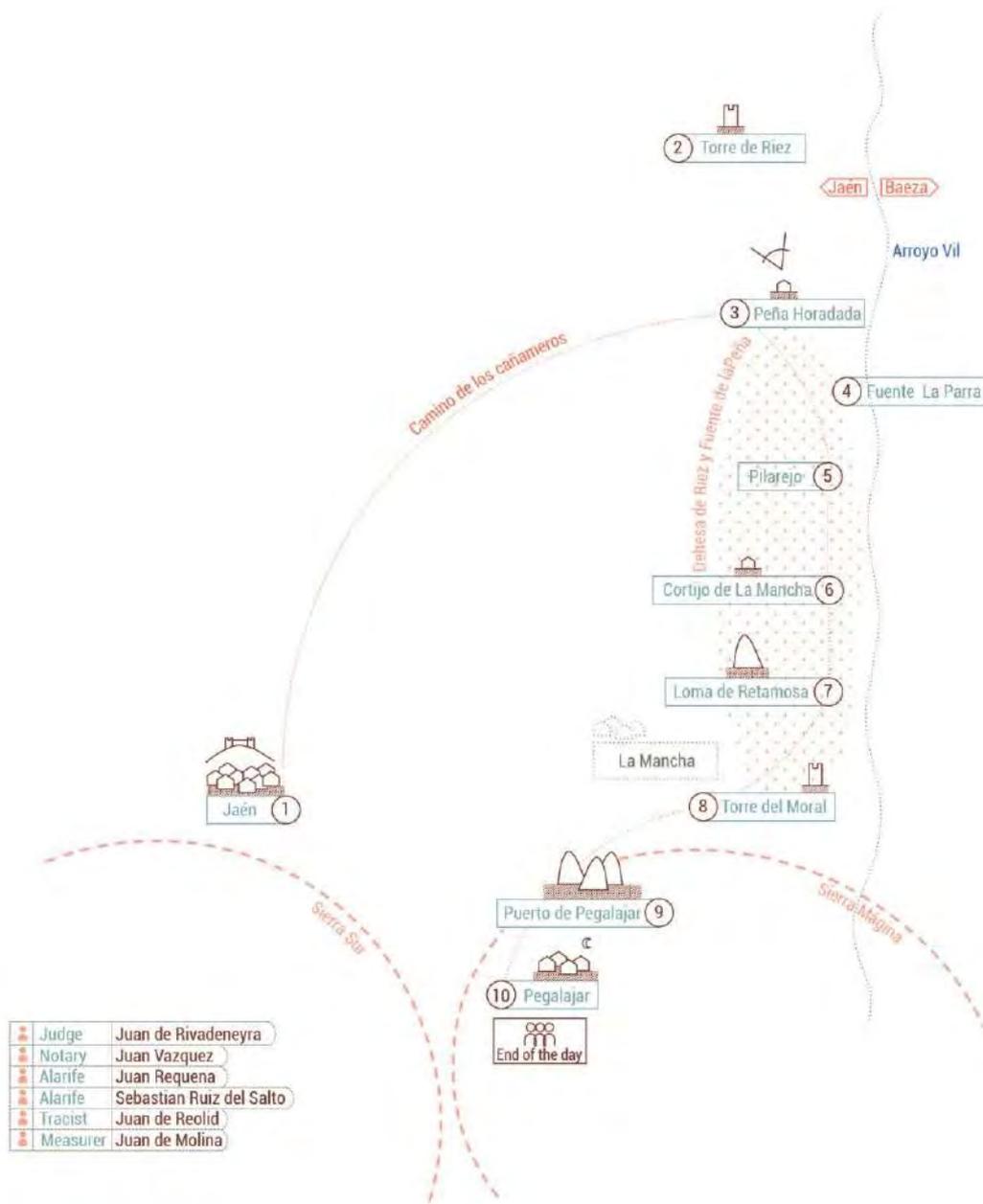
**Figure 137: Route of Juan de Rivadeneyra and his commission for their first visit to the site of Torre del Moral and Loma de la Retamosa, May 4th, 1539. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

### May 5th, 1539: Decision on the new town's location and orders to trace it. Loma Retamosa and Torre el Moral. [566]

The day after, May 5th, Rivadeneyra summoned the commission along with the witnesses Juan Ruiz and Juan de Vitoria. The record repeats the names of all important landmarks and sites visited the day before, presenting their discussion on the site for the new town [*para que en él se asiente el pueblo*] and the more appropriate lands to be cultivated [*para que en el se ponga la dehesa*]. At that point, the estimated number of citizens for Mancha Real went up from the 100 ordered by Juana I in her 1508 *carta puebla,* to a new total of 150.

The commission's answer was unanimous. According to their report, the site of Fuente de la Parra was considered unfit for several defects that are not detailed. The site known as El Pilarejo reunited all the appropriate conditions but was too close to the jurisdictional limit with Baeza, an important city close to Jaén whose economy was blooming at the time. Planting a new town near that border was a potential source of conflict [*se pudieran causar pasiones e diferencias*]. After discarding these options, the commission present their election of the site of Loma Retamosa and la Torre del Moral as the most convincing one. A number of reasons were given to support this decision:

- Good land for building foundations [*buen aparejo de fundamento e tierra*].
- Plain site, bathed by the sun [*muy llano e levanta el sol*].
- Abundance of drinkable water sources [*tiene fuentes e aguas para beber*].
- The presence of some streets already traced. According to Juan de Molina, these streets were previously signalled by judge Jeronimo de Bustamante, although the foundational book includes no official record of this action.

The main farming area [*exido*] would be placed in the area around Torre del Moral since there was enough space for all settlers. The total available farming land for Mancha Real was 1200 *fanegas*[567] (768 Hec. approx.), including Torre del Moral, the hills of Peña del Águila, la Cumbre, and Barranco de la Cueva. For planting vineyards, the commission chose Cañada Lantiscosa, a site where, according to Juan de Molina, judge Bustamante had already traced up to 273 lots [*suertes*] of 5 *aranzadas* each (1,8 Hec. approx.).

That same day, Juan de Rivadeneyra gave order to Juan de Requena, Sebastián Ruiz del Salto, and Juan de Reolid to return to the chosen site and trace 150 land plots, along with a main square, a church, a sacristy, and every other requisite stated in the executory order [*todo lo otro nezesario para la población*]. This plan

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[566] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 42 r.-45 v.

[567] This measure was different depending on the location. One fanega in Castile was equal to 6459,6 square meters, while in Canarias was 5248 m2 and in Valencia only 831.

was limited by the Torre del Moral, which apart from naming the site was a medieval fortified tower acting as landmark separating Mancha Real's urban area from its farming lands. The record states that Requena, Ruiz del Salto and Reolid should do the tracing in the same way that they had already done for Valdepeñas de Jaén and Los Villares [*segund e de la manera que lo an hecho en otros lugares que an traçado por mandado del dhº señor juez*], confirming that these two sites had been already traced and marked, and insisting on the systemic procedure applied by the judge and his commission throughout their foundational *tour* across Sierra Sur. Requena, Ruiz del Salto, and Reolid accepted the task and parted for the chosen site. Then, Rivadeneyra ordered Juan de Molina to take two men to the designated farming lands south of Torre del Moral and distribute land lots occupying the already discussed area of 1200 *fanegas*.

### May 6th: naming of the new town, La Mancha.[568]

The day after, Juan de Rivadeneyra summoned his commission along with several witnesses at Loma Retamosa for the official naming of the new town. The record of this day and its events highlights the relationship of the site with previous documents and decisions. For example, the record starts by confirming the consensual decision of placing the plantation at Loma Retamosa after considering several options. It also mentions the presence of previous traces made by Jeronimo Bustamante. Then, the record declares that the plantation that would be located here accounted for the site listed as "la mancha e letraña e torre e moral" in the 1508 population charter and later executory order. This was a measure to ensure the correspondence of the 1539 process with its original order, avoiding any room for speculation and second-guessing. The record also states the general limits of the plantation: at the area of bushes [*retamal*], limiting with the farms around Torre del Moral, extending its farming area [*exido*] over the higher part of the *dehesa*. After confirming these jurisdictional limits [*término*], the new town was named as La Mancha: *que se nombre de aqui adelante el dhº pueblo la mancha*. This name would later change to Mancha Real when it received the official title of Royal Villa in 1557. Until then, it was simply known as La Mancha or "La Manchuela", the small Mancha, to differentiate it from the region of La Mancha. The act ended with the dedication of La Mancha's church to John the Evangelist, in celebration of May 6th festivity of "Saint John Before the Latin Gate" or *San Juan ante Portam Latinam*, which commemorates the martyrdom of this saint. Mancha Real church was hence named as "Iglesia de San Juan Evangelista" even before its location was decided. In this way, the legal form of the new town and its church preceded by much their physical construction.

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[568] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 45 v.-46 r.

### May 7th: Reports on the town's trace, naming of the settlers, marking of the dehesa's limits and Jaen's appeal against the plantation.[569]

The day after, the judge met at Pegalajar with Juan de Molina, who came back after completing his task. He had measured 53 fanegas of vineyards around the site of Loma Retamosa and marked a water source for them named Fuente del Aguadero. The judge inquired De Molina on the availability of building materials, to which he responded that there was plenty of lime available and the citizens of Pegalajar had already prepared a quarry; however, to his knowledge there was no gypsum in the vicinity. Finally, Rivadeneyra asked for the availability of wheat mills, which would be indispensable for the citizens of Mancha Real while they stablished their own. De Molina informed on an available of a mill located at Torres, one league away from La Mancha, other mills at Jaen and La Guardia, two leagues away, and some others at Pegalajar, one league away. Again, we have a system of territorial coordinates for the location of infrastructures and connections (Figure 138).

That same day, Rivadeneyra received the surveyors Juan de Requena and Sebastián Ruiz del Salto along with Juan de Reolid. They had finished their task at the plantation site. More specifically, they had "traced and measured" [*traçar e medir*] the site, implying that they had not only signalled the lots *in situ* but also provided a visual record of their work, that is, the first foundational plan of Mancha Real. They declared to have reserved a space for the main square, the church, and all other necessary things. Their testimony was supported by two witnesses: Gonçalo Gutierrez and Luis de Godoy. The declaration states a total of 206 traced plots, each one measuring 30x20 *varas*, equivalent to 60x90 feet, roughly 25,17x16,78 meters, for a total of 422 squared meters in each plot, apart from its assigned farming land outside of the new town. Quite generous indeed. The measures for the church plot and the main square are also detailed. The church was placed in a square plot of 40x40 *varas*, 120x120 feet, including the temple, the sacristy and a front yard clearly marked in the plan. The church was placed in the main street of the new town, a section of the road going from Jaen to Torres that provided a west-east orientation to Mancha Real's plan. Reolid and the *alarifes* informed that the church had been marked with a big wooden cross where the altar was to be built, labelled "*del señor san juan evangelista*" to indicate the dedication of the church. According to the report, the main plaza had 74x70 *varas*, approx. 62x58,73 meters. As we will see later on, these measures slightly deviate in the plan conserved today, but they are overall consistent and maintain the general logic of the newly planted urban structure (Figure 139).[570]

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[569] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 52 v.-54 r.

[570] Jiménez Cobo's transcription of this fragment reads: "...amojonaron de largo setenta e quatro varas que son çiento y treynta e tres pies e de ancho setenta varas que son çiento y ochenta pies..." The rate of conversion between *varas* and feets used in this paragraph is inconsistent. For the longer measure it is 1,79 feet/*vara*, for the shorter, 2,57 feet/*vara*. There must be an error, either in the original record, or in its later copies and transcriptions. The measure in *varas* is the only one that fits with the foundational logic and the plan conserved today.
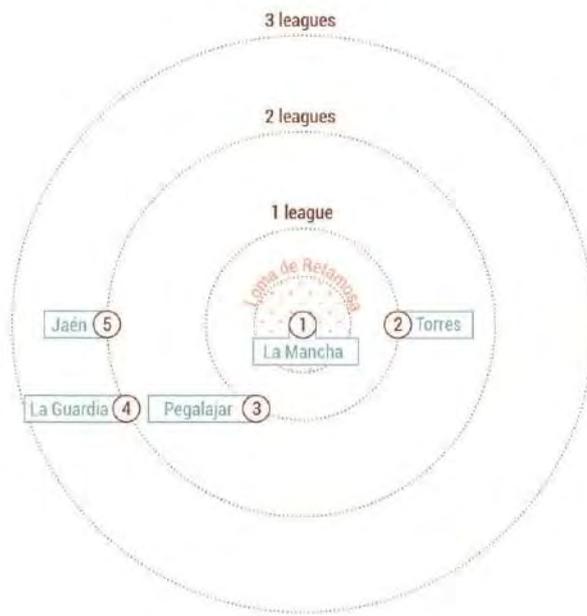
**Figure 138: Distance coordinates from Mancha Real to its nearer mills, according to Juan de Molina. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 139: 1570, copy of 1539 Mancha Real foundational plan, conserved at Granada's Royal Chancery. It has been restored in recent years and encased in a protective package. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada. Photo by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

One additional detail worth mentioning is the way how the trio signed their report. According to the foundational book, all three men were recorded as witnesses: Juan de Requena, Sebastián Ruiz del Salto, and Juan de Reolid. However, only Juan de Reolid signed the deposition because the other two did not know how to sign [*no sabían firmar*]. This is a relevant piece of information that differentiates the role of the two surveyors/*alarifes* from the engraver/*entallador*. Since Requena and Ruiz del Salto were illiterate, it was Reolid's responsibility to record their actions and provide directions. He was in charge of tracing plans and writing down measures, complementing Juan Vázquez efforts to develop a comprehensive record of the foundational process. In other words, Reolid's accompanied the surveyors and provided a visual record in the same way than Vázquez accompanied the judge and provided a visual record. Reolid may had traced the plan, but its design was not entirely his responsibility. All elements in the record indicate that Mancha Real's layout of blocks and streets was developed *in-situ* as a quick application of the geometrical rules provided by the foundational instructions, a process quite different from the reflexive and analytic design of urban thinkers and military engineers in the early modern period.

The next relevant document in the foundational book is the first listing of settlers, which was also recorded on May 7th. The list includes a total of 156 names, specifying their professions and their category: old settlers, new settlers, or settlers by royal privilege (Figure 140).[571] The list also includes a particular note for settlers who had gained their right after the death of their husbands or fathers. The list states the previous citizenship of each settler; hence it is possible to map the main areas of origin for each group. The resultant map presents a clear image in which the majority of new citizens belonged to the old settlers collective and came from the surroundings of Jaen (Figure 141). Privileged settlers had their main residency in more distant locations, giving them a further motive to operate through a representative during the foundational acts.
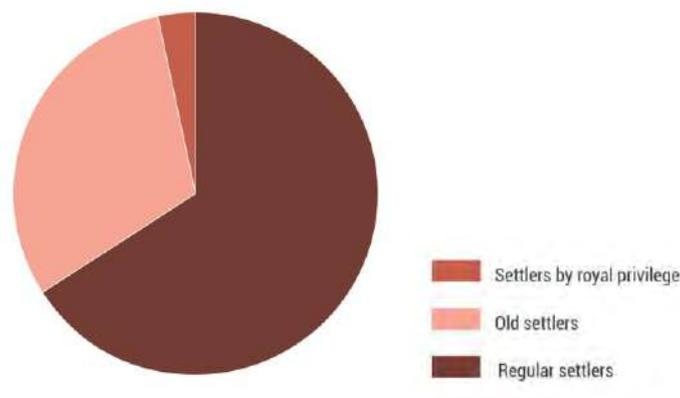


**Figure 140: Comparative chart of old settlers, new settlers, and settlers by royal privilege in the first list for the plantation of Mancha Real, 1539. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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[571] A summary of this list is provided in Appendix B.
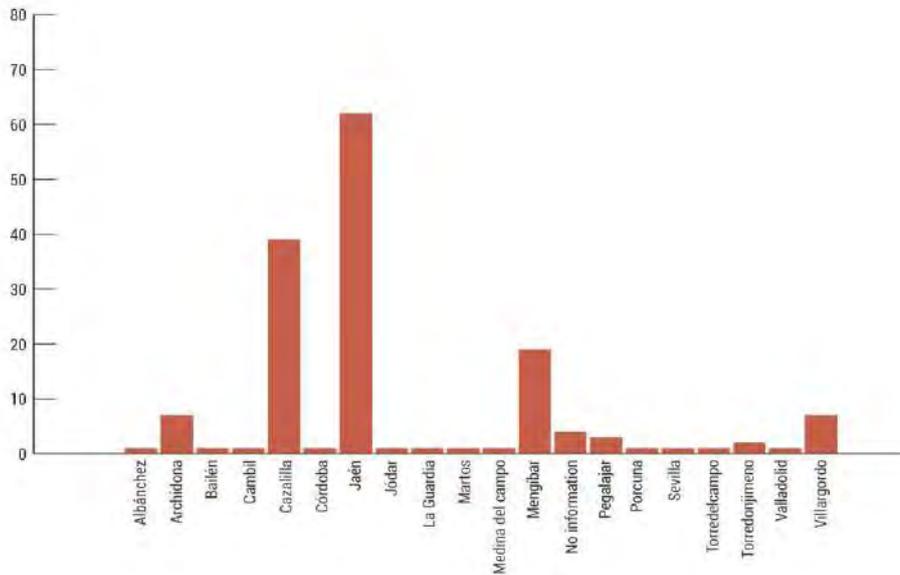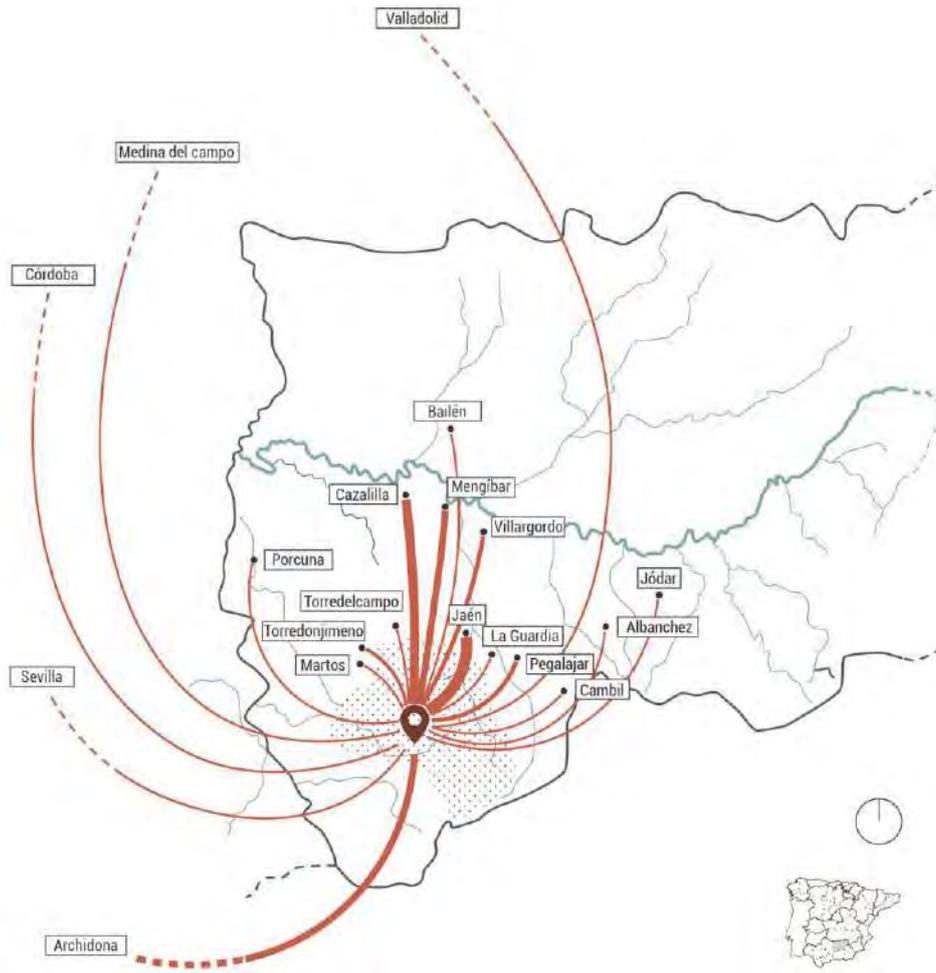
**Figure 141: Geographical distribution Mancha Real settlers's origins, following the list signed on May 7th, 1539. The map includes a differentiation between origins depending on the number of settlers and the group the belonged (old, new, royal privilege). © Manuel Sánchez García.**

The following step was the marking of Mancha Real limits, including its farming area as well as its general jurisdiction. Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernandez were in charge of this task. They first marked the farming area known as Dehesa de la Alameda, placing a total of 15 boundary stones and covering 1204 fanegas in total, following the same quantity they had reported days before. The day after, the same two men started marking the jurisdictional limits of Mancha Real, placing a total of 29 boundary stones [*mojones*]. The task took them eleven days, finishing on May 16th. These borders limited not only with pre-existing cities and capitals around Mancha Real such as Jaen and Baeza, but also with the new towns that Rivadeneyra had just traced: Valdepeñas and Los Villares.

While Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernandez were working, the council of Jaen objected the whole procedure through an official document, delivered on May 7th by their representant Juan Cerezo. They accused Rivadeneyra of occupying lands belonging to private owners and public properties in Jaen's jurisdiction and asked the judge to cease all settlement activities in those areas. Cerezo did not provide any evidence for his arguments but declared that the officiality of those property rights were "well-known" [*notorio*]. If needed, the council would provide abundant documental support. In case the judge did not agree with this petition, Jaen would elevate the demand to the Royal Council. Rivadeneyra responded to this threat on May 9th asking Jaen's representative to specify what particular actions vulnerated Jaen's limits and rights. Juan Cerezo would return with a much better documented accusation in July, at a time when most of the plantation procedures were already completed.

### May 16th: Creation of the city council.[572]

Once the new towns limits had been marked and its land lots were already traced, it was time for the creation of Mancha Real foundational institutions. The first step was the allocation of farming lands and vineyards for the church, the town's council, and the hospital. Rivadeneyra also ordered to reserve "more or less" 150 lots for all settlers, including a change of a series of problematic lots in near the private farmhouses of La Mancha, Letraña, and Torre del Moral, and use instead other lands in a fertile plain known as Dehesa de Riez. This decision would bring additional conflicts with Jaen in the future.

To name the mayors and councillors at La Mancha, Rivadeneyra summoned Melchor de la Serna, official notary of Jaen's council. De la Serna informed the commission on the regional customs in place regarding the naming of officials in town councils that depended on the provincial capital. On June 18th, Rivadeneyra organized a reunion at the site of the plantation with his whole commission, the first deputy of Jaen Melchor de Cañete, as well as a considerable number of settlers, 70 according to the record. There, the judge named two mayors (Juan Cobillo and Jorge de Torres), one deputy (Alonso de Donquilez), one official notary (Hernando de Haro), two ordinary councillors (Luis Maestro, Luis Barriga),

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[572] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 74 v.-77 v.

and one council steward (Luis Guiterrez de Alferez). These men, all rightful settlers of Mancha Real, swore office and committed for two years or service or "as long as the houses remain unbuilt," effectively tying the built form of the city with its institutions. In sum, with this act, La Mancha was officially stablished as a city even though it still was an empty piece of land. After the completion of this procedure, Juan de Rivadeneyra returned to Jaén with his commission.

### June 22th: Construction contract for a temporary church and requirements for the future temple.[573]

The foundational book does not include any architectural specifications for houses apart from those already included in the royal instructions. There is only one exception: the main church. Judge Rivadeneyra was responsible for commissioning a first temporary building that should endure while the newly appointed town council resolved how to finance and develop a proper temple. Each new town in Sierra Sur had one of these temporary chapels, all of them eventually being substituted by the churches conserved today.

According to the record, the first chapel in Mancha Real occupied an area of 22 x 6 *varas* (18.40 x 5.04 metres), this is, way smaller than the 40x40 *varas* plot reserved for the town's main church. The chapel was commissioned to a builder from Jaén named Francisco de Alcalá, who would start the construction on August 16th and work without pause until it was finished. All construction materials needed would be paid by the newly appointed council. The head builder would receive 2,5 reales per day and each of his peons 1 real/day. The complete contract was written down including all sorts of agreements and technical details. Then it was swore upon by each of the parts, signed, and included in the foundational book.

In a different section of the foundational book, Rivadeneyra also dictated the architectural specifications for the definitive church. The foundation would be done with lime and sand, with stone walls on top of it until reaching the level of the exterior ground [*hasta flor de tierra*] and, from there, a higher wall to cover the whole temple. Rivadeneyra also ordered the construction of two pillars to support a bell tower, counterforts to support the walls, roofs covered with ceramic tiles, among other elements. By all means, this was a way more elaborate work than the chapel commissioned to Francisco de Alcalá, and it was not to be built until way later, with several modifications and expansions. The foundational book specifies that these instructions were the same as the ones previously stated for Valdepeñas and Los Villares, once more insisting in the systemic character of the new towns.

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[573] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 81 v.-83 v.

### *May 5th to August 4th: Legal issues regarding Dehesa de Riez.*[574]

Dehesa de Riez is a fertile area north of Mancha Real, between the jurisdictions of Jaen and Baeza. It was mentioned in the 1508 *carta puebla* as part of the site for Mancha Real's plantation but, in 1539, it posed a problem for Rivadeneyra because he had no authorization to modify the limits of other cities. The judge was conscious of this problem but lacked supporting documentation to know exactly where the jurisdictional limits were. To solve the situation, Rivadeneira resorted to oral tradition and summoned two experienced citizens of Jaen who declared themselves knowledgeable: Juan de Ruz, a 58-years old innkeeper, and Alonso de Morales, a 50-years old shepherd, who provided a general picture of the Dehesa's limits. Right after, Rivadeneyra sent his measurer Juan de Molina with Alonso Hernandez and a team of peons to measure the place. That happened on May 5th, the same day that the commission was discussing the appropriate site for planting the new town.

Two days after, this is, on the same day that Rivadeneyra received the reports on the city's plan and its main farming lands, he also received De Molina's report about Dehesa de Riez. Juan de Molina had traced 89 land lots there and informed om the good quality of the land and existence of previous measurements by Jerónimo Bustamante. Forty days after, on June 16th, Rivadeneyra requested four additional testimonies on the limits of Dehesa de Riez. By that point, the main town had already been traced, land lots had been assigned, and the first batch of settlers had taken possession of them. Moreover, Jaen's council had already issued their first appeal against the foundation. There was a clear legal conflict looming over the plantation. To gather additional information, Rivadeneyra interviewed two farmers on June 16th and, on June 26th, he had a meeting with another farmer whose father had been put in charge of Dehesa de Riez by its renter. On July 24th, Rivadeneyra received Antón de Myrez, a 54-years old mand who had been the official guard of the Dehesa between 1512 and 1530. On July 26th, Rivadeneyra visited Dehesa de Riez personally to inspect the distribution of lots and set its limits in a signed record. He was accompanied by an abundant group of characters, including representatives of Jaen's council, members of the Mesta Brotherhood, Mancha Real settlers, and landowners with properties around Dehesa de Riez. They followed its limits while the notary wrote down the location of each marker [*mojón*] of its limits. He also recorded a series of spoken considerations by Juan de Molina and other agents about the reasons behind how farming lots were distributed in this area. The representatives from Jaen and the Mesta brotherhood protested at several points during the course, expressing their disagreement with the location of several markers, and contesting the work of Rivadeneyra's commission.

On July 28th, two days after the visit, the representative of the council of Jaén, Juan Cerezo, presented a second official protest against Rivadeneyra arguing that

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[574] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 46 v.-50 r.; 77 v.-94 v.

he had overreached the limitation of his assignment and, in doing so, vulnerated the lawful jurisdiction of Jaen. His demand was supported by two registers of the marking of the city's limits [*amojonamiento*] both of which included Dehesa de Riez. One was dated on September 25th, 1452, and the other on October 7th, 1463. Rivadeneyra had no other option than to acknowledge Jaen's authority and cancel any further distribution of lands in Dehesa de Riez. He did so in an official statement on August 4th, shortly after the demand was presented. In that same declaration, Rivadeneyra summoned all settlers who had already received and taken possession of lands in Dehesa de Riez, to hear them and take a final decision on how to solve the conflict [*para los oyr e determynar lo que sea justizia sobre ello*]. The version of Mancha Real's foundational book transcribed by Martin Jiménez Cobo does not provide any further details on this matter. Whatever the outcome, this event shows once more the opposition of Jaen's council and the Mesta brotherhood against Sierra Sur plantations, seizing every opportunity to hinder the settlement process and limit its impact. This conflict, born decades before the effective plantation of Sierra Sur new towns, continued after it and motivated further legal procedures.

### *May 27th to August 4th: Distribution of land plots and acts for possession taking. A staged ritual to ensure citizenship.*[575]

The main body of the foundational book focuses on the distribution of land plots and the acts through which settlers took possession of them. This process was developed in three stages in May, June, and August, and ran parallel to other decisions and endeavours related to the foundation. The first phase started soon after the trace of the new town was ready, its farming areas were measured, and its official officers were appointed, creating a sort of legal and institutional infrastructure. The list of settlers was ready by May 7th, but this were still unplaced names. Rights to land ownership unattached to any specific pieces of land.

On May 27th, Juan de Rivadeneyra and Juan Vazquez developed a new list including the name of each settler, his origin and occupation, and which specific land plots were granted to him. According to the book, one settling right or *suerte* included one urban lot for housing of 60x90 feet (422 m$^2$), one farming lot in the plains of 16 *fanegas* (10,33 Hec.), one farming lot in the hillside of 20 *fanegas* (12,91 Hec.), and a smaller lot for planting vineyards of 3 *fanegas* (1,93 Hec.). In total, each settler was provided with a total of more than 250.000 m$^2$ of farming lands, more than enough to provide for an extensive family. Privileged settlers such as royal butlers and other servants of the Crown received more than one of these privileges or *suertes*, gifting them with considerable properties in Sierra Sur.

The typical paragraph in the list of assigned plots goes as this:

> *Xro$^{val}$ rrodriguez colmenero labrador vezino de jaen el solar contenydo en la traça y la suerte de tierra rrasa la primera del tranze seteno de la*

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[575] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 114 r.-289 v.

*mancha la qual comyenza despues de sacadas del dhº tranze las veynte
suertes quedan en este tranze diez e nueve e la primera de las diez e nueve
que quedan deste tranze es esta que va aqui contenida, e la suerte de monte
la primera del primer tranze de las veynte e la suerte de viñas la primera
del primer tranze.*[576]

It is worth dissecting this piece of text to understand what specific data and
coordinates were given for each settler:

*Xro^val rrodriguez colmenero*
[Cristóbal Rodríguez Colmenero][577]
    Name of the settler.
*labrador*
[farmer][578]
    Profession.

*vezino de Jaén*
[neighbour of Jaen][579]
    Origin of the settler.

*el solar contenydo en la traça*
[the parcel that appears in the plan][580]
    This short phrase refers to the urban plot or parcel assigned for the
    house of this settler. No details are given for its location. It is only
    said that the parcel is the one "in the plan" *[en la traça]*, that
    means, in the plan measured by Juan de Requena and Sebastián
    Ruiz del Salto and drawn by Juan de Reolid between May 6th and
    7th. From this information it can be inferred that, <u>although the first
    plan presented on May 7th may have been a draft, by May 27th
    Reolid had already produced a fully-fledged plan including at least
    the names of the settlers in this first batch, if not all them.</u>

*y la suerte de tierra rrasa la primera del tranze seteno de la mancha la
qual comyenza despues de sacadas del dhº tranze las veynte suertes que-
dan en este tranze diez e nueve e la primera de las diez e nueve que quedan
deste tranze es esta que va aqui contenida*

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[576] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 115.
[577] Translation by the author.
[578] Translation by the author.
[579] Translation by the author.
[580] Translation by the author.

[and the plain land lot, the first one in the seventh row of la Mancha, which begins after taking from that row twenty lots, there are nineteen remaining, and the first of those nineteen is this one][581]

> This complicated explanation, quite hard to follow, locates the lot given to the settler. According to the description, the measurers had prepared a distribution of lots grouped in rows [*tranzes*]. There were seven rows of plain land lots that were distributed backwards from the seventh to the first.

*e la suerte de monte la primera del primer tranze de las veynte*

[and the hillside lot is the first in the first row of (a total of) twenty][582]

> The distribution of hillside farming lots [*suertes de monte*] used the same logic. In this case, there were twenty rows instead, suggesting that the terrain's slope and its more difficult accessibility impeded a simpler distribution.

*e la suerte de viñas la primera del primer tranze*

[and the vineyard lot the first of the first row][583]

> Finally, we have the smaller lot dedicated to vineyards. Its presence, separated from other spaces for cultivation, highlights the importance of domestic wine production and its cultural weight in early modern Spain,

The list records one paragraph such as this one for each settler, always following the same exact order and structure. The first distribution of lots, dated on May 27th, included 58 settlers. The second distribution, on June 20th, added 88 settlers more along with the assignment of lands and properties for the church, the hospital and the town's council. Lots reserved for public services such as butcheries, bread ovens, and shops, were official council's properties. Finally, the third distribution was issued on August 12th. It included only eight additional settlers for a total of 154 placed settlers in Mancha Real. The main focus of this last commandment was the redistribution and exchange of sixteen already assigned land lots. In other words, the third listing was a late action designed as a correction to the main distributive acts that were already finished by the end of June. It can be considered that the main part of the foundation had been executed in May and June 1539, with a complementary action on August 12th.

Still, the distribution of land lots and properties was just a preliminary listing with no definitive legal effect. To enact the settler's property over the land, it was necessary an official act of possession taking. This was an important ceremony both socially and legally relevant. It involved the presence of Juan de Reolid and

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[581] Translation by the author.
[582] Translation by the author.
[583] Translation by the author.

his plan, giving them a prominent role in the procedure. The rules and conditions governing the three ceremonial takings of possession were stated by the judge Rivadeneyra in their respective distribution acts, in a short paragraph right before listing the settlers and their assigned properties.

In those documents, Rivadeneyra authorized Jaen's first deputy, Melchor de Cañete, to be his representative at the plantation site during the official act for possession. De Cañete was ordered to physically distribute each of the properties "in the same order and form that it is declared here, without exceeding or changing any lot or name" [*por la horden e forma que aqui va declarado synezeder ny mudar suerte ny nombre de una parte a otra las quales estan señaladas e sytuadas*].[584] In this way, the deputy was just the executor or Rivadeneyra's order, with no real power or capacity to change them. Melchor de Cañete was to be assisted in the task by two members of Rivadeneyra's commission: Juan de Molina, the person in charge of measuring Mancha Real's farming lands, and Juan de Reolid, tracer of Mancha Real's urban plan. While De Molina would serve as a guide during for the possession of lots reserved for agriculture, De Reolid would handle the plan during that act and indicate what specific housing lot was assigned to each settler. The notary Juan Vázquez also accompanied the act and recorded the whole procedure.

The first act of possession took place on May 28th, just one day after Rivadeneyra's official distribution of lots. That day, Melchor de Cañete went to the plantation site accompanied by his collaborators and a first group of settlers. There, they would follow a very specific ceremony for each settler which was systematically recorded by Juan Vázquez. This part of the foundational book is structured in separated groups of four paragraphs for each settler: one for the housing lot, one for the plain farming lot, one for the hillside farming lot, and a final one for the vineyard lot. The process was repeated for every other settler and plot in the town, following the listings of settlers provided by Juan de Rivadeneyra in May, June, and August. Most acts followed the exact same model without variations, even when a single settler took possession of more than more settling right, this means, several parcels for houses and their corresponding farming lots. A particular section worth mentioning is the possession of lots for public use by Mancha Real council's steward, Luis Gutiérrez. He took two lots for public ovens, one lot for the hospital, one lot for the council house, one for the butchery, one for the market, and two for public inns or *mesones*. All these properties were located in privileged parcels on the central street or around the main square (Figure 142). As a result, most of Mancha Real square was surrounded by public institutions and services. The only private lots facing the square did so with their short side.

Even though the record of possession taking ceremonies is conserved in good within the foundational folder of Mancha Real, Martín Jiménez Cobo only

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[584] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 114 v.

published a few of them, including the first of the settlers to take possession,[585] the land parcels taken by La Mancha's Council, those of the church and the hospital, among others.[586] The rest must be consulted directly from the original source, guarded at the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén (AHPJ) and not supported by any official transcription. To further study this specific type of foundational action, Siblings Overseas draws on the complete transcriptions of the other new towns in Sierra Sur, presented later on this same chapter.
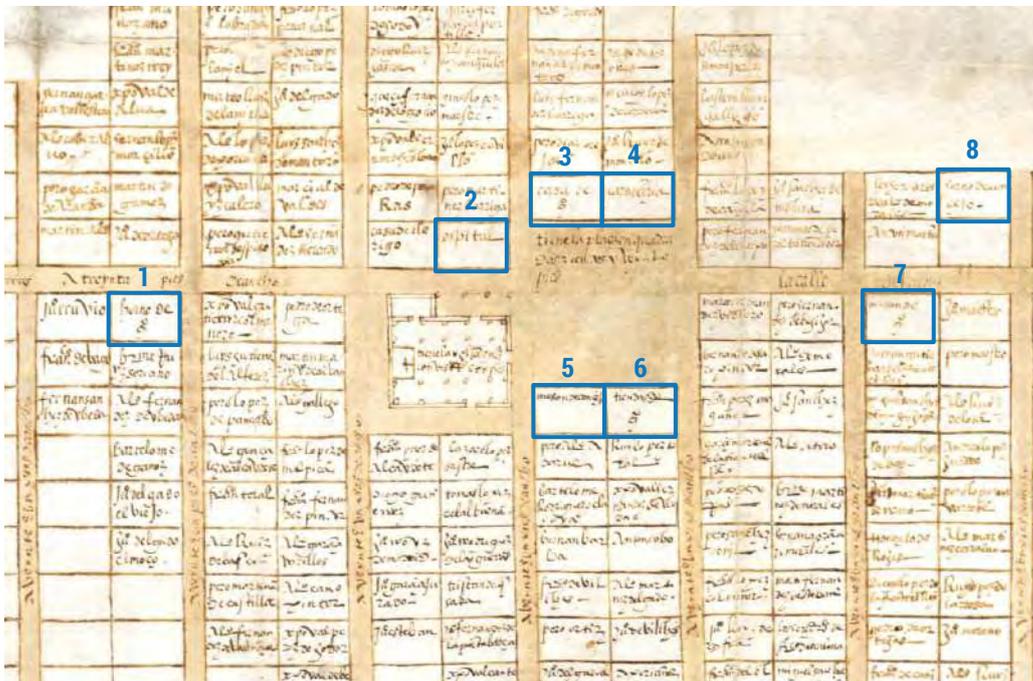


**Figure 142: 1539/1570, location of the public parcels in Mancha Real foundational plan, following the record of the act of possession celebrated on June 28th, 1539. 1: Council's oven. 2: Hospital. 3: Council's house. 4: Butchery. 5: Council's inn. 6: Council's market [*tienda del concejo*]. 7: Council's inn. 8: Council's oven. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**

After the records of acts of possession taking, the foundational book of Mancha Real includes several registers of corrections and changes, all of them signed by the notary Juan Vázquez. It was also Juan Vazquez who provided the final sign over the 431st page of the book, closing the procedure and fulfilling the many royal orders issued over the years. His final lines read:

> *E de pedimento de la justizia e jurados del dhº lugar de la mancha di este dhº libro de lo que ante testos se pasó zedula de la poblaçion del dhº lugar de la mancha e lo escreví e sygné de my sugno en fe de lo qual fize aqueste my signo*
> *juan vazquez*
> *escrnº*

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[585] Named Cristóbal Gutiérrez Colmenero.
[586] Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*, 286–98.

[By request of the officials and juries of the aforementioned place of La Mancha and in front of witnesses it was granted a population chart to the aforementioned place of La Mancha and I wrote it and signed it with my signature, and in faith I did this my signature,
Juan Vázquez
Notary][587]

With these words, Juan Vázquez provided closure to the plantation of Mancha Real, a historical process that covered a complex succession of royal orders, petitions, demands, lawsuits, and other peaceful but quite aggressive conflicts over 31 years.

## The foundational plan of Mancha Real: an original from 1539 copied in 1570.

The main particularity of Mancha Real plantation process, if compared with the other three new towns in Sierra Sur, is that it conserves a copy of its foundational plan (Figure 143). This copy was made from the original by the public notary of Mancha Real Luis de Molina in 1570, as a supporting document for a lawsuit between Melchor de Vergara, prior of Mancha Real, and the marriage formed by Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera and Mari Pérez. According to them, there had been a mistake in the translation of the assignment of plots from the written document to the plan in 1539. Their demand was accepted, and the new copy of 1570 already includes this correction. Then, the copy was stored at the archive of Granada's Royal Chancery where the lawsuit was processed, and there it has been safeguarded over the centuries.

It is a valuable visual document worth studying not only for its own features but also because of its limited impact in historiography and the questions that still linger around it. The digitization presented in *Siblings Overseas* is the most recent one, developed in 2005 and barely disseminated through academic media. This dissertation also presents an unpublished vectorial version of this plan, which allows to further comparative analysis and offers a new layer of visual information to be used by the scholarly community (Figure 144).

### *General description*

The plan developed by Juan de Reolid combines an urban structure plainly integrated in the early modern urban logic, with representations of rivers, mountains, and architectures with a marked medieval character. Torre del Moral, the old watchtower that acted as a landmark during the whole foundational process, was drawn in an almost naïve style near the left margin of the document.

The plan was drawn on a horizontal piece of parchment, probably made of goat skin, measuring 68 x 73 cm. It presents the plan of the city with 161 parcels

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[587] Translation by the author.

already assigned to settlers, the council, the church, and other public services, as it has been already mentioned. There is no correlation between the order of settlers listed in the foundational book and the order of assigned parcels in the plan. The church is drawn with more detail, suggesting its future disposition. There are 52 unassigned plots, for a total of 223 parcels in the plan. Many aspects of the projects for all four tows were identical, as mandated by the royal settling orders of 1508 and 1537. The main square and the streets were laid out in a regular grid with rectangular, vertical blocks, signaling public areas with a darker tone.

The foundational books recorded that urban plots were always 60 x 90 Castilian feet, a dimension that was applied to all parcels independently of their owner's social category. This was one the most essential principles in the foundational process, an unavoidable rule that ensured justice and policy since the beginning of the new town's life. Its importance is proclaimed in the plan, in a box filled with big letters immediately under the imperial crest and between its side pillars, where we can read: *Tiene cada solar XC pies de largo y LX de ancho* [each plot has 90 feet long and 60 of width]. Two minor crests accompany the figure: Jaen's official coat of arms on the left, and the crest of Rivadeneyra's family on the right. In this way, the symbolic triangle formed by the Habsburg imperial authority, the local government of Jaen, and the judge's symbol, custode the rule ensuring the legitimacy of the newly planted town of La Mancha (Figure 145). The title "La Mancha" was added in a later stage and does not match with the rest of the copy of the plan.[588] Most probably, it was absent in the original document drawn by Juan de Reolid.

The resultant composition features the imperial power crowning the legal principle that guaranteed a just procedure. It was a quite peculiar use if compared with the more usual presence of Charles V coat of arm over military fortresses and pennants. The imperial heraldic symbol, accompanied by the measure and the notarial sign, were probe of a well-developed and completed foundational act. In this way, the image of imperial power was showing a light transition imposed fortified settlements to open cities, from the weapons and armies to a society ruled by law. Of course, this was not a generalized change, and imperial military architecture would experiment an increasing importance across the Spanish empire and its many war scenarios through the early modern period.

Two plots deviate from the rule: the main square and the church. Reolid presents a quite detailed plan for the church, including three naves, a space for the main altar, a sacristy, a front yard, and a measurement: "*Tiene la iglesia en qᵃ xcc pies*" [The church is a square of 120 feet]. This measure is consistent with Rivadeneyra instructions for the final churches at Mancha Real, Los Villares, and Valdepeñas, not with the temporary temple of 18 x 5 metres commissioned by the judge in 1539. The other exception to the rule is the main square. In the plan it is

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[588] This observation was discussed with Francisco Gutiérrez, professional scribe "Enlumineur de France" trained at the Superior European Institute of Illumination and Manuscripts of Angers (ISEEM). Francisco determined that both the ink and the calligraphy used for the title "LA MANCHA" are not the same than those used in the rest of the document.

said "*tiene la plaça en quadra doszientos y veynte pies*" [the square is a square of 220 feet]. That is, approximately 61,16 x 61,16 meters. In the foundational book the measure is consistent but not quite the same: 74x70 *varas*, approximately 62x58,73 meters. This small difference may respond to the different criteria wielded by the measurers in Rivadeneyra's commission, who traced the square on the ground, and Reolid, who traced it on the plan. In the plan, Reolid may have been tempted to present a perfectly regular square, while the measurers provided a more precise, irregular, realistic data. In any case, a deviation of just 2,43 meters in one of the sides is not enough to argue a lack of coherence between the plan and the foundational book. It is clearly a circumstantial disagreement.

The plan does not only feature facts and information related to the plantation of the new town. At the left of the imperial coat of arms there is a prominent handwritten paragraph inside a square (Figure 146). It is an inscription made by Juan Delgado, public notary of Mancha Real towards the late 1540s. This piece of text is quite relevant because it offers the earliest date written in the plan:

> *En la mancha a veinte y cinco dias de septiembre bispera de san simon entró el agua en la plaça por sus caños que es el agua de la torre el morál ano de mill e quitᵒs y cuarenta y siete años siendo alcaldes Xval lopez colmenero e antonio de montoro y jurados Xval Cantero y luys barriga y los álamos se pusieron a catorze de febrero de mill e quiᵒs y quarenta y ocho años trajolos marcos de morales.*

> [At la mancha on twenty-five days of September eve of San Simon entered the water in the square through its fountains which is water from the tor-rem el moral year of 1547 while being majors Cristóbal López Colmenero and Antonio Montoro and juries/councellors Cristobal Cantero and Luis Barriga and the poplars were placed on February fourteen of 1548 Marcos de Morales brought them.][589]

Since this plan is not a cartographic document it has no compass rose. The orientation of the plan is southwards, with the pre-existing Torre del Moral, the *dehesa* and the foothill of Sierra Mágina in the upper part of the parchment (Figure 148). Roads appear paved with round stones, while rivers and streams [*manantialejos*] are bordered with reeds [*juncales*]. The central street of the town comes out of the city and makes a curve to the northeast, indicating the connection with Jaen. On the south, the road traversing the *dehesa* near Torre del Moral is clearly visible, connecting with the near town of Pegalajar and the upper valleys of Sierra Mágina. The plan is signed by Juan de Reolid himself, whose rubric is clearly visible on top of the central column of urban parcels, presiding the newly planted town (Figure 147).

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[589] Translation by the author
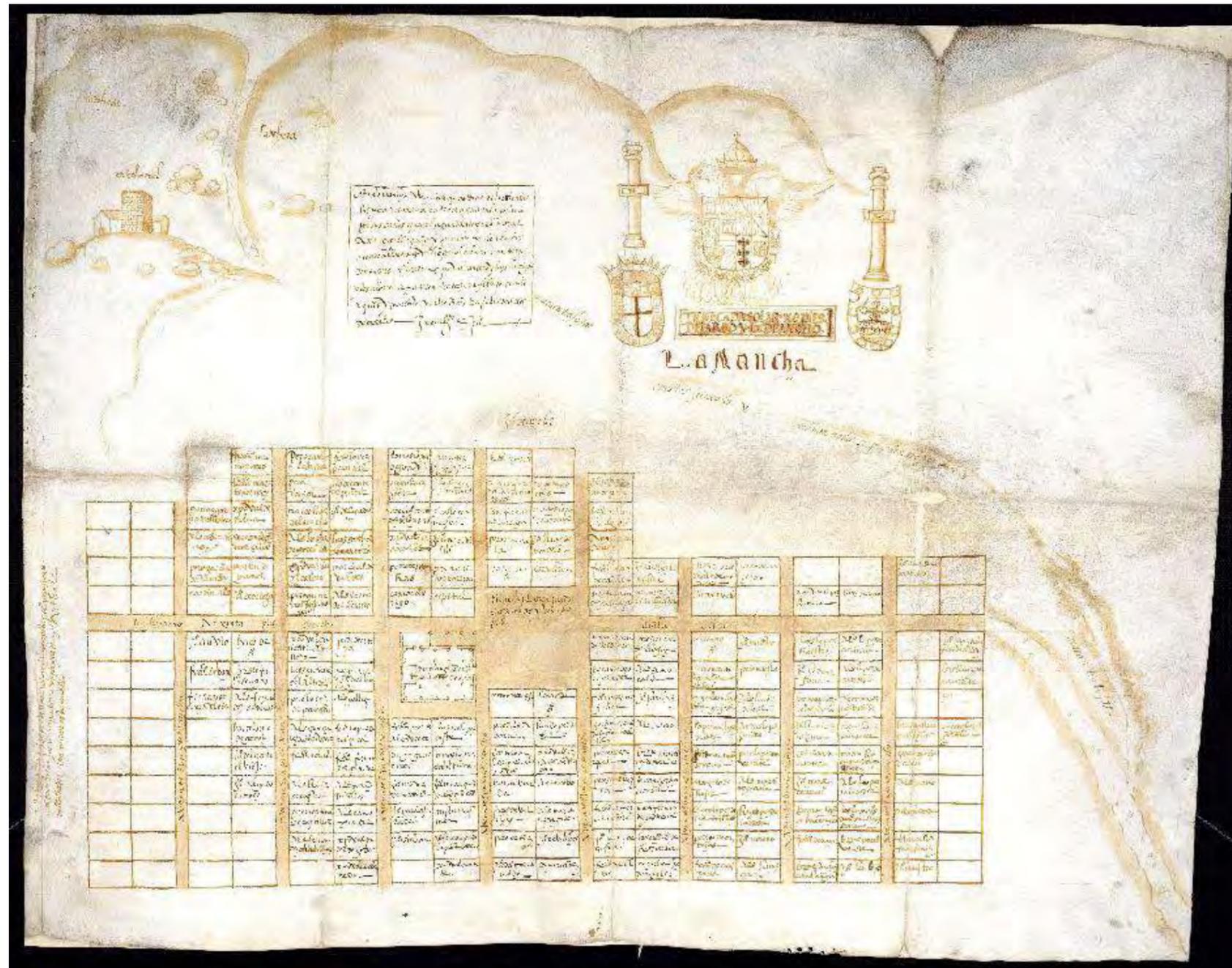
**Figure 143: 1539, Juan de Reolid, foundational plan of Mancha Real, copied in 1570 by Luis de Molina. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**[590]

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[590] Juan de Reolid, "Traslado de un plano de la villa de Mancha Real, en pleito entre Melchor de Vergara, prior de Mancha Real, con Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera y Mari Pérez, su mujer, vecinos de dicha villa [Copia de Luis de Molina en 1570]."
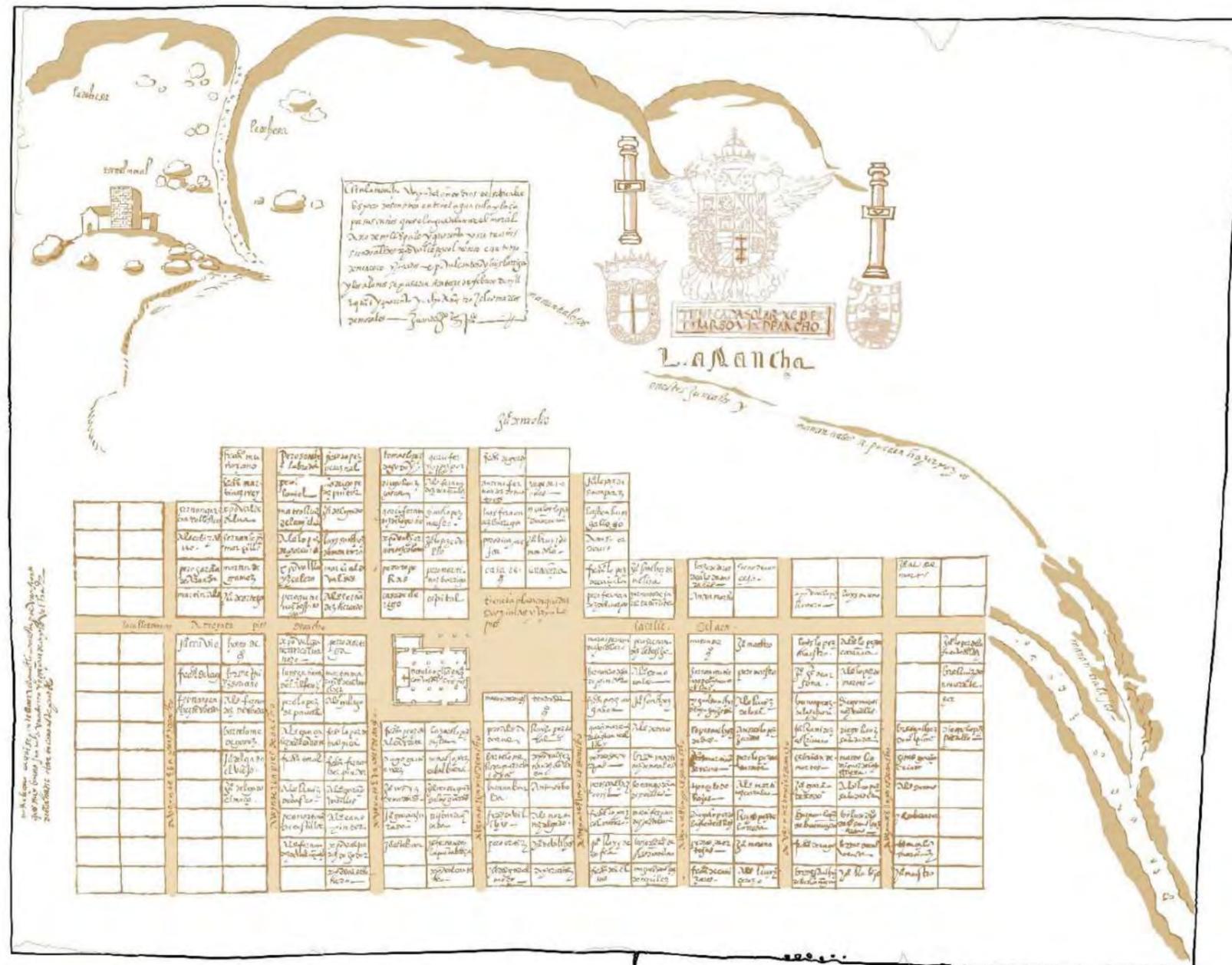
Figure 144: Digital vectorization of Mancha Real foundational plan. © Manuel Sánchez García.
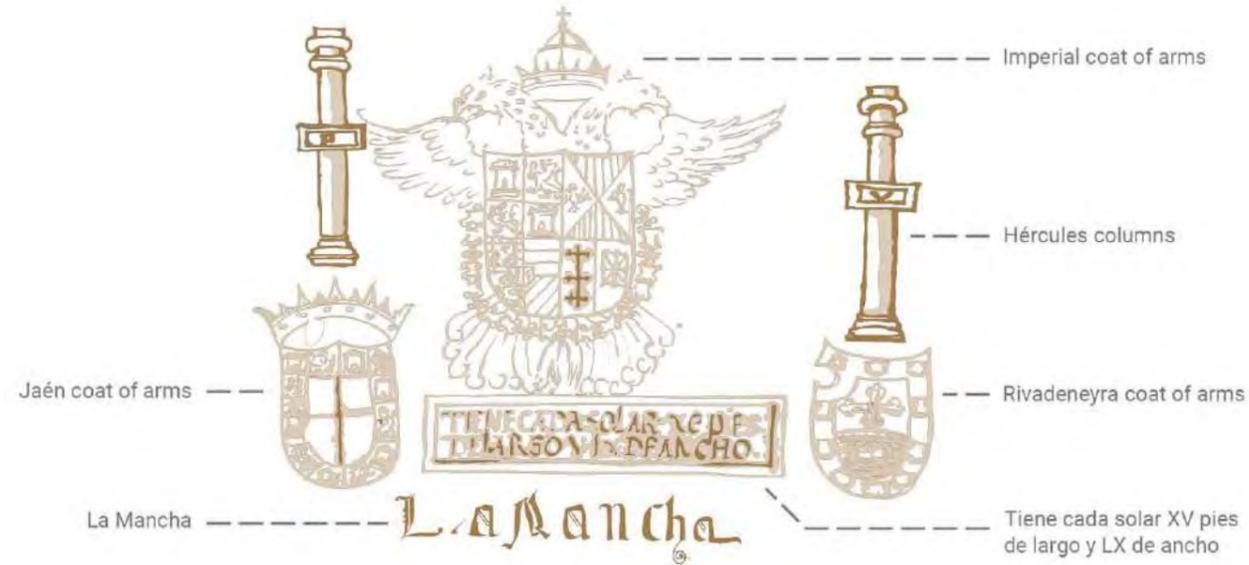
Figure 145: (left) 1539/1570 Detail of imperial coat of arms in the plan of Mancha Real. (Right) Analysis of elements surrounding the coat of arms. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Manuel Sánchez García.



En la mancha a veinte y cinco dias de septiembre bispera de san simon entró el agua en la plaça por sus caños que es el agua de la torre el morál ano de mill e quit ºs y cuarenta y siete años siendo alcaldes Xval lopez colmenero e antonio de montoro y jurados Xval cantero y luys barriga y los álamos se pusieron a catorze de febrero de mill e qui os y quarenta y ocho años trajolos marcos de morales ------- juan delgdº escnº puc º

Figure 146: Text by Juan Delgado, public notary of Mancha Real, regarding the activation of the public fountain in 1547 and the plantation of poplars in 1548. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Manuel Sánchez García.

## Medidas de la plaza

tiene la plaça en quadra
dozsientos y veinte
pies

tiene la plaza en cuadra
doszientos y veinte
pies

## Ancho de las calles mayores - 30 pies

la calle de torres à treinta pies de ancho

la calle de Jaen

## Firma de Juan de Reolid

## Anotación lateral vertical

media legua de agua se puede traer al pueblo por esta parte una fuente
que es muy buena junto a una sierra y no se puede aprovechar
della nadie tanto como este pueblo

## Ancho de las calles secundarias - 21 pies

À veynte y un pies de ancho

## Medidas de la iglesia

tiene la yglesia en q²
contra xcc pies



Detalle de la iglesia mayor

Análisis gráfico

**Figure 147: Transcription of names and other pieces of writting in the foundational plan of Mancha Real, along with the church's plan. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

Sierra Mágina

Path crossing the dehesa

Torre del Moral

Connnection with Mancha Real

manantialejos

entre estos juncales y mantantiales se pueden hacer pozos

manantialejos

Figure 148: Analysis of natural elements and pre-existences in the foundational plan of Mancha Real. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Manuel Sánchez García.
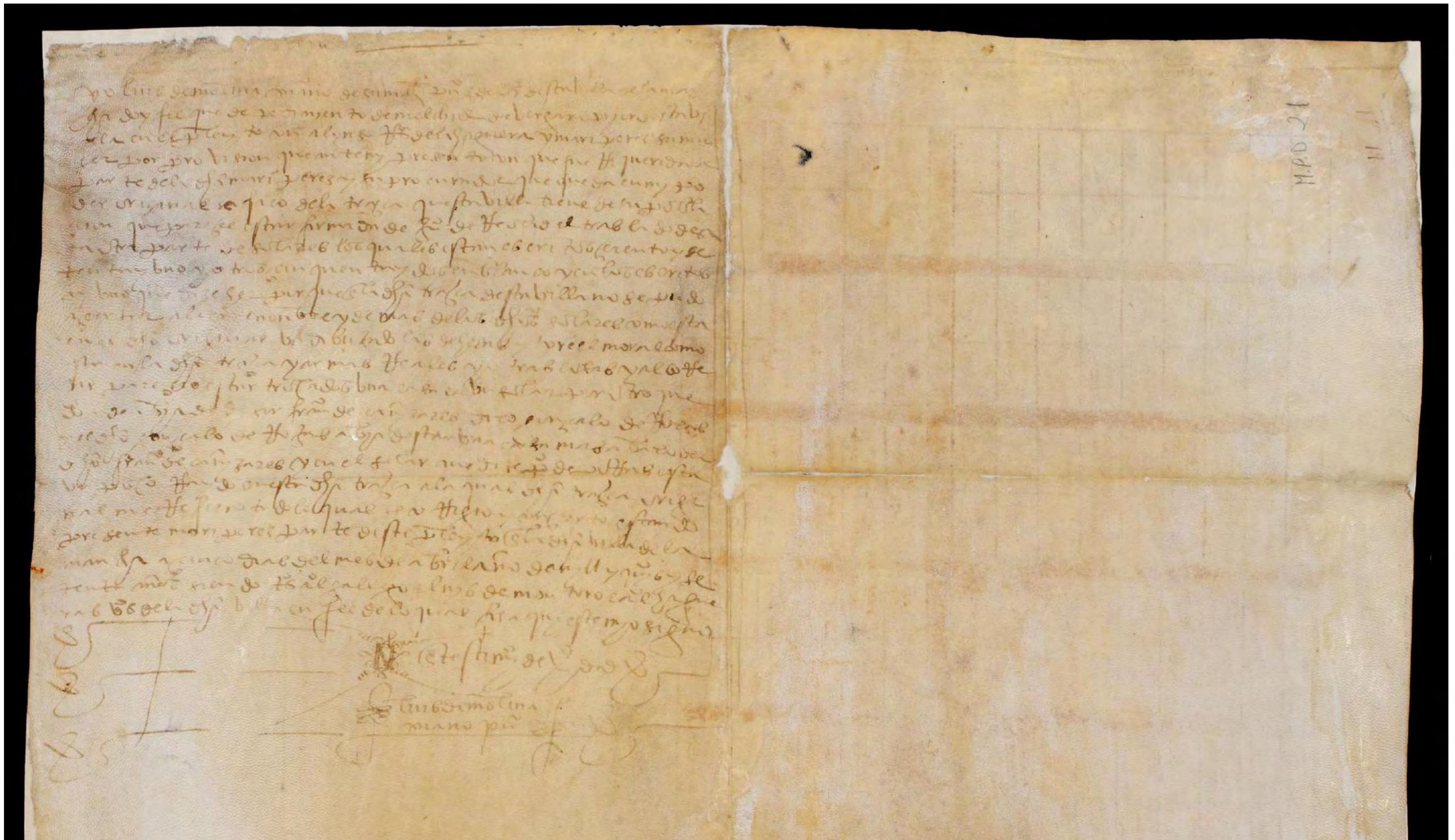
**Figure 149: 1570, Inscription in the back of Mancha Real plan, written by Luis de Molina, public notary of Mancha Real. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**

At the back of the plan there is a longer inscription written by Luis de Molina in 1570. Thanks to this text it is possible to date the copy of plan and provide a better image of why it was made. This paragraph was first transcribed by Martín Jiménez Cobos in 1986.[591] It reads:

> *Yo luys de molina escnᵒ de su magd. e publico desta villa de la Mancha doy fe que de pedimento de melchor de bergara prior desta villa en el pleyto con alonso rguez de la higuera y mari perez su muger por probisión que ante mi presentaron que fue requerida, a parte de la dha. mari perez y su procurador que queda en mi poder original se fizo de la traça que esta villa tiene de su poblacion que parece estar firmada por juᵒ de reolid el traslado de nuestra parte de solares los qualestan escritos ciento y setenta y uno y otros cinquenta y dos en blanco y en las escrituras ay uno que dice que por la dhᵃ traça desta villa no se pudo acertar a leer el nombre y demas de los dichos solares como esta en el dtᵒ original va dibujado las deesas y torre el moral como esta en la dhᵃ traça y armas rreales y otras cosas y al corregir parecio estar trazados una casa de un solar por otro que donde abia de ser francᵒ de cañizares dijo gonzalo de rojas que dicho gonzalo de rojas avia de estar una casa mas abajo del dhᵒ francᵒ de cañizares y en el solar que dice pedro ortiz esta un poco raido en dicha trazaᵃ la qual dhᵃ traza original me refiero todo lo qual se corrigio y concerto estando presenta mari perez parte deste pleyto en la dicha villa de la mancha a cinco dias del mes de abril y año de mil y qutᵒs setenta años siendo testigos alonso gallego e luis de montoro de alᵒ jorquera vᵒs de la dhᵃ villa en fe de lo qual fice este mi signo en testimonio de verdad. luis de molina escno puᵒ.*

[I, Luis de Molina, notary of his majesty and public of this villa of La Mancha, I attest that by petition of Melchor de Vergara, prior of this villa, in the lawsuit with Alonso Rodríguez de la Higuera and Mari Perez his wife by the official request presented to me by the aforementioned Mari Perez and her attorney which remains in my possession I did, from the plan of this villa that presents its settlement and that seems to be signed by Juan de Reolid, the copy from our part of the parcels which are written 161 and another 52 are blank and in the scriptures there is one that says that in the aforementioned plan of this villa the name was unreadable as well as other parcels copied in the same way as the original which is drawn with the *dehesas* and Torre el Moral in the same way as in the aforementioned plan and the royal weapons and other things and when correcting the plan it seems that a house in a parcel was traced instead of other and

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[591] Jiménez Cobo, "Un Interesante Documento Sobre Mancha Real Del Tiempo de La Fundación," 12.

that where it should say Francisco de Cañizares it said Gonzalo de Rojas and that Gonzalo de Rojas should be one house down the same street as Cañizares and in the parcel that say Pedro Ortiz the plan was a little bit frayed in that plan which was the original plan which was corrected in presence of Mari Perez part of this lawsuit in the aforementioned villa of La Mancha the day of April five and the year of 1570 being witnesses Alonso Gallego and Luis de Montoro and Alonso Jorquera neighbours of the aforementioned villa in faith of which I marked my signature in testimony of the truth. Luis de Molina, public notary.][592]

This paragraph is the only piece of information regarding the motivations behind the 1570 copy of Mancha Real plan. Again, it was notarial document supporting a lawsuit, not a cartographic depiction. The geometric rules that govern come exclusively from the settlement instructions and orders given by the king, not from an intent of presenting a realist measured image of the territory. The main objective of the copy was to exchange the assignment of two plots whose assignment was not correctly recorded in 1539, and whose owners were the main agents involved in the lawsuit. The copier also recovered the name of Pedro Ortiz in the plan, which had been lost due to the degradation of the original document. The 1570 copy does not include any distinctive signed of what plots were corrected apart from this explicative note. In the copied plan, all three names appear in their new places, with no distinction from the others. (Figure 150).



**Figure 150: 1539/1570, location of the parcels whose assignment was corrected on the 1570 copy of Mancha Real foundational plan. 1: Gonzalo de Rojas, 2: Francisco de Cañizares, 3: Pedro Ortiz. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**

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[592] Translation by the author.

### *Historiographical discussion*

The original plan of Mancha Real, in the same than this town's foundational book, was a quite elusive document until the 1ate 20th century. In his introduction to the book *Documentos de la Fundación de Mancha Real* published in 1989,[593] Mancha Real's chronist and historian Martín Jiménez Cobo (1928-2008) included a reference to the oldest records conserved in the town's council minute book.[594] This document includes an entry dated on July 8th, 1562, that is, 23 years after the foundation. In it, the entrant majors Cristóbal López and Gabriel Aranda held an official meeting with their predecessor, the salient major Benito López Cobillo. During this ceremony, López Cobillo handed over a "new trunk with two key locks" [*una arca nueva con dos cerraduras*] holding the most important documents guarded by the Mancha Real's Council.[595] The record includes a list of these documents. Among them, there is "the book of the villa's settlement and a parchment where the plan is" [*el libro de la población de la villa y un pergamino do esta la traza*], both manuscripts of uttermost importance whose vigilance was not only a duty but a royal commandment to Mancha Real council. The finding of this record put Jiménez Cobos on the track of such relevant visual source; however, the original plan of Mancha Real has not been found, not by Jiménez Cobos or by any other scholar.

As an historian, Jiménez Cobos was conscious of the systemic character of Mancha Real's plantation and its relationship with other new towns in Sierra Sur. Six years before, in 1983, Jiménez Cobos had published another book on Mancha Real foundation in which he included the original 1508 order of Juana I to populate Sierra Sur, issuing the creation of Campillo de Arenas, Mancha Real, Valdepeñas de Jaén, Los Villares, and other three plantations that were never executed.[596] This book also featured a partial transcription of Valdepeñas de Jaén's foundational book originally published by Cazabán Laguna in 1922.[597]

In 1986 Jiménez Cobo published a brief article regarding the 1570 copy of Mancha Real's plan conserved at Granada's Royal Chancery.[598] To our knowledge, this is the first published manuscript featuring this plan and still poses as its main scholarly reference, even though the images it includes are obsolete by now (Figure 151). Another source for the study of Mancha Real plan is the article published in 1988 where Virginia Pérez Rodríguez and Ignacio Henares Cuéllar approached the general colonization effort in Sierra Sur.[599] This

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[593] Martín Jiménez Cobo, *Documentos de la fundación de Mancha Real* (Mancha Real, Jaén: Ayuntamiento de Mancha Real, 1989).

[594] Archivo Municipal de Mancha Real, 1561-.

[595] Jiménez Cobo, *Documentos de la fundación de Mancha Real*, 5–6.

[596] Jiménez Cobo, *Mancha Real. Historia y Tradición.*

[597] Cazabán Laguna, "La fundación del pueblo de Valdepeñas, en la sierra de Jaén"; Jiménez Cobo, *Mancha Real. Historia y Tradición.*, 109–18.

[598] Jiménez Cobo, "Un Interesante Documento Sobre Mancha Real Del Tiempo de La Fundación."

[599] Pérez Rodríguez and Henares Cuellar, "Primer urbanismo colonial en la provincia de Jaén, y su implantación como antecedente de diseño urbano para las ciudades hispanoamericanas."

publication included two photos of the 1570 plan in a clearly damaged state, prior to its restoration (Figure 152).
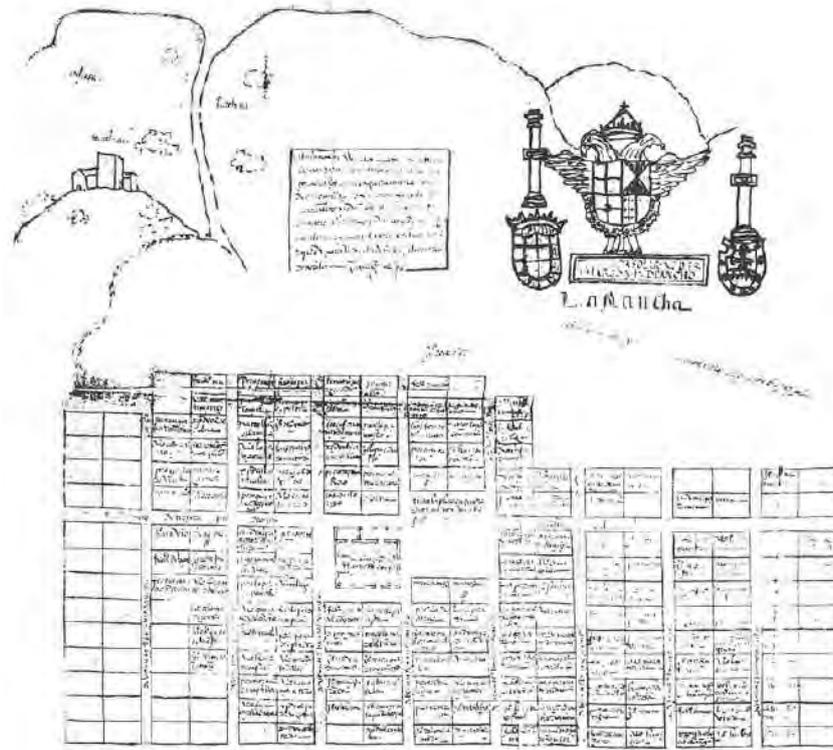


**Figure 151: Transcription of the 1570 copy of Mancha Real foundational plan, published by Martín Jiménez Cobo in 1986. © Martín Jiménez Cobo.**[600]
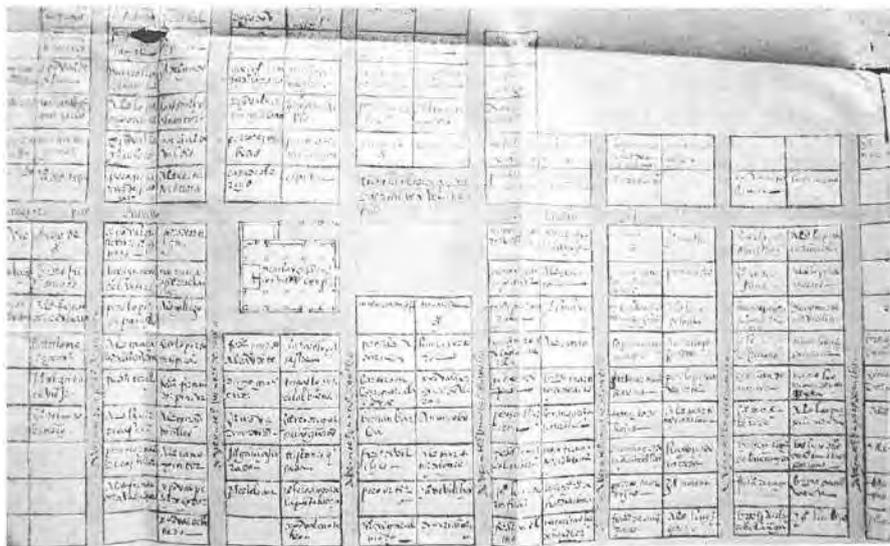


**Figure 152: Photography of the 1570 copy of Mancha Real foundational plan, published by Virginia Pérez Rodríguez in 1988. Damaged sections are clearly noticeable in the upper left and right corners of the image. © Virginia Pérez Rodríguez.**[601]

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[600] Jiménez Cobo, "Un Interesante Documento Sobre Mancha Real Del Tiempo de La Fundación," 20.

[601] Pérez Rodríguez and Henares Cuellar, "Primer urbanismo colonial en la provincia de Jaén, y su implantación como antecedente de diseño urbano para las ciudades hispanoamericanas," 185.

Later on, Pérez Rodríguez included these same images in her doctoral disser-
tation, published as a volume in 2004.[602] The most recent description of the plan
was developed in 2020 by the staff at Granada's Royal Chancery following archi-
vistic regulations. It is a short paragraph, which goes as follows:

> *1570 1 plano : tinta sepia (pergamino); 68x73 cm. Relieve representado
> por montes de perfil. -- Hidrografía. -- Vegetación representada en algu-
> nas zonas. – Al verso, testimonio del escribano público Luis de Molina. -
> - En el margen superior, testimonio del escribano Juan Delgado sobre
> una inundación en el año 1547. -- En el margen derecho, leyenda indi-
> cando la distancia con Baeza y sobre el uso de una fuente y una tierra. --
> Bajo el escudo, recuadro con indicación, en pies, de la superficie de cada
> solar. -- Al verso:[603] "setima pieça", "traça", "2246" y "nº 19". -- Dibuja
> la Torre del Moral. -- Incluye el nombre de los propietarios de cada solar.
> -- Red de caminos. -- Elementos decorativos: Escudo real con dos águilas
> flanqueado por dos columnas soportadas por escudos. -- Traslado sacado
> de la traza original de Juan de Reolid [1548?]. – Mención de fecha to-
> mada de la leyenda al verso.*

> [1570 1 plan: sepia ink (parchment); 68x73 cm. Orography represented by
> hills drawn in elevation. --  Hidrography -- Vegetation represented in some
> areas. – At the back, testimony of the public notary Luis de Molina. -- In
> the upper margin, testimony of the notary Juan Delgado about a flooding
> in the year 1547. -- In the right margin, indicative text of the distance with
> Baeza and the use of a fountain and a piece of land. -- Under the coat of
> arms, a square indicating, in feet, the area of each parcel. -- In the back:
> "setima pieça", "traça", "2246" and "nº 19". -- It features the Torre del
> Moral. -- It includes the names of the owners of each parcel. -- Network
> of roads. -- Decorative elements: Royal coat of arms with two eagles
> flanked by two columns supported by shields. -- Copy of the original plan
> by Juan de Reolid [1548?]. -- Mention of the date taken from the paragraph
> in the back.]

### A new hypothesis on the dating of Mancha Real foundational plan

Since the original plan mentioned in Mancha Real's council minutes book is
still nowhere to be found, this 1570 is still the most valuable source for its study.
The updated description provided by Granada's Royal Chancery includes most of
the elements presented by earlier authors such as the mention to traced parcels,
natural elements, the inscription by Luis de Molina, and others. Still, there are

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[602] Pérez Rodríguez, *Nuevas poblaciones y núcleos planificados de trazado regular en la
provincia de jaén en el s. XVI y XVII y su influencia en hispanoamérica*, 297.

[603] It should say "reverso."

some questions that deserve further discussion. One minor detail is the mention to a "network of roads" when, as it has been shown in previous sections, the intertwining lines are roads and water streams [*manantialejos y juncales*]. Roads do not cross with each other in this representation, only streets inside the town's trace. Another detail is how the coat of arms is presented as a "decorative element," when most certainly it represented the connection of the plan with the imperial authority. The description does not specify whose are these minor shields, but we have already identified that they belong to the council of Jaen and the house of Rivadeneyra, who coordinated the plantation. Hence, these are not decorative but of utter importance, operating almost as an official sign over the document to validate its legality.

The most controversial aspect is how the original plan copied by Luis Molina was dated. According to Granada's Chancery description, this is a 1570 copy of a 1548 original, although it introduces an interrogation mark to show that it is still discussed. The date of 1548 comes from the paragraph in the front, written by the public notary Juan Delgado who mentioned two dates: 1547 and February 14th, 1548. Granada's Royal Chancery interpreted this last date not only as the time in which Juan Delgado included his inscription, but also as the time when the whole plan was elaborated. As we know from the foundational book that Reolid draw a first plan in 1539, the plan conserved today would then be a "copy of a copy." The official description presents it as a copy made by Luis de Molina from another copy made by Juan de Reolid around 1548, as a re-enactment of his original 1539 plan with the inclusion of Delgado's paragraph. This idea follows the original interpretation by Martín Jiménez Cobos who, in his 1986 article, wrote that the annotation was signed by Juan Delgado and that Reolid's signed is placed "near below it" [*algo más abajo*].[604] In this way, both signatures appear to be related, as if their authors operated in association, at the same time.

This idea may be discussed through a more detailed visual analysis. For example, the 1548 paragraph signed by Juan Delgado was placed in a quite unusual location, between the imperial coat of arms and the depiction of Torre del Moral (Figure 153). Reolid's signature is not related to it in any way, on the contrary, the author of the plan put his signature right in the centre of the trace, over the central column of urban parcels. Jiménez Cobo's description was misleading in this sense. Another strange element is that there are other paragraphs and pieces of text regarding the access of Mancha Real to natural water sources; however, all of them respect the disposition of other elements in the trace, keep certain distance or adapt to their form (Figure 155). A paragraph in the bottom left margin explain that Mancha Real has access to a fountain near Baeza, and a line following the stream of water says that it was possible to make wells there. Juan Delgado's inscription, instead, occupies a larger area and even borders its "area," separating itself from the rest of the drawing. On its right it can be read the word

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[604] Jiménez Cobo, "Un Interesante Documento Sobre Mancha Real Del Tiempo de La Fundación," 11.

*manantialejos* but it is almost overwhelm by Delgado's inscription. In fact, it is possible that this paragraph was made over other depictions of natural elements that, for the sake of readability, where not included in Molina's 1570 copy.



**Figure 153: Relative position of the paragraph signed by Juan Delgado after 1548 (1) and the sign of Juan de Reolid (2) over the foundational plan of Mancha Real, 1539/1570. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**
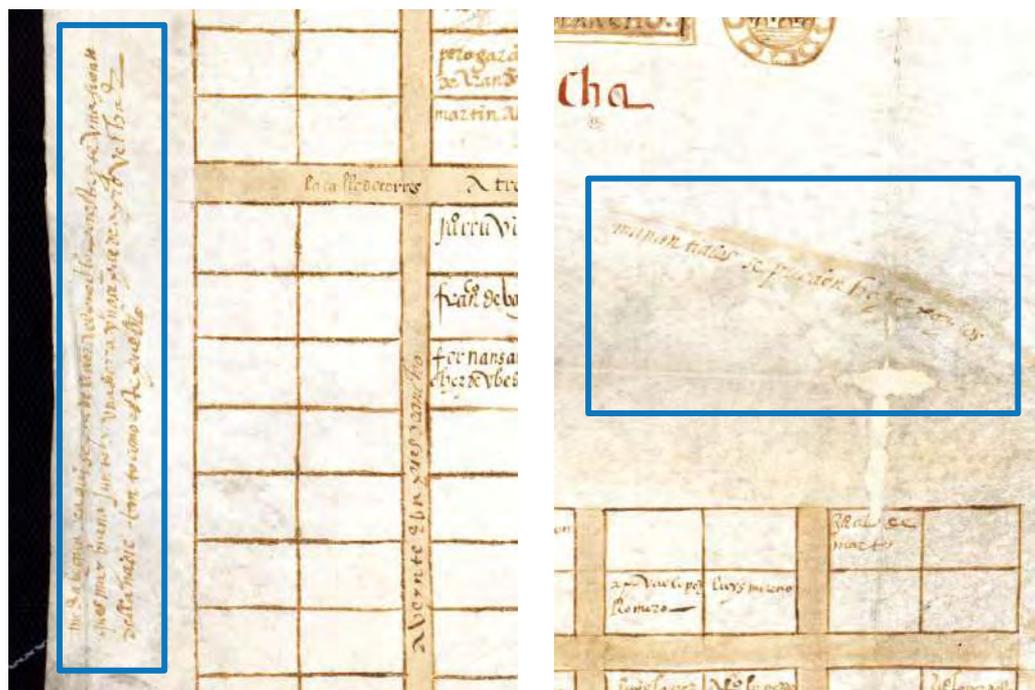


**Figure 154: Annotation mentioning sible town's access to a natural source of water (left). Stream of natural water over the urban trace where it was possible to "make wells" [*se pueden hacer pozos*]. Full transcriptions included in Figure 147. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**

A final aspect against the "1548 copy" hypothesis is the absence of marks in the main square (Figure 155). According to Juan Delgado, in 1547, water coming from Torre del moral entered to the plaza for the first time through its fountains [*caños*]. The 2020 description interpretates this as a *flooding*, but it clearly was not. Moreover, the presence of water sources near Torre del Moral is mentioned in the foundational process since the first population charter. If the plan was a notarial document meant to probe the rigor of the plantation, the activation of the square fountain with the "good waters" present at the site would confirm what the Royal Council ordered way back in 1508. The other event mentioned by Juan Delgado is the plantation of poplars trees brought by Marcos de Morales. Again, the plan does not include any graphic representation of those trees even though it does feature other natural elements and vegetation. Why would Reolid omit this information if he was drawing a copy in 1548? The evident explanation is that he did not.



**Figure 155: 1539/1570, detail of the main square in Mancha Real foundational plan. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**

Most probably, Juan Delgado wrote his paragraph as an insert over Reolid's original plan, with was safeguarded at Mancha Real's council house. Delgado was the town's public notary, so he had direct access to the plan. He did not have the same background than Reolid and was not in direct contact with him, hence Delgado's paragraph did not maintain the same visual composition and graphic structure than other elements in the plan. When Luis de Molina copied the plan in 1570, he transcribed its full contents with his own handwriting and using the same ink, leading to the confusion between lines written by different previous authors. De Molina's hand homogenized the facture of the plan, providing a high level of

similarity to elements of different nature and origin, making them seem as a wholesome, unique product.

In any case, there is no way to guarantee the accuracy of this hypothesis other than finding the original 1539 plan of Mancha Real. This have not yet been found in the same manner than the other three foundational plans of Sierra Sur have been lost. This is a matter of great concern and for current local archivists and historians in all four new towns, as the plans are a key piece in the puzzle of their foundational history that was meant to be guarded in their respective town council's archives. The specific reasons behind their disappearance are unknown. What is clear is that the copy of Mancha Real's plan made in 1570 is a faithful and legally binding representation of the document developed in 1539. This translation of the original plan is inevitably linked to the year of the first colonization of Sierra Sur, to the moment of its institutionalization, decades before its effective construction. When reading the plan, later dates such as those mentioned by Luis Delgado are circumstantial and lack relevance. This document must be interpreted as the only visual remnant of Sierra Sur new towns project, which should be studied transversally the contemporary urban endeavours taking place in America, Mancha Real's *Siblings Overseas*.

## 2.6    Valdepeñas de Jaén, hearth of Sierra Sur.

### *Back to the general view*

The other three new towns in Sierra Sur do not conserve any visual document or plan regarding the moment of their plantation. Their record is exclusively written. However, the actions and decision registered in their foundational books make mention of plans, stating how one was ordered for each of them and used at different stages of the foundation.

As it was mentioned before, all four books are seamless copies narrating the process for colonizing Sierra Sur between 1508 and 1539. At one particular point in 1539 they diverge and begin a dedicated section for each of the plantations, starting with the arrival of Juan de Rivadeneira to each foundational site on April April 14th for Los Villares, April 24th for Valdepeñas, May 4th for Mancha Real, and June 24th for Campillo de Arenas (Figure 136). Still, even though each book its dedicated to its own plantation, they include references to events relevant for the other three processes that occurred while Rivadeneira was at a different site. For example, the book of Valdepeñas de Jaén tells us that, while Rivadeneira was at the site of Los Osarios (near Valdepeñas) on April 29th, he received an official communication from Jaen's council claiming against the distribution of land at Los Villares that took place days before and urging Rivadeneyra to cancel the plantation of Campillo de Arenas that had not yet began. These and other connections speak of a coherent urban process of plantations working as a system, not only because of their strategic location but also for how their execution was managed by the agents in charge.

The following sections present a survey of the remaining three foundational books. Valdepeñas de Jaén is presented first as one of the sites where more field work was developed during the elaboration of *Siblings Overseas* and which archive this project has a closer connection. Then, Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas are presented. The description follows the main dates and events that took place during the plantation of each city, focusing on their parallel stages and connections. Then, the written record will be supported with some of the earliest plans and graphic depictions for each town, showing their later development and territorial impact.

## April 24th – May 21st: Actions for the plantation of Valdepeñas de Jaén

The record of the plantation of Valdepeñas de Jaén, also known as foundational book [*Libro de Fundación*] is a folder of 83 pages worth of documents, including a diverse arrange of records and copies of documents with different calligraphies. Its main author is Juan Vázquez, official notary of judge Juan de Rivadeneyra in charge of recording all four plantations. The first section of the book runs parallel to the other three new towns, including the original 1508 population order by Juana I and all subsequent orders and instructions.

The dedicated section of Valdepeñas de Jaén foundational book starts in page 24 with the inclusion of the instructions for its foundation and the official commission granted by the Royal Council to Juan de Rivadeneyra on March 12th, 1539, to replace judge Bustamante and execute the plantations in Sierra Sur. It is recorded how Rivadeneyra arrived at Jaen's capital on March 19th and, from there, visited the site of Susaña y Ranera on April 24th. Valdepeñas de Jaén was to be planted on that general location (Figure 156).

### April 24th: early actions

The first actions for Valdepeñas include the arrival of Rivadeneira to Los Osarios, at the meeting of the rivers Susana and Ranera, after having visited the Ranera river valley. The site was also known as "Susana y Ranera." According to the record, there were remains of previous settlements, particularly a stone hut [*choza de piedra*] at Los Osarios. This was considered a signal of the site's good disposition for creating a new town.[605]

Rivadeneyra was accompanied by a number of measurers, including Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernandez, both present also at the plantation of Mancha Real, as well as Anton Peynado, Cristobal Ruiz, and Marcos Perez. They were sent to the valley to report on the general state of the land. They were supported by a group of seven farmers residing at Jaen whose knowledge about Sierra Sur was considered valuable. They reported back that the site of Susana y Ranera was the most adequate to mark and distribute farming land plots for 150 settlers and

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[605] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 27 r.

more around the meeting point of both rivers. They stated that there was "more land than at Los Villares and benefited with the presence of the river, which is good for the labour and the plantation of orchards" [*ay mas en la dicha tierra quen Los Billares se conpadezen con aber en ella el rio que ay, ques bueno, en que se puede gratificar el trabaxo, dandedoles para guertas*]. In this way, the very first report of the state of the foundational site assesses the quality of its land by comparing it with the previous plantation at Los Villares, the first of the four.
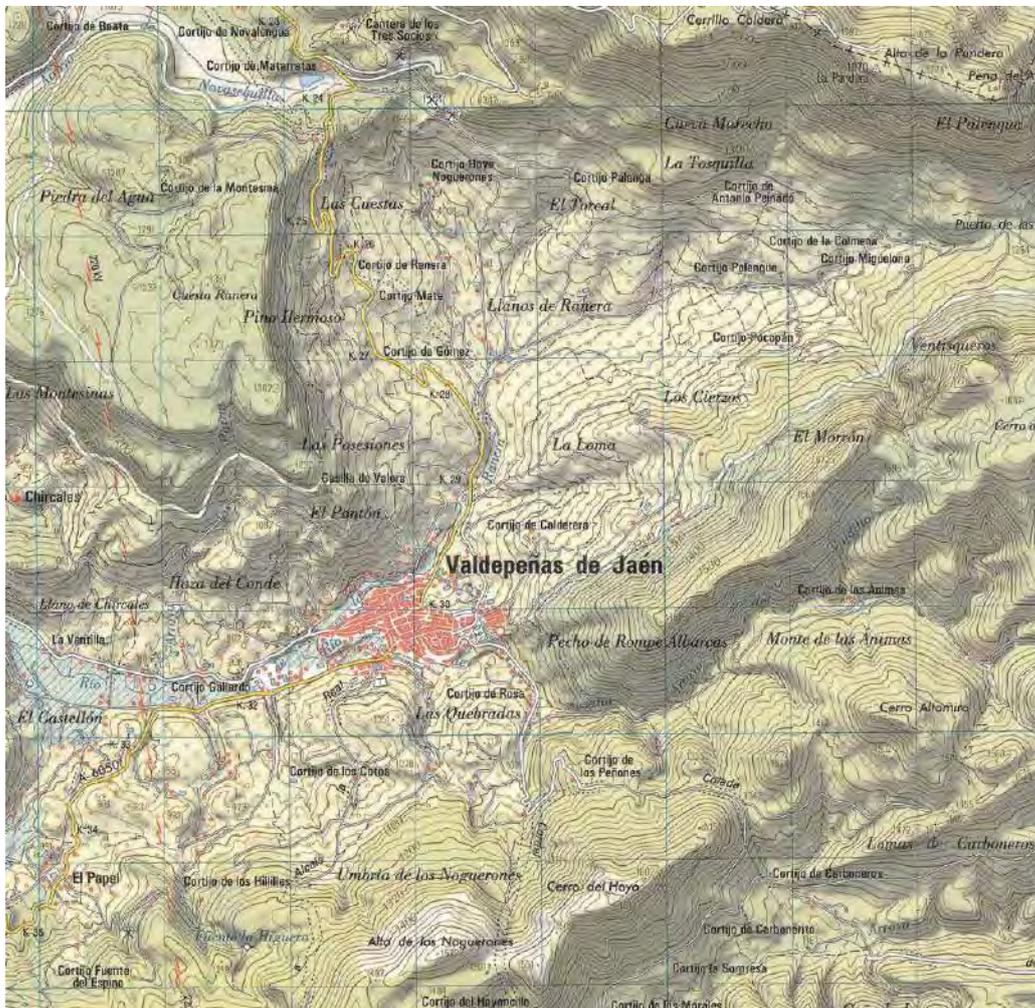


**Figure 156: 2007 topographic map of the site of the plantation of Valdepeñas de Jaén, in the valley of the Ranera River, which meets the stream of Susana at the south. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 2007.[606]**

That same day, Rivadeneyra received the visit of Juan Jerez, notary of Jaen's council bringing an official communication [*vn escritto en papel*].[607] Its contents were copied by Rivadeneyra's notary Juan Vázquez. The letter revolves around the conflict between Alonso de Arauz, representant of Sierra Sur settlers, and Jaen's council. It names the verdicts against the previous judge Jeronimo de

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[606] Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Nacional, *Valdepeñas de Jaén. Mapa topográfico Nacional*, 1:50.000, Mapa topográfico Nacional (Madrid, 2007).

[607] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 28 r.-29 r.

Bustamante and calls Rivadeneyra's obligation to respect Jaen's jurisdictional limits and private properties at Sierra Sur. The letter also states that Campillo de Arenas is a farmhouse [*cortixo*] that belongs to Jaen, hence it must not be divided and distributed among any settlers. This communication is a clear manifestation of Jaen's opposition to the whole foundational project, pressuring the judge in charge and hindering the activities of his associates as they advance in their labours.

Rivadeneyra's response was brief and diplomatic: He stated to have listened to the communication and compromised to comply with the Royal orders as it was his obligation [*el dicho señor juez dijo que lo oya y quel esta presto de hazer justizia conforme a las executorias*], including all conditions previously instructed to Bustamante.

After this event, the team of measurers left to start the marking of farming lands. On April 25th, the *alarifes* of Rivadeneira's commission Juan de Requena and Bastian Ruiz del Salto arrived at Susana y Ranera, ready to begin their work.

### April 26th: The first official visit to Susana y Ranera.[608]

The day after, Juan de Rivadeneyra gathered his full commission along with other relevant agents to perform the first official visit to the site of Susana y Ranera. The record includes the presence of the settler's representative Alonso de Arauz, the *alarifes* Juan de Requena and Bastian Ruiz del Salto, the measurer Juan de Molina, and Juan de Reolid who would be in charge of the city's plan. They were accompanied by Alonso Ruiz, Bartolome de Malpica, and other agents and citizens of the region involved in the process, who would act as signed witnesses of the different actions taking place.

The commission parted from Los Osarios, following Susana's stream downriver to survey the irrigated areas around it (Figure 157). In the way they found a ruined farmhouse [*vna benta der(r)ibada*], another signal of previous population in this site. Its remains are still conserved today, integrated into a bigger building known as "La Ventilla." From there, the commission followed the stream of Arroyo El Cerezo up to Locubín mountain port, the pass from Castillo de Locubín and the interior of Sierra Sur. That site marked the limit between the new town to be planted, the jurisdiction of Alcalá la Real that included Castillo de Locubín, and the jurisdiction of Jaén to the north. Then, the commission turned back to Sierra Sur to visit the valley of Hoyo Redondo, known today as "Cortijo del Hoyo," a small circular valley to the south. After that, they followed the stream of Cabañeros up to another valley and continued along the river of Carboneros up to its own mountain port. That narrow passage leads to Los Berros, another water stream today known as "El Vadillo" from where comes most of the irrigation water used at Valdepeñas. That water was already used by private owners before Rivadeneira's visit, a fact that was included in the record of his visit [*baxando por el dicho puerto abaxo a el bado de Los Berros, donde naze vna gran parte de*

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[608] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 30 r.-32 r.

*agua con que se riega todo lo demas de dicho riego*]. Finally, the commission went back to Los Osarios where they would hold additional meetings and discussions. In total, the route was near 25 kilometres long.

Once arrived at Los Osarios, Rivadeneyra met with his commission, including the *alarifes* Juan de Requena and Bastian Ruiz del Salto, Juan de Reolid, and the measurer Juan de Molina. The judge made them swear an oath with the sign of the Holy Cross, to inform and report in good faith about all what they had seen. Rivadeneyra then asked about the quality of the sites they had visited to decide which one was the most appropriate to plant the new city. The options were Los Osarios, Hoyo Redondo, and Cabañeros. The whole commission agreed that the better place was Los Osarios because it featured the most appropiate traits [*allí concur(r)en muchas calidades*] including areas of stone to build upon [*buenos fundamentos de piedra*], streams and waterfalls to build mills [*aguas e paradas de molinos*], and an appropriate water source for irrigation [*por la cañada del riego que le caen junto, ques el badillo de Los Ber(r)os*]. Their description also includes classic criteria included in manuscripts such as Aristotle Politics and Vitruvius Books on Architecture: the site was considered to be healthy as it was able to drain rainwater and receive direct sun light [*sera sano sigun les pareze porque tienen despidientes de aguas de todas partes y lebante el sol*]. Finally, they insisted on the presence of previous population remains as a definitive signal of the quality of the site.

After reporting on the most appropriate site for the town, Rivadeneyra consulted the commission about the placement of farming lands [*exidos*] and pastures [*dehesas*] (Figure 158). They responded that the farming area should be placed next to the new town, following the stream of Los Berros up to its source. This was a natural option to facilitate the settler's access to their crops and take advantage of the natural water source. Animals should be placed at the lower and wider part of the valley, between the hills of La Montesina and Despino Hermoso, crossing the Susana River. This area was big enough to house the settlers' herds while also enjoying natural sunlight even during winter [*porques solana de ynbierrno*].

Then, Rivadeneyra insisted on the other two options Hoyo Redondo and Cabañeros and asked his commission why these were worse options overall. According to the commission response, those areas were small valleys made mostly of slate [*pizarrales*], hence unfit to house a new town. However, the commission argued that there were pockets of land [*pedazos de tierras*] that could be used as separate farmhouses [*cortixos*], not only at El Hoyo and Cabañeros, but also at Los Collados, and Carboneros. They considered that these sites should be used for breeding smaller animals [*crianza e pastos de ganados menudos*] and reserved for the future profit of the settlers coming to all four new towns in Sierra Sur, not only Valdepeñas [*que queden para los bezinos que poblaren en todos los pueblos que an de poblar en la di(ch)a sier(r)a*].
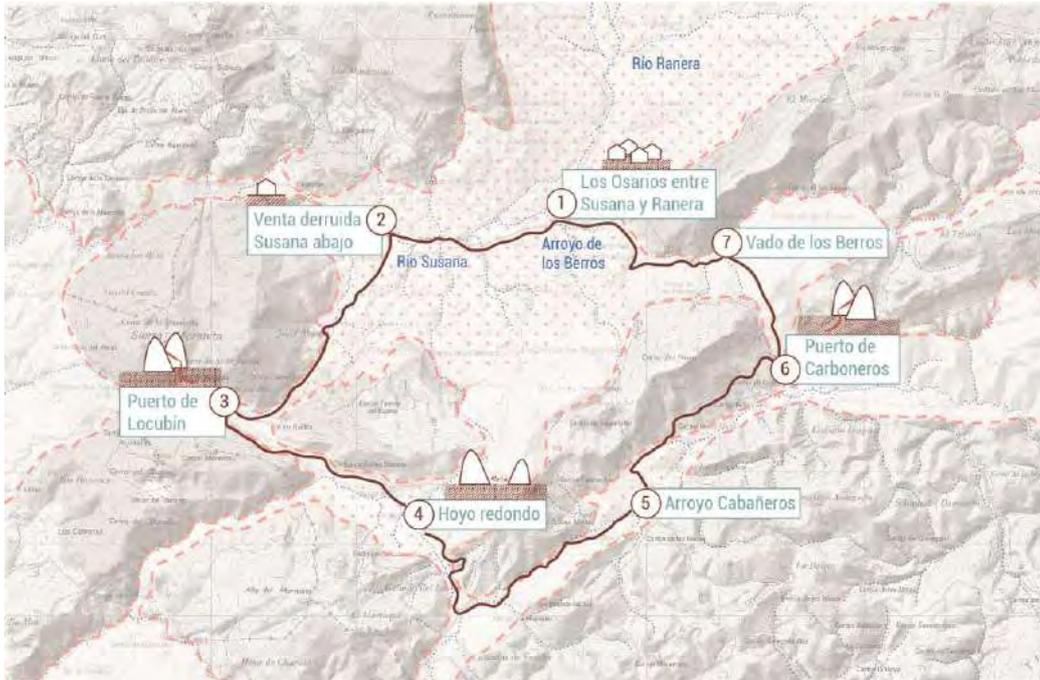
**Figure 157: Route of Juan de Rivadeneyra and his commission during their first visit to the site of Susana y Ranera on April 26th, 1539. © Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 158: General disposition of the central valley in Sierra Sur, limited by the mountain port of Locubín to the south-west, Puerto de las Coberteras to the east, and the port surrounded by quarries to the north that limits with Los Villares. The valley features the sites for the new town of Valdepeñas, its farming area [exido] pastures [dehesa], and vineyards. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

Once more, this consideration highlights the systemic character of the foundational project, in which discussions and decisions taken for one of the plantations accounts for the presence of the others and take their benefit into consideration. Moreover, this was a very relevant question since Hoyo Redondo and Cabañeros were listed in 1508 as one of the seven foundational sites in Juana I order. Considering them not viable for any new town was a grave decision that needed adequate support and strong arguments, as it questioned no less than a royal order. The decision was settled later on the foundational process.

### April 28th and 29th: Marking and tracing of the settlement and its farming lands.[609]

The following two days were crucial for Valdepeñas de Jaén. On April 28th, it was recorded that Rivadeneyra, "after taking into consideration" [*bisto el parezer*] what was argued by the commission the day after, ordered the *alarifes* Juan Requena and Bastian Ruiz del Salto to mark enough urban plots for 150 neighbours. The order includes aspects included such as the regularity of the streets [*haziendo las calles en orden*], the measure of the plots (60x90 feet), and the placement of the main square, the church, the oven, the butchery, and other institutions included in the royal instruction. Curiously, Juan de Reolid is not mentioned in this paragraph. It is an interesting omission since he was in charge of tracing the plan of this structure, effectively recording the work of the *alarifes*.

After that, Rivadeneyra summoned the measurer Juan de Molina and sent him to mark the *dehesa*, including a total of 1200 *fanegas* of land, approximately 775 Hectare. 8 *fanegas* would be granted to each settler for their livestock. After swearing an oath for this duty, De Molina parted to the *dehesa*'s site and set its limits. He was aided by Lazaro de Alfaro and Pedro de Linares, both citizens of Jaen who had accompanied the preliminary visit to the site on April 24th. They placed a total of thirteen boundary stones whose location is described with great detail in the foundational book.

The next entry in the record advances to April 29th when Rivadeneyra met at Los Osarios with the two *alarifes* and with Juan de Reolid. They should have been working together the day before even though Reolid was not named in the record. They declared to have accomplish the order to "site" and trace the site of Los Osarios [*sitiar e trazar el sitio*]. This wording indicates that two actions where performed: to site refers to the action of locating and marking parcels, streets, etc. In Spanish, "to trace" can either refer to that same action but also to the tracing of a plan or *traza*. The fact that both words were used in the records calls for the completion of both actions, with the *alarifes* marking the boundaries of the new town's spaces on-site while Reolid developed a plan of the results. They declared to have traced 156 plots for houses, each of them marked with four corner stones. According to their words, the plots complied with the measure given by the judge and the streets were straight, even though the site of Valdepeñas was quite

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[609] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 33 v.-36 r.

irregular and its final form is not as regular as Mancha Real or Campillo de Arenas. They placed the town's square at the "highest and most plain site" [*en lo mas llano y alto que se hallo*] and was 170x141 feet. The site for the church included a three-nave temple, a cemetery and side chapels, occupying a plot of 120x120 feet. Around the square and the church there were plots reserved for the sacristy, the priest house, the hospital, and the belltower; as well as for the council house, the butchery, shops, bread ovens and inn houses. This declaration indicates that plots around the square were mainly used for religious and public activities, not for housing, in the same fashion it would be done weeks later for Mancha Real and its plan. Reolid and the *alarifes* also marked the farming area, including the land around the water source of El Badillo[610], downhill until reaching the town's square (Figure 159). That same day, Rivadeneyra sent Juan de Molina to visit those places and measure the areas that Reolid and the *alarifes* had marked.



**Figure 159: Site of "El Badillo de Los Chorros", today known as "Las Chorreras" for its characteristic waterfall, is the main natural water source near Valdepeñas. Its water was used in farms and mills downstream. © Eva Amate, 2009.**

Afterwards, it came the time to decide about the final kind of land that each settler should receive: the vineyards. Rivadeneira consulted first with the *alarifes*, who signalled Los Berzales, a hillside passed El Badillo to the north which extended until the mountain gate of La Cobertera. This place was considered adequate because it did not disturb the farming areas downhill, and its hard soil was

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[610] Named here as El Badillo de Los Chorros. Today, the most popular site on that stream is the small waterfall known as "Las Chorreras", which performs as place of great importance and symbolism for Valdepeñas de Jaén.

fit for planting either grape vines or olive trees. Having heard this, Rivadeneyra gathered his *alarifes* and his measurers, make them swear a new oath, and asked once more about the most adequate location for vineyards. They insisted on the same location. Then, the judge gathered a group of six farmers, all citizens of Jaen who, under oath, declared to have walked and seen the site of Los Berzales [*an andado y bisto las d(ic)has tier(r)as*], hence they were considered knowledgeable of its real conditions [*hombres que saben la d(ic)ha tier(r)a y termino*]. All of them were of the same opinion than the *alarifes* and measurers, and confirmed their reasons to place the Vineyard at Los Berzales. Finally, Rivadeneyra ordered the measurers to go to the site and mark 150 plots of 5 *aranzadas* each (1,8 Hec. approx.). These lots were ordered in rows of ten so they could be assigned to groups of ten settlers to share the tasks of preparing the land and managing its cultivation.

According to these records, only two days were necessary for measuring and marking the main elements of the foundation: the urban center, the farming area, the livestock area, and the vineyards. The founder commission was formed by specialized agents, each of them focused on some of the tasks regarding these spaces. They often counted with the aid and advice of local citizens, experts on the layout of Sierra Sur and the quality of its land. It is quite particular how one of the most discussed decisions was the one regarding the vineyards. It may be caused by their size, 1,8 Hec, quite small when compared with the other two non-urban lots assigned to each settler, which were each almost five times its size. The quality of vineyard land plots needed to be as good as possible to avoid future complaints and demands from their assigned settlers.

### April 29th and May 1st: New communication from Jaen's council and Rivadeneyra's official answer.[611]

After the discussions and actions regarding the new town's placement, the foundational book includes one more record for April 29th. That day, another representative of Jaen's council arrived at Los Osarios bearing a new official letter. This one included a direct accusation regarding the plantation of Los Villares, which started on April 14th. Jaen's council argued that Rivadeneyra had marked and distributed land lots at sites such as La Fresnedas, los Abrebaderos, and Nava Luenga; places that were not specifically listed in the royal executory order even though they are located in the surrounding of Los Villares. According to the letter, these actions damaged Jaen's interest as well as farmhouses owners in the region. The letter petitioned Rivadeneyra to cancel and revoke all foundational activities performed in those places, under threat of escalating the demand to the Royal Council, asking for Rivadeneyra to assume the payment of damages, interests, and trial costs. The letter also addressed the plantation taking place at Los Osarios at that moment, asking Rivadeneyra to not exceed what was issued by the Royal Council [*en los otros sitios, no nonbrados en la d(ic)ha executoriano ezeda, ni*

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[611] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 36 r.-38 v.

*pase, ni salga de los haze amoxonar, ni medir, ni poblar, ni repartir*]. Finally, Jaen's council insisted on the argument about Campillo de Arenas, a location that, as they already argued in their previous letter, was considered part of their jurisdiction and therefore unfit to be distributed to new settlers.

Rivadeneyra acknowledged the communication as he had done with the previous one but, this time, he emitted an official response on May 1st. His official answer, brief and concise, is included in the foundational record right after Jaen's communication, even though the record then continues with other actions that took place on April 29th. In his response, the judge argued that he did not know the names and places about which Jaen was complaining, and that his orders to the appointed *alarifes* and measurers had the sole objective of marking and distributing the exact quantity of land for each settler instructed in the royal order [*a de dar terminos y cantidad de tier(r)a conforme y conpetente para cada bezindad*]. He added that sending his commission to visit and assess the territory around the foundational sites can not be considered a source of damage to anyone [*quel mandar ber las d(ic)has dispusiziones de los d(ic)hos sitios por alarifes y maestros no es hecho agrabio*]. Finally, Rivadeneyra argued that it was completely normal that the royal executory order did not include all the denominations of places in Sierra Sur, given that areas as small as 50 *fanegas*[612] or less could comprehend two or even three different named areas. In the judge's opinion, the royal instruction included the whole area around the foundational sites, and his commission was not meant to be taken "ten steps more or less" on any given direction when marking the lands for future settlers [*si en sitio de zincuenta fanegas e menos ay dos o tres nonbres porque la executoria no lo espazifique, no se entiende que a de tomar diez pasos de aquí e diez de aculla, siendo todo el termino que fuere menester para las labores de los bezinos, y de su exido, e biñas, e guertas y las otras cosas nezesarias*]. For all these reasons, Rivadeneyra officially denied Jaen's petitions [*no consintiendo en sus protestaziones*].

The inclusion of this correspondence in the foundational records provides a clear image of how the foundational process was being contested as it advanced. This opposition from Jaen's council, which we had already seen recorded in the book of Mancha Real, was performed through continuate and insistent communications, petitions, demands and even legal threats. These letters were one more manifestation of the entangled legal procedure for the creation of the new towns and the harsh opposition between settlers and elites that had caused a delay of almost three decades. It is only understandable that agents such as the previous appointed judge, Jerónimo de Bustamante, failed to navigate the situation. It explains the great abundance and detail of Rivadeneyra's records. His notary wrote down every action of the process and even copied part of them for each of the new towns, because it was instructed in the royal order but also because Rivadeneyra needed the register to back his relate in case he needed to. The situation also explains why Rivadeneyra recorded discussions and consultations several times.

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[612] Approximately 32 Hectare.

For decision such as, for example, the location of Valdepeñas' Vineyards, the record includes one conversation with the *alarifes*, then another after they officially took oath, and finally a consultation with local farmers also under oath. Rivadeneyra made sure that his decisions were grounded not only on the Castilian law and the Royal order, but also on local knowledge, experts, and popular discussions. Similar actions were taken for Dehesa de Riez at Mancha Real when the legitimacy of its distribution was put into doubt by Jaen's council. As we have seen, Rivadeneyra immediately called for additional testimonies from farmers, custodians, and renters of such place, and included their depositions in the official record of the plantation.

### *April 29th: Location of water mills and primary material sources.*[613]

On April 29th, after deciding on the location of the new town, the pasture, the farming area, and the vineyards; Rivadeneyra consulted his *alarifes* on the existence of sites where water mills could be built. According to the records, there were two such places: one next to the natural watersource of Badillo de los Berros, where the farmlands were marked. The other was at "fuente de los chorros", a site next to the town's site where there was already an old mill. This last one would perform as Valdepeñas' main bread mill for the following years under the name of "Molino de Santa Ana." It is still in use today, partially refurnished as a popular culture museum (Figure 160). Rivadeneyra's *alarifes* also indicated the possibility of building a third mill next to the river Ranera, north of the town's site, but it was considered less ideal than the other two because the water stream was weaker. The judge then summoned Pedro Hernandez, a miller from Jaen, who visited the three sites with the *alarifes* and confirmed their good disposition, stablishing the old mill at Fuente de los Chorros as the better suited and easiest to build.

This abundance of fitting locations for watermills, along with the existence of old buildings and controlled watercourses, was a valuable asset for the founder commission. Since access to mills was guaranteed at Valdepeñas, Rivadeneyra did not need to evaluate the availability of other mills around the new town as he would do for Mancha Real on May 7th. The relative isolation of Valdepeñas, placed at one of the highest valleys in Sierra Sur, is another reason that explains Rivadeneyra's insistence in guaranteeing the construction of local milling hubs.

Valdepeñas mill at Fuente de los Chorros is featured in several other documents included in the foundational book. Most of them involve the appointment of Juanil Le Clerque, former assistant of Charles V court and one of the settlers of Valdepeñas, to operate the mill. Since the building was abandoned and the town's council decided to auction its property in perpetuity. Le Clerque, the highest and only bidder, enjoyed the commercial benefit of the mill's services in exchange of bearing the costs of rebuilding and maintaining the mill, and an annual tax paid with 70 *fanegas* of wheat grain, a little more than three tons. The final pages of the book include Le Clerque's title of property, his contract to operate it,

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[613] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 38 r.-40 v.

the confirmation of this procedure conceded by the Royal Council, and the final approval from Valdepeñas council signed on September 15th, 1540.[614] Even though it was clear from the moment of the plantation that this mill was meant to be the principal in the town and the first to be put in operation, it took more than a year to fulfil all its administrative requirements.



**Figure 160: Molino de Santa Ana, water mill and museum still active at Valdepeñas de Jaen. This is the foundational mill placed next to Fuente de los Berros, at Ranera's riverside in the lower part of Valdepeñas. © Ayuntamiento de Valdepeñas de Jaén, Ángel Torres 2015.[615]**

Providing access to mills was one of the more important technical aspects in the plantation but not the only one. As in the case of Mancha Real, Rivadeneyra consulted with local citizens to know if there were sources of clay, lime, and gypsum near Los Osarios. According to Blas Garcia, citizen of Jaen, there were sources of clay at the shores of the rivers around the site, and there were signals of their use in the past by previous inhabitants [*donde mexor dispusizion ay para haze texa e ladrillo es en el rio que ba desde el d(ic)ho sitio*]. The record does not use the word "clay" [*arcilla*] but, instead, speaks of the "place with the better disposition to make rooftiles [*texa*] and bricks", clearly pointing to the Andalusian building tradition. In Valdepeñas, as well as in the other new towns of Sierra Sur, there are no slate roofs and stone walls are reserved for churches, palaces, and other public buildings.

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[614] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 79 r.-83 v.

[615] Ayuntamiento Valdepeñas de Jaén, *Molino-Museo*, March 23, 2015, photo, March 23, 2015, https://www.flickr.com/photos/131181580@N05/1679144546/.

Having identified enough sources of clay, Rivadeneyra called for Alonso Ruiz, citizen of Jaen, and Gonzalo Lopez de Malpica from Torredelcampo, to inform on the presence of lime and gypsum. On the one hand, Alonso Ruiz declared to have been shepherding at this valley for thirty years, to have identified sources of lime around Vadillo de los Berros. In fact, Ruiz had already prepared a small lime quarry following orders of judge Bustamante, so that part of the work was already done. He also confirmed the presence of gypsum at a place called "Fuente del Yeso", which literally means "gypsum source", located at the small mountain pass [puertezuelo] between the source of Ranera river and the northern lower valleys of Sierra Sur. According to Alonso Ruiz, gypsum there was of good quality and in such quantity that it was enough to build up to four cities [*ay vna cantera de yeso, donde se dize la fuente del Yeso, ques muy buena, y muy mucho, y que en ella ay tanto que se pueden hazer quatro ziudades*]. The other person consulted, Gonzalo Lopez de Malpica, confirmed all what Alonso Ruiz. He added the presence of a stone source at Maxada de Los Ajos and even raised the available quantity of gypsum, stating that it was "enough to build ten cities" [*esta para diez ziudades*]. They were not mistaken: Since the plantation of Valdepeñas de Jaen there have been quarries at that location, extracting gypsum, sand, and other materials up to this day.

All these testimonies were taken under oath, signed by the consultants and by Rivadeneyra himself so they accounted for the provision of primary materials during the construction of houses and other buildings in Valdepeñas.

### April 29th: The naming of Valdepeñas de Jaén.

Once the availability of land, water, and materials was confirmed, it was time to officialise the foundation of the new town. As in Mancha Real, this was done through an official act in which Rivadeneyra confirmed all the facts, reports, and decisions taken and recorded up to this point. The book mentions the testimonies of the alarifes and their consultants [*abiendo bisto los parezeres de los alarifes por el diputados, e de otras personas muchas*], as well as how the plantation site reunited all conditions necesary for a proper new town [*abiendo bisto la dispusizion que ay en los dichos terminos para las labranzas, y biñas, y guertas, y aguas e todas las otras cosas*]. After signing off these requirements, Rivadeneyra officially founded the town and gave it a name, "Baldepeñas entre Susana y Ranera", which would substitute the former denomination of "Los Osarios". Valdepeñas is a common city name in Spain, born from the combination of the voice "valle de peñas", meaning valley of stones. All the three cities bearing this name in Spain today are located in the proximities of mountain ranges and sierras, one in the province of Ciudad Real, another one at Guadalajara, and this one at Jaen.[616] The name change was considered so important that Rivadeneyra enacted a fine of 200

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[616] Eventually, the new town planted by Rivadeneyra changed its name from "Valdepeñas entre Susana y Ranera" to its current "Valdepeñas de Jaén", providing a clearer geographical indication.

*maravedíes* for any person who used Los Osarios instead of Valdepeñas. After naming the new town, Rivadeneyra named its church, devoting it to the Apostle Saint James, patron Saint of Spain [*de Santiago, patron de las Españas, el qual sea abogado del dicho pueblo y bezinos que en el poblaren*].[617]   This election evidence, on the one hand, the popularity of Saint James figure at locations in the former Andalusian frontier since Saint James performed the role of semidivine figure as well as the warrior myth of Santiago Matamoros [Saint James Moor-killer]. Since the church was only an empty parcel at the time, Rivadeneyra marked the position of the altar with a wooden church, performing this act in front of the other members in his founder commission and a substations group of settlers and neighbours from Jaen. The record of this day includes final note: that the fine for those who misnamed Valdepeñas was to be used for the construction of the church.

With these official acts, Rivadeneyra institutionalized Valdepeñas with a clearly defined legal name and a stablished religious identity. These were separated but linked faces of a single urban space, which performed from the church and the council house that were still not built but already placed at the main square, one in front of the other. The existence of a monetary connection between them in the form of a fine was yet another tool to feed this connection.

The penalty for using the old name of Los Osarios can also be read from the legal point of view. Just some days before this act, Rivadeneyra had received communication from Jaen's council accusing him of distributing land in places that were not specifically named in the original 1508 order by Juana I. On May 1st, two days after the naming of Valdepeñas, the judge would answer Jaen that the names used in those royal orders should be interpreted as general locations, and that the multiplicity of denominations for sites in Sierra Sur was not enough argument to hinder the plantation effort. The relevant detail here is that Juana I order instructed to create a new town at Susana y Ranera, without using the name of "Los Osarios" in any case. Rivadeneyra clearly did not want to be sued once more because he had distributed lands at Los Osarios instead of Susana y Ranera, even though these were virtually the same place and their specific location was open to interpretation. They could have been separated by just some steps in one or another direction, as the judge wrote in his answer to Jaen on May 1st. Therefore, by naming the new town "Valdepeñas de Susana y Ranera" and erasing "Los Osarios" not only from public life but also from official records, Rivadeneyra was avoiding any confusion that could lead to legal consequences. It was not only a symbolic change and a sign of a new beginning, but also a precise strategy against

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[617] The exact wording used in the record is "patrón de las Españas" or "patron of the Spains", referring to the multitude of kingdoms and realms under the Spanish Crown. This nuance is relevant due to the inexistence of a Spanish nation or even an Empire in the sense it was given during the nineteenth century. For the foundational commission, the kingdoms of Jaen, Granada, or Andalucía had the same status than other domains in the Iberian Peninsula and overseas. This fact has already been referred in sections regarding the titles used by Juana I and Charles V in the foundational orders and instructions for Jaen's Sierra Sur.

complaints, demands, or accusations against the founder commission and their activities in Sierra Sur. The future of the new towns depended on that, and any further delay could have dire consequences particularly for the old settlers collective.

### *May 8th – 18th: Marking of Valdepeñas territories [Amojonamiento].[618]*

The remaining tasks for the plantation of Valdepeñas were kept on hold for some days after its naming. The commission was occupied at the site of Mancha Real during the first seven days of May, executing the same first set of activities that they had already performed at Valdepeñas: Making the first visit, deciding on the location of the new town, measuring and marking its lands, developing the plan, and naming the city. On May 8th, judge Rivadeneyra was at the capital city of Jaen. From there, he sent his measurers Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernandez to mark the territorial limits of Valdepeñas [*amoxonamiento*] with a series of boundary stones [*moxones*] set in precise locations.[619] Rivadeneyra's order specifically instructs that the sites of Carboneros and El Hoyo were to be included inside Valdepeñas limits, and that the measurer needed to record the names of every location they marked: "stream by stream, slope by slope, with their names and the names of the rivers in them" [*nonbrando adonde vbiere bertiente por bertiente, y donde cuesta por cuesta, y el nonbre dellas, e rio que alindare con ellas*]. This specification had a two-fold objective: on the one hand, it attended to the always pressing menace of Jaen's council and their accusations of irregularity. On the other, this order represents the official combination of Valdepeñas with Carboneros and El Hoyo, which previously appeared in the 1508 settling order as separate sites. This decision had been discussed during the days prior to the naming of Valdepeñas and by this time it was already clear that Carboneros and El Hoyo were not fit to house a complete town on their own. It is from this moment on, from May 8th, that Rivadeneyra officially acknowledges the merging of these places under a single denomination.

On May 18th, once the limits around Valdepeñas were marked, the measurers came back to Jaen and reported their actions to judge Rivadeneyra. In their work, they had been accompanied by Marcos Perez who wrote down the full procedure, and by two citizens of Jaen who acted as witnesses. What they did when meeting back with the judge and his notary was to read Perez report aloud and, confirm its veracity under oath, make all necessary corrections, and officially sign it.

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[618] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 41 v.-47 v.

[619] In the same way as Mancha Real, Valdepeñas had its own territories, but its jurisdiction depended on Jaen, hence the new town had no local judges or court. This was symbolized in the public square by the absence of a whipping post [*picota*], one of the most important elements in new plantations that is referred in documents and plans of cities all across colonial America. Valdepeñas and Mancha Real were no capitals, so they did not enjoy that kind of authority. This level of dependence, combined with the previous conflicts with Jaén's council and their continuate opposition during the plantation process, would bring consequences in the future relationship between them and the new settlers in Sierra Sur.

Eighteen boundary stones are presented in the record, with indications of their location relative to the previous stone (Figure 161). The document features signs from the judge and the measurers for each paragraph describing each of the boundary stones, and also a final approval that includes a correction for one of the stones.[620]
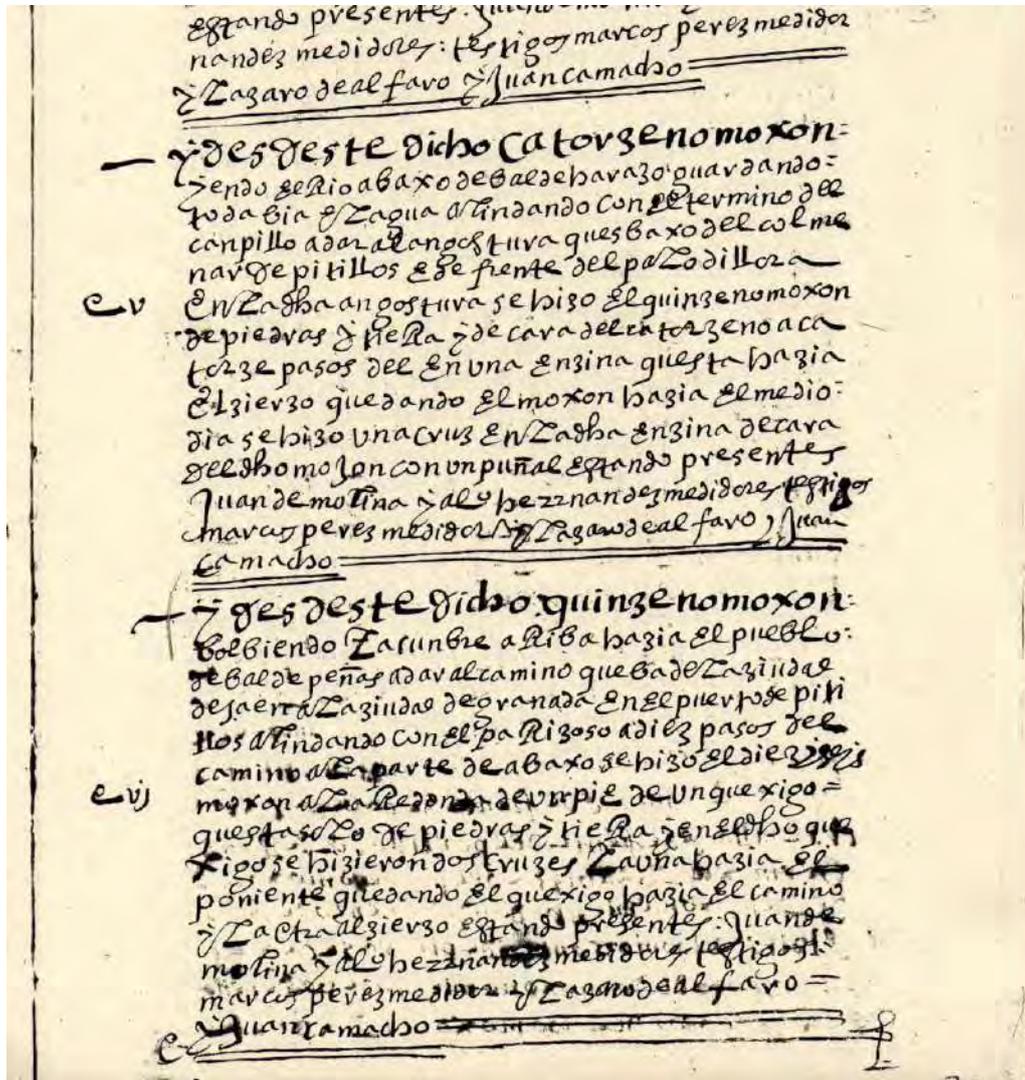


**Figure 161: Fol. 46 r. from Valdepeñas de Jaen foundational book, featuring the record of boundary stones 14 and 15, each of them with precise indications on their locations and the approval of the judge. © Archivo de Valdepeñas de Jaén.**

Another relevant element in this record is in the paragraph that preludes the list of boundary stones, in which the measurers declares the named sites that belong to Valdepeñas: La Naba Luenga, Chircales, Nabasequilla, Hoyo Redondo, Los Collados, Cabañaros, Carboneros, El Moralexo, Barranco Rubio, and La Naba la Yegua "until reaching the limits with Granada" [*hasta alindar con lo de*

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[620] Y mas dixo que mandaba y mando quel moxon que se hizo primero en el puerto de Pitillos se deshiziese y se hiziese otro en el puerto del Allozo, quedando dentro del dicho termino El Parrizoso [...] y asi lo hizo y declaro el d(ic)ho Juan de Molina. "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 47 r.

*Granada*].[621] First of all, this list recognizes the frontier character of Valdepeñas, a plantation on a frontier borderland that, even though the war had ended almost fifty years ago, it still bore the scars of a 250 years long conflict. Another relevant element is the listing of Chircales, one of the most significant sites in Valdepeñas popular history that, through this record, was officially included in his territory. A hermit would be stablished there in 1566, promoted by one of the original settlers named Juan Ruiz de Castellano. The devotion in this site, near to one of the natural water sources around Valdepeñas, was materialized in the early 17th through a painting of Christ in the Cross, flanked by Mary, Saint John, and Saint Peter.[622] Its importance has been maintained over the years, with a new building constructed in the early 20th century (Figure 162). Its seasonal pilgrimage is still active today and takes place every year on the first Sunday of May. In it, the painting is ceremoniously carried back and forth from the hermit to the church of Saint James at the central square of Valdepeñas (Figure 163). The picture of the "Chircales Christ" is also exposed at the church main altar from September until the last Sunday of October, coinciding with the annual fair of Valdepeñas (Figure 164). This religious devotion has been listed by the Andalusian government as one of the immaterial heritage elements to be protected in Sierra Sur.[623]



**Figure 162: Chircales Hermit in its current form, built between 1905 and 1947. © Valdepeñas de Jaen city council, 2003.[624]**

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[621] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 43 r.

[622] José Manuel Marchal Martínez, "La Devoción al Cristo de Chircales En La Ciudad de Jaén (Ss. XVI-XX)," *Pasion y Gloria* 32 (2015): 158–67.

[623] Fernández Cacho et al., "Informe Paisaje 20 Los Montes Subbetica."

[624] Ayuntamiento Valdepeñas de Jaén, *Ermita Chircales*, May 14, 2003, photo, May 14, 2003, https://www.flickr.com/photos/131181580@N05/16646261477/.

**Figure 163: Moment in the seasonal pilgrimage of the "Chircales Christ" when the painting is brought back from the center of Valdepeñas to its shrine inside the hermit. © Ayuntamiento de Valdepeñas de Jaén, 2007.[625]**



**Figure 164: The Chircales Christ presiding over a wedding at Valdepeñas de Jaén in October, 2021, some days before its departure back to the Chircales hermit. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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[625] Ayuntamiento Valdepeñas de Jaen, *Romería Cristo de Chircales*, March 23, 2007, Photo, March 23, 2007, https://www.flickr.com/photos/131181580@N05/16869640361/.

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### *May 18th – 21st: Distribution of urban plots and its documental issue.*[626]

With the naming of the town, the dedication of its church, and the marking of its territorial boundaries, most element of Valdepeñas cultural identity were already in place. It could be said that the city already existed at that point, even though it was just as a legal entity, not as an inhabited urban space. To achieve that state, the next step was to distribute urban and rural properties to each of the settlers. On May 18th, this task was delegated on to the *alarife* Bastian Ruiz del Salto and to Juan de Reolid, both knowledgeable of Valdepeñas foundational structure. The order makes mention to the drawn plan of Valdepeñas, indicating that Ruiz del Salto and Reolid had to reunite the settlers at the site of Valdepeñas and give one parcel to each of them "in the order as they were written in the plan that they made" [*bayan a el d(ic)ho lugar de Baldepeñas, e a las personas contenidas en un mandam(ien)to den y entreguen vn solar a cada vno, segun e por la horden que ban puestos en la traça que los susod(ic)hos hiçieron*]. This instruction follows the same criteria than the one issued for Mancha Real on May 27th, using the plan with the written names as a supporting document for the correct distribution of land plots to the appointed settlers. It also includes a particular condition for the settlers to not build outside of their parcels and affect the regularity of the plan. This risk was particularly important in a foundational site such as Valdepeña's, where the narrowness of the site between two rivers and the slope of the streets made it difficult to maintain straight streets. Nevertheless, small deviations were introduced to the trace. Today, the only area where the foundational grid is still evident is around the main square, with outer streets adapting to the course of the rivers Susana and Ranera (Figure 165).

On that same day, May18th, Sebastián Ruiz del Salto and Juan de Reolid were issued a list of the first 25 settlers to whom they had to distribute parcels in the new town. They also received an instruction on how to record the distribution of parcels, writing down the following line: "*A fulano, v(e)z(in)o de tal parte, el solar contenido en la d(ic)ha traza, y la ter(r)a de labor, tal suerte en tal tranze*", which can be roughly translated as "to whomever, neighbour of a given place, this parcel contained in the plan, and this farming lot located in that row".[627] The distribution was performed at the site of Valdepeñas on May 19th and its record reported back to judge Rivadeneyra at Jaen on May 21st (Figure 166). They had only distributed 20 plots of the 25 in the list, leaving the other 5 for a later act.

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[626] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 48 r.-48 v., fol. 50. v.-52 r.

[627] This specific instruction is located later in the book, in fol. 66 v., and also applied to the distribution of land to the other 125 settlers by Melchor de Cañete, deputy of Jaen council, who was accompanied by Juan de Molina, Juan de Reolid as well as by other agents.
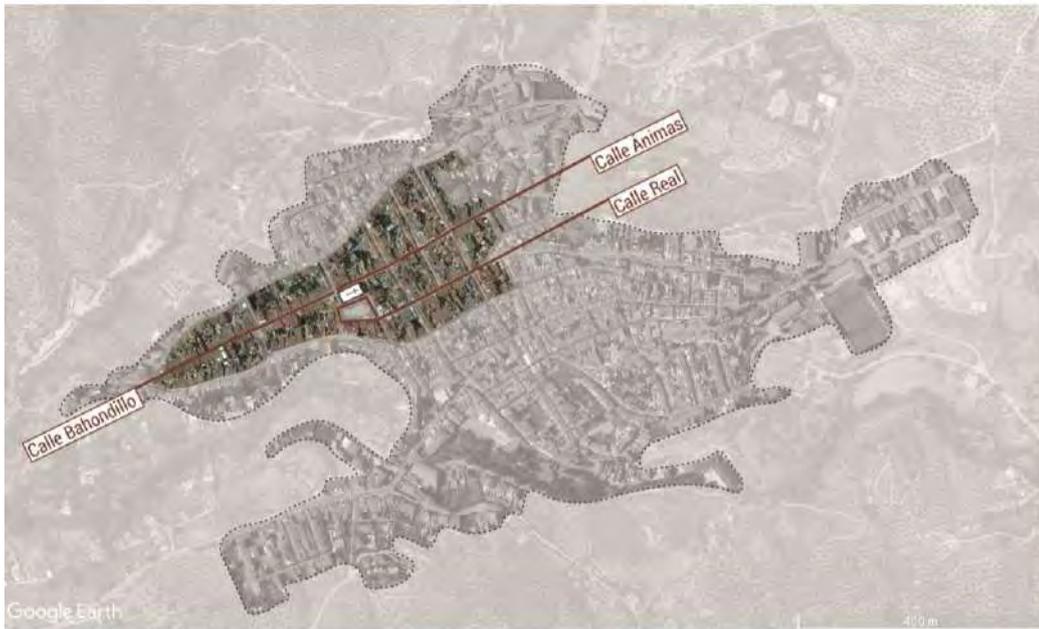
**Figure 165: Satellite view of Valdepeñas de Jaen foundational center. The main square and the west-east axis evidence the original grid composition, defined by the streets Calle Ánimas, Calle Bahondillo, and Calle Real. The rest of the structure presents an increasing degree of irregularity as they near the course of the rivers Ranera and Susana. © Google Earth, 2021, modified by Manuel Sánchez García.**
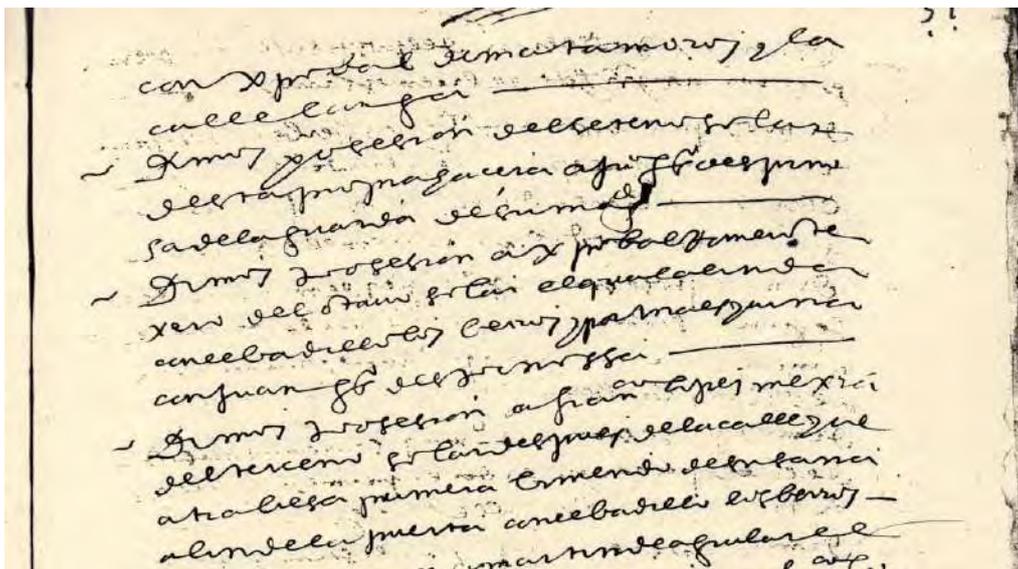


**Figure 166: Fol. 51 from Valdepeñas de Jaen foundational book, featuring part of the record of the first distribution of urban plots among settlers in Valdepeñas de Jaen, recorded by Juan de Reolid and Sebastián Ruiz del Salto on May 19th and copied by Rivadeneyra's notary on May 21st. Each paragraph is dedicated to a single settler. All paragraphs start with the formula "dimos posesión" [*we gave possession*]. © Archivo de Valdepeñas de Jaén.**

Ruiz del Salto and Reolid also recorded how, after finishing the distribution and while the settlers were "beginning to build and till" [*comenzando a edificiar, labrar y canxar*], they warned them about the judge's instruction to not occupy the streets, maintaining "a wide of 30 feet for main streets and 21 for those that cross" [*que dexen las calles principales a ttr(eint)a pies de ancho, y las que atrabiesan de v(eint)te y vn pie*]. Another particular detail: In their record, Reolid and Ruiz del Salto declared that they had "given and put in possession the parcels" [*dimos e pusimos en posesion de los d(ic)hos solares*]. As it has already been explained for the case of Mancha Real, the mere distribution of parcels and lots was not equivalent to their possession. To ensure the property, an official act of possession taking was to be performed, recorded, and signed off by the judge's representatives. For example, in Mancha Real the first distribution of parcels was performed on May 27th and the first acts of possession taking on May 28th. At Los Villares, even though the initial plantation started before Valdepeñas, the first distribution of parcels took place on June 10th and the first acts of possession taking on June 12th. In the case of Valdepeñas, there is no other register of distribution or possession taken other than the one recorded on May 19th. There is indeed a full list with the names of the 150 settlers, dated on May 17th, but there are no records of land distribution and possession taking for the other 130 settlers not provided by Reolid.

This absence may be caused by the deterioration and misplacing of some sections that all foundational books in Sierra Sur have suffered, in the same way that the original plans have been lost. Another explanation could be that, given that the distribution of parcels at Valdepeñas was the first of the four new towns, the act for possession taking was not performed with the same documental rigor. Still, this argument seems unlikely: the rest of the foundational record in Valdepeñas is absolutely faithful to the structure and methodology applied by Rivadeneyra at the other three plantations. A third possibility is that the records were modified and archived separately from the rest of the book, leading to their eventual disappearance. This argument is based on the presence in the late sections of Valdepeñas foundational book, of petitions from settlers who were given farming lands at sites such as Los Collados, El Hoyo, and Cabañeros, retired from the urban center of Valdepeñas and its main farming area around Badillo de Los Berros. They raised issues with the quality of their land such as the presence of rocky fields [*peñascal*][628] or plainly describing their plots as "barren land" [*tierra baldía*]. Other settlers who were in fact content with their assigned lands at Cabañeros, considered that if some of them could have the possibility to change for better land downhill, everyone would claim the right to do so.[629] Whatever the

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[628] e.g. *"La suerte del d(ic)ho Al(ons)o Martinez Domedel es vn peñascal, e que no es para labrarse."* "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 68 r.

[629] "X(risto)val Lopez de Matamoros que no esta agrabiado, ni tiene razon de quexarse, porque su suerte es muy buena y la tier(r)a buena de labor, avnque algo montuosa, porque ansi es toda la sier(r)a, e que si del monte se abian de agrabiar que todos se quexarian." "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 67 v.

outcome, if the records of possession taking were modified or expanded due to these issues, they could have been separated from the original folder of records from the plantation.

Lands distributed to the town council, the church, and the hospital do not have this problem. Their record of their distribution and take of possession was recorded between and classified at a later section of the foundational book, with dates ranging from June 3rd to July 4th, 1539.[630] For example, on June 28th, Valdepeñas town council receive several parcels for building council house, innhouses, bread ovens, butcheries, shops, and two mills, following all the conditions stated by the Royal Council. Then, on July 3rd, Jaen's deputy Melchor de Cañete performed the act of possession taking with Alonso Martinez Domedel, butler of Valdepeñas council. This act was recorded in the same way than the ones performed at Mancha Real and Los Villares, with De Cañete taking Martínez by his hand, "entering" him to every given parcel, and officially transmitting the possession to him:

*En tres dias del mes de jullio del d(ic)ho año de mill y quinientos y treynta y nuebe años, Melchior de Cañete, alguazil, tomo por la mano a Al(ons)o Martinez Domedel, mayordomo del conzejo del d(ic)ho lugar del Baldepeñas, y lo en posesion de los solares para casa del d(ic)ho conzejo. Y ansi mismo, en el solar para carrnezeria. Y ansi mismo, lo entro en el solar para mesones. Y ansi mismo, lo entro en el solar para tiendas del d(ic)ho conzejo.*[631]

[On the third day of the month of July of the aforementioned year of 1539, Melchor de Cañete, deputy, took by the hand Alonso Martinez Domedel, butler of the aforementioned place of Valdepeñas, and gave him possession of the parcels for the house of the aforementioned council. And in the same way, into the parcel for the butchery. And in the same way, entered him into the parcels for the inn houses. And in the same way, entered him in the parcel for the shops of the aforementioned council]

The document goes on with the rest of the public and ecclesiastical properties at Valdepeñas, all of them taken by Alonso Martinez Domedel at different days. The record runs parallel to its peers for properties of the council and the church at Mancha Real and Los Villares, even though is not as ceremonious and detailed as the possession taking act of individual settlers. Its importance remains in the fact that the record of these properties does exist, indicating that the possession of individual settlers at Valdepeñas was most probably also recorded. There is no apparent reason to think that acts of possession taking need no record at Valdepeñas while, in the other three new towns, they occupy the thickest section of their foundational books. Recovering these records for Valdepeñas would pose a great

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[630] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 69 v.-70 v.
[631] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 70 r.

opportunity to mend the documental heritage of its plantation, while also providing the possibility of further comparative studies across urban foundational practices, the management of land property, and the cultural background of individual possession in early modern Andalusia.

## June 22ⁿᵈ – August 10ᵗʰ: final events for the foundation of Valdepeñas and Sierra Sur.

Once dealt with the distribution of parcels and its possession, the core aspects of the plantation were already in place. The most vital action remaining was the appointing of majors and officials but, before and after that record, the book includes other documents that provide closure to the foundational process and connect Valdepeñas to the other new towns at Sierra Sur.

### *June 22ⁿᵈ: Instruction and contract for the construction churches at Valdepeñas, Los Villares and Mancha Real.[632]*

The foundational book of Valdepeñas de Jaén includes a record of the conditions that churches at Valdepeñas, Los Villares and La Mancha had to comply with. These instructions, dated on June 22nd, are not meant to produce the definitive churches on these sites, but temporary temples. As explained for the case of Mancha Real, these chapels were simple buildings enclosed by four walls measuring 18,40 metres long by 5,04 metres wide (22 x 6 *varas.* The walls had foundations made of stone, lime, and sand, elevated one meter over the level of the street [*hasta vna tapia encima de la flor de tierra*]. The rest of the walls would be made of earth and covered in lime mortar, elevated four meters over the foundations. In total, the perimeter of the temporary church was 5 meters high, plus a two-winged roof made of bricks and ceramic rooftiles. The wall for the altar was to be round instead of straight and include two pillars going through the roof to hold a bell. The result is a quite humble building built with cheap materials, which should last only while each town's council arranged the designs and budget for their fully fledged temples (Figure 167).

That same day, Rivadeneira commissioned the building of these chapels for all three towns. The builders were citizens of Jaen who obliged to start the construction after the "Day of Our Lady" [dia de Nuestra Señora], referring to the celebration of the Assumption of Mary on August 15th. The contracts are the same for them all, including the same wages for the builders and their peons, and the same fines in case they did not comply with the times, conditions, and qualities described in the contract. This is one of those operations that applied to the foundational project as a whole, with Rivadeneyra dispatching orders from his temporary office at Jaen for the three new towns that had already been planted.[633]

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[632] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 48 v.-49 r.

[633] At that moment, the first visit to the site for Campillo de Arena had not taken place. Rivadeneyra and his commission went there for the first time on July 4th.
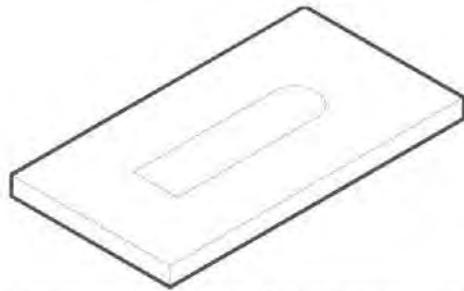
1. Primeramente an de tener v(ein)te y dos baras de largo/ y seis baras en ancho./
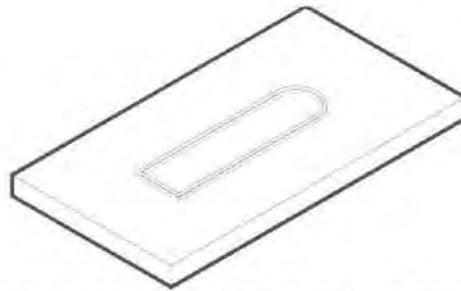
2. Es condicion que an de hacer las canxas hasta/ llegar a lo firme,
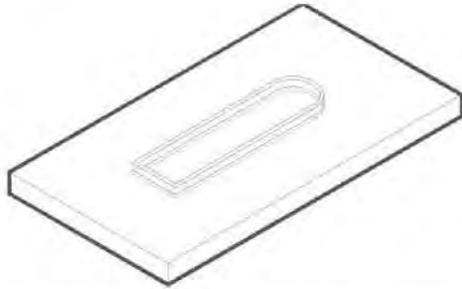
3. a ansi f(ec)has, sacar su cimiento/ de piedra y cal e arena hasta vna tapia
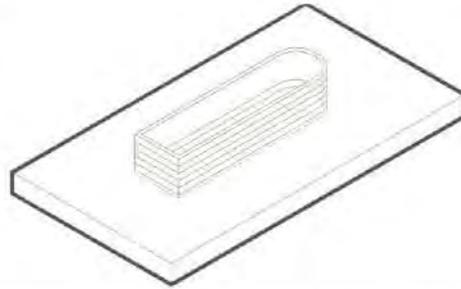
4. encima/ de la flor de la trenci, e desde alli arriba echar/ quatro tapias de tierra e cal, e a la parte del/ altar mayor que sirua de moxinete, que tenga/ mas altura, y el otro cauo se quede rredondo,/ porque paralli se an de hacer dos pilares para/ que se ponga vna canpana./
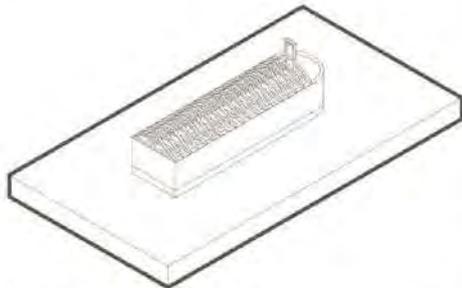
5. e a la parte del/ altar mayor que sirua de moxinete, que tenga/ mas altura, y el otro cauo se quede rredondo,/ porque paralli se an de hacer dos pilares para/ que se ponga vna canpana./
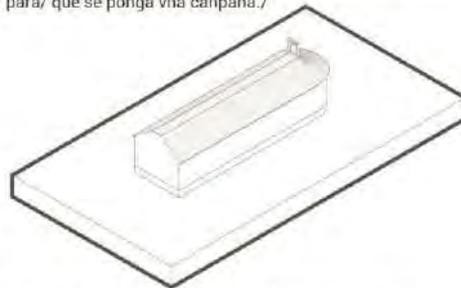
6. Es condicion que se an de echar los [sic] asnados/que fueren menester, queste vno de otro vna bara/de medir, y los costa<ne>ros a tres tercios, y los ca-/bros a media quarta, y bien encanada e ade-/reçado el texado, y a de llebar dos alas, vna/ de ladrillo y otra de texa, echa dos cintas e/caballetes./
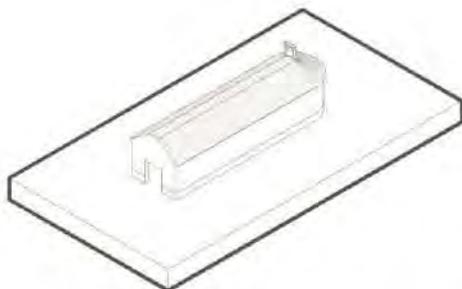
7. Es condicion que an de hacer la portada para/ la yglesia que tenga nuebe quartas de anchura/ e doce de altura, con su clabaçon, llana, que lle-/ben las puertas e la portada llana
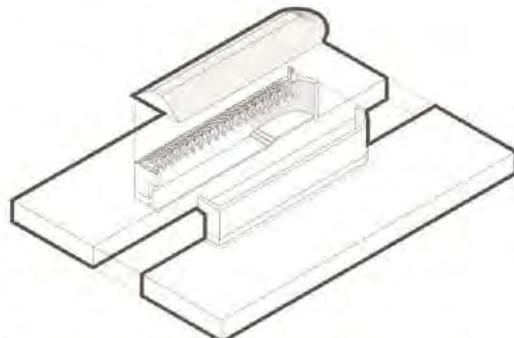
8. Es condiçion que se an de hacer tres gradas para // fol. 47r. el altar mayor, e que cada vna tenga me-/dia bara de anchura, el a peana tenga dos/baras de anchura, y e altar tres quartas de/anchura, e conforme a el altura de otros./
Es condiçion que seis baras en quadrado se/enluzca [sic] hacia el altar mayor./

**Figure 167: Schematic axonometric view of the temporary church at Valdepeñas, Los Villares and Mancha Real, following the instructions of Judge Rivadeneyra on June 22nd, 1539. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

### July 4th: appointment of major and officials.[634]

On July 4th Rivadeneyra visited Valdepeñas once more to appoint the majors and other public charges for the new town. Rivadeneyra explicitly followed the legal uses of the region for these matters. He named two majors, one notary, and one deputy for Valdepeñas. These appointments were valid for two years or "meanwhile the houses at the site are built" [*por tienpo e espaçio de dos años continuos hasta en tanto que se funden y edifiquen las casas del d(ic)ho lugar*]. After that time, the Royal Governor at Jaen would name new officials, while the settlers conserved the right to decide the appointment of two councilmen and one butler, whom they elected unanimously on that day. This dependence from the capital was common on minor towns without jurisdiction, while royal villas and capitals had their own elected council that answered directly to the Royal Council.

After naming the officials, they were ordered to meet for the first time on August 16th, this is, the day after the Assumption of Mary, on the same date when the construction of the temporary church was planned to begin. In this way, while the foundation and naming of Valdepeñas was performed on April 29th, the city was kept "inactive" until the celebration of its first council meeting in August. Something similar happened in the other new towns planted at this point. Mancha Real was named on May 4th, its council appointed on June 18th, and the first council meeting planned for August 2nd, the first Sunday of the month. For Los Villares the order was different: its officials were appointed on May 28th, the new town was named on June 11th being Rivadeneyra at Jaen, and the first council meeting was planned for August 16th, the same date than Valdepeñas.

At Valdepeñas, after naming all officials, the judge took their oaths over the Bible. Then, he handed two wooden staff to the majors in sign of their command and instructed a series of orders for the council. The record includes several instructions including the settlers' condition to work their lands and build their houses, as well as other acts previously issued by the Royal Council. Other obligations for the council were to guard the pastures and farming lands and to meet at least once per month, publicly inviting all the town's citizens so the council discussions were public and open to all. There was even a penalization stipulated if the council did not announce their meeting, with a fine of 2.000 *maravedíes* for each official. Finally, Rivadeneyra included an order for all citizens at Valdepeñas and other towns of the region, to not hinder the right of the settlers to build their houses and work their lands that they had been officially granted.

### August 9th-10th: announcement the settlement of new towns at Sierra Sur at the major church in Jaen.[635]

That final order was probably motivated by the continuous intermissions of Jaen's council and other owners of farmlands in the region. This includes the

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[634] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 52 r.-57 v.
[635] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 57 v.-59 r.

official letters to Rivadeneyra received at Valdepeñas on April 24th and 29th, but also many other discussions and documents regarding the whole foundational project at Sierra Sur, recorded in the other three books. This probably was one of the reasons why, on August 9th, when Mancha Real had already started its institutional operation and the other three were about to do the same, Rivadeneyra ordered to make a public announcement [*pregón*] at Jaen. It was to be read aloud the day after in front of Jaen's main church right after mass, and then at other public spaces in the town. The announcement stated clearly that no citizen of Jaen of any kind or condition [*de ninguna calidad y condicion*] was allowed to inconvenience the settlers of Sierra Sur during the occupation and construction of their properties. The announcement included penalties and fines for any offenders, which were particularly tough for appointed officials and councillors [*caballeros veinticuatro*], including up to 50.000 *maravedies* and losing their position if they were to be found repeatedly hindering the settlements. Such a strong and direct threat to the most powerful people at Jaen was not a mere formality: Indeed, it signified one of the final efforts from Rivadeneyra to protect the foundational project before finishing his mission and leaving the province. Additional clauses were added for those impeding the construction of buildings or the access to pasture and water sources for livestock. The order was effectively read aloud on August 10th by the official announcer of Jaen [*pregonero*] Pedro Bargas, recorded Rivadeneyra's notary Juan Vázquez, and signed by several witnesses.

This public act can be considered as the final action performed by Juan de Rivadeneyra for the foundational project at Sierra Sur, including the new towns of Los Villares, Valdepeñas, Mancha Real, and Campillo de Arenas. Records and documents in the foundational books posterior to this date were not signed by the judge but by his representatives, his notary, or the already appointed official in each new town.

## Building the hypothesis for a foundational plan for Valdepeñas de Jaen

Up to this point, all documents included in the foundational book of Valdepeñas de Jaen run parallel to those of Mancha Real. In the case of Valdepeñas, the copy of the book available today is part of a lawsuit regarding the property of the mill at Los Chorros, assigned to Juanil Le Clerque during the foundation. That is the reason why the record of Valdepeñas includes several reports and document featuring the mill and Le Clerque, but not the plan. As we have seen, the plan of Mancha Real did not include parcels assigned to mills, probably because these did not follow the same rule and measurements than other land plots. If Valdepeñas plan was traced with the same criteria, it would be no reason to reproduce it in the mill's lawsuit. On the other hand, the plan of Mancha Real has been conserved thanks to a copy made to support another lawsuit, this time about the location of two urban parcels and the names of their owners. In that particular case,

the plan was a vital piece of visual evident for the distribution of land, motivating its copy in a most-detailed manner.

Even though the original plan of Valdepeñas has not been conserved or copied, it should be possible to at least triangulate it general layout, given than both foundational books of Valdepeñas and Mancha Real are consistent in their structure, and that the book of Mancha Real is coherent with the shape of its plan and the information included in it. Without abandoning hope that the plan of Valdepeñas or the other new towns are re-discovered in the future, the geometrical and graphic criteria used by Juan Reolid at Mancha Real can be used as a tool for recreating feasible reproductions for the plans of the other three.

### *Approach*

The documents probe that Reolid traced these plans with the same systemic methodology than the rest of actions and decisions taken during the plantations. The plans were drawn quickly in the midst of discussions and visits, hence it is most probable that Reolid used similar pieces of parchment, drawing tools, geometrical rules and general layouts. All plans were probably oriented towards the south, as it was usual in Andalusian cartography of that period. The measurements of parcels and streets were definitely the same, and the particular dimensions of the main square and the church were recorded in the books. We also know how many parcels were traced, how many settlers were assigned to them, and how many were reserved for public use. The position of Reolid's sign is strategic: on top of the central block of parcels, directly over the central square, governing over the plan.

In Mancha Real, Reolid accompanied the plan with three crests: the imperial one, the crest of Jaen, and the family crest of Rivadeneyra. Most likely, these appeared in all four plans, presenting their connection to the province, the founder judge and the royal authority.

Natural elements accompanying the plan of Mancha Real match with those indicated by the original population order of 1508: Torre El Moral, Dehesa de Riex, and the presence of water and lands for bread and vineyards. Rivadeneyra's foundational actions in 1539 were being contested by the provincial government at Jaen, so further connecting the plan of Mancha Real with the root of its legitimacy in 1508 was a clear strategy to strengthen Rivadeneyra's position. Since Jaen's protests and demands also applied to the other new towns at Sierra Sur, it is reasonable to infer that similar natural elements were drawn in the remaining traces. In conclusion, not any human or natural landmark is to be featured in a hypothetical reproduction of the foundational plan of Valdepeñas: only those included in Juana I order should be considered. This also applies for annotations about nearby water sources, streams, pastures, roads, and other elements mentioned in 1508.

The most troubling part of reconstructing the plan of Valdepeñas de Jaen is the assignment of urban plots. As the study of the foundational book shows, from

the 119 settlers listed in the foundational book,[636] only twenty acts of possession are conserved today. It was in the record of those possession acts where the notary wrote down the exact location of the assigned parcel for each settler. The possession taking of public parcels is also missing, so there is no certainty on the location of the original council ovens, the hospital, the inns, etc. Without these vital pieces of information, it is impossible to know the distribution of names and institutions. Consulting property documents and construction contracts from 1539 onwards is useful to track these assignments of lots, but not definitive given that, as in Mancha Real, modifications of the plan and exchanges of properties were introduced during the construction of Valdepeñas. To produce a hypothesis as close as possible to the moment of its tracing by Reolid in 1539, the only clear criteria that can be used are the same applied at Mancha Real. These are:

1. Public institutions were placed around the main square or the main streets.
2. The density of settlers was higher around the centre of the new town.
3. Parcels were standardized but blocks were irregular, with a varying quantity of parcels in each block.
4. Blank parcels were reserved at the sides of the plan, including some gaps between settlers.

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[636] According to José Miguel Delgado, José Fernández and María Amparo López, the original list of 109 settlers can be expanded if the settlers/witnesses recorded during official appointed on July 4th are considered. Following this indication, the amount grows to 119 settlers. Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación e independencia*, 52–55.

**Figure 168: Diagrammatic hypothesis of Valdepeñas plan, developed by following the indication and instructions of Valdepeñas foundational book and the tracing criteria shown in the foundational plan of Mancha Real. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

## *Preliminary diagram: General layout of parcels, streets, landscape landmarks, institutions, and settler's names.*

Parting from these data and criteria, a first hypothesis was developed using CAD software (Figure 168). It uses the same paper size than the plan of Mancha Real, locating the imperial crest and the main square in similar points. Then, streets were laid out following the proportions described in the foundational book, with blocks composed by two vertical rows of parcels. The orientation of the parcels is always the same, following the example of Mancha Real. The main west-east axis is the street coming from the Ranera river and crossing the town behind the church, all the way until the exit to Jaen. Other two wide streets east-west were drawn following the indications in the foundational book. The two parcels just behind the church are an exception to the rule: they are bigger than the others to maintain the regularity of the grid. This was specified in the first distribution of parcels by Reolid on May 19th, although the exact variation of the measures was not detailed.[637] In the hypothesis, these two parcels are 8,4 meters longer than the rest.

Another critical point is the exact number of parcels that should be drawn in the plan. From Mancha Real documents, we know that the number given in the book, 206 parcels, was expanded in the plan to 223. There is no way to know if this variation was introduced Juan de Reolid in 1539 or by Juan de Molina in 1570. In the hypothesis for Valdepeñas, a similar variation was introduced, from 156 parcels stated in the book to 167 in the plan. 109 are occupied by settlers listed on May 17th, 10 extra settlers who acted as witnesses of Valdepeñas officials' appointment,[638] and 9 parcels for the council buildings. Council properties such as ovens, inns, etc., where placed around the main square and at the main streets. 39 parcels remain empty, a 23% of the total 167 plots in the plan, which is the same percentage of empty parcels in the plan of Mancha Real.[639]

It is also necessary to consider that the site of Valdepeñas is not a set of wide plains such as Mancha Real, but the crossing of two rivers in an abrupt valley near the top of Sierra Sur. Even if the plan's geometry was probably stylized by Reolid as he did at Mancha Real, he could not ignore that the stream of Badillo de los Berros limited the grid by its south face, creating a slope that prevented the tracing of streets in the south-west quarter of the grid (Figure 169). That boundary is mentioned in the foundational books as "Puerta a el badillo los Berros," meaning that it faces the water stream.[640]

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[637] "*Dimos posesión a Miguel G(u)tt(ierre)s, carpintero,/ **del solar grande quadrado ques vno de los/ dos grandes,** el baxo que sale la puerta/ a entrada de la que trabiessa alinda/con el rrio de Rranera*" [We gave possession to Miguel Gutierrez, woodworker, of the big square parcel which is one of the two big ones, the lower one whose door opens to the town's entrance, bordering with river Ranera] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 51 v. Text highlighted by the author.

[638] Including Juan de Reolid, who received settling rights as payment for his work.

[639] In the plan of Mancha Real there are 223 parcels, 52 of which are empty.

[640] E.g. "Dimos posesion a Fran(cis)co Lopez Mexia/ del terceno solar, despues de la calle que/ atrabiesa primera biniendo de Susana,/ **alinde la puerta con el badillo Los Berros**" [*We*
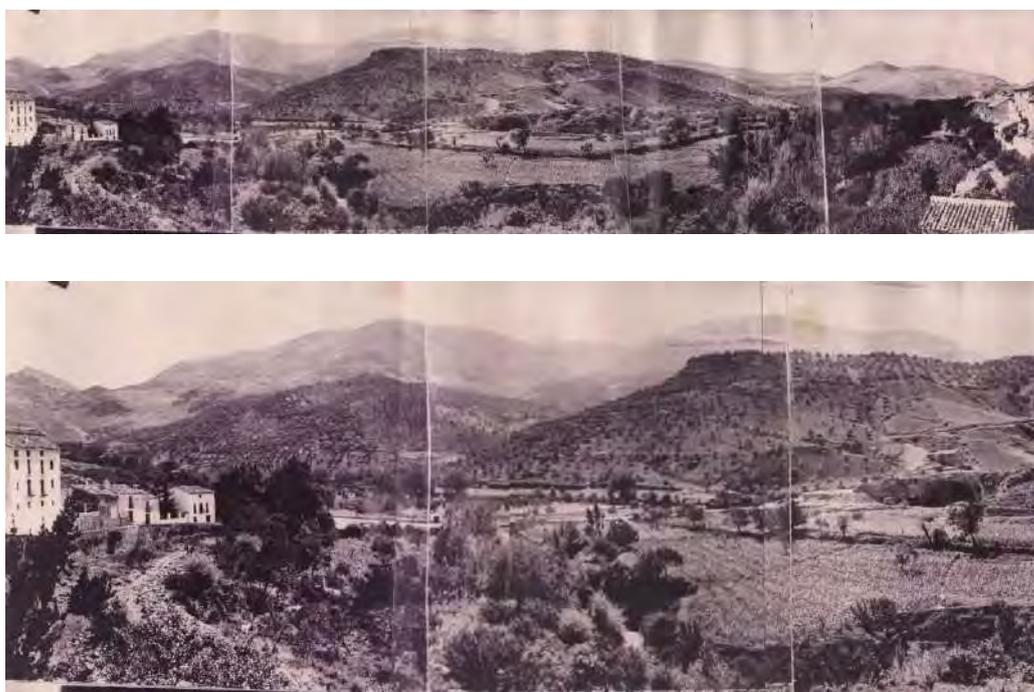
**Figure 169: 1949, View from Valdepeñas de Jaén to Vadillo de los Berros and the south side of the valley. The houses that can be seen on the left are those aligned with Calle del Chorro, the axis coming from the central square to the south. Houses on the right are those facing north where the secondary north-south streets end. This section of the town remained unbuilt until the late 20th century, when a new street was laid out from the central square, rounding the town through its south face and planning a row of new houses with low back-orchards irrigated by the river. © Archivo de Asociación Cultural Lugia.**[641]

Finally, it comes the issue of the main square and the church. On the one hand, Valdepeñas church is located between the main street and the square, with its main altar facing east wise. It has to lateral accesses, one to the street and another to the square, emphasizing its role as a transitionary space between both urban elements. Rivadeneyra's instructions for its construction were exactly the same as Mancha Real and Campillo de Arenas. In the foundational record of April 29th, Reolid stated that he had traced a church "with a cemetery and chapels, with three naves in its body" [*con su/ zimeterio y capillas, que tubo tres nabes en el/ cuerpo*].[642] Having this information in mind, we can assume that the church was drawn in a similar fashion to the one at Mancha Real, resembling the same structure but adapted to the measures of the parcel it was given.

The square on the other hand is a more complicated matter. According to the foundational book, the square was placed "in the middle of the plan" [*en medio de la/ di(ch)a traza*], in the highest and most levelled place the tracers could find [*en lo mas llano y alto que se hallo*], which was beside a street that was interrupted

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*gave posession to Francisco Lopez Mexia of the third parcel, after the street that traverses first coming from Susana, limiting with the gate to the Badillo de Los Berros*]. "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 51 r.

[641] Rafael Martínez Diez-Canedo, *Panorámica de Valdepeñas de Jaén*, 1949, Fotografía, 10x100 cm, 1949, Leg. s/n, Archivo de Asociación Cultural Lugia.

[642] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 34 r.

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or "broken" [*ques/ bera de la calle questa ronpida*].[643] This make sense since the street that Reolid refers as "Calle del Badillo" when celebrating the acts for possession taking is the one that crosses the square and then get interrupted by the slope mentioned above.[644] According to Reolid, the square was 54x47 varas or 162x141 feet,[645] oriented towards badillo de Los Berros. This can be interpreted in two ways, orienting the long side of the square to the south, were badillo de Los Berros is born, or to the west, were it approaches Valdepeñas. In its current state, Valdepeñas state conserves that last orientation, so it has been applied also in the hypothetical plan. The resulting composition aligns the church and the square vertically, that is, 141 feet wide of the square plus 120 of the church, for a total of 261 feet. That amount matches with a column of four parcels (240 feet) plus a 21-feet street, traversing the square (Figure 170). The horizontal dimension of the square, 162 feets, poses the most complicated challenge affecting the new town's geometry. Since the horizontal dimension of house parcels is 90 feet, the only combination of measures that matches the square is the church with 120 feet plus two small streets of 21 feet on each side. The block of parcels on the opposite side of the square, where the town council is located, would exceed the horizontal dimension of the square, creating the "broken" street facing badillo de Los Berros that Reolid mentions in the foundational record.

Indeed, badillo de Los Berros is one of the most mentioned sites in the foundational book, articulating the farming area, acting as irrigation source and motor for one of the mills, and conditioning the tracing of the town's plan. When comparing the hypothesis of the plan with the current plan of Valdepeñas, it is clearly visible how the slope of badillo de Los Berros "pushed" the trace from the south, deforming the block facing the church and moving the council house to the west (Figure 171). The modification of the council house site affected all subsequent parcels facing south, in a sort of domino effect that influenced the whole right sector of the plan. The square orientation was also modified, resulting in a sensibly oblique alignment. This deviation also affected the church's parcel, misaligning its north-west corner and introducing it into the main street (Figure 172).

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[643] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 34 r.
[644] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 50 v.-52 r.
[645] 45,31x39,43 meters

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Romero | | Herrador | | | | |
| Alonso Ruiz | Benito Lopez de Obiedo | Mesón del concejo | Casa del concejo | | | |

λ veynte y un pies de ancho

| Fran(cis)co del Balle | Tiendas del concejo | Alo de Balna | Alo Lopez Romero | Juar Ruiz de la |
| Miguel Ruiz de Montoro | Carneceria | Hospital | Pedro Martínez de Almagro | Al(o) Sera |
| Martin Ruiz de Juan Gomez | Pedro Ximon | Diego de Salinas | Fran(cis)co de Almagro | Juar Garz Dorr |
| Martin de Malpica | Rodrigo Despinosa | Juan de Prado | Luis de Santa Cruz | Pedr Ruiz Grar |

Square adjusted from the 162x141 feet declared in the record to 150x150 feet (41,7m)

λ veynte y un pies de ancho

| de | Juan Ramírez de Aguiles | Gonzalo López de Malpica | Luis de Godoy | Casa de clérigo | Al(ons)o de la Peña | Alo. Requ |

Parcels assigned to the city council
First assignment of parcels on May 17th
Other settlers included in the original list
Settlers added on July 4th

**Figure 170: Detail of the disposition of Valdepeñas main square in the hypothetical plan. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

**Figure 171: Satellite view of Valdepeñas de Jaen. The original layout of the city was conserved with small deviations, excepting the area near badillo de los Berros which was adapted to the irregularity of the slope, influenced by the serpentine water stream. The council house is marked in red. House blocks and pressure vectors marked in blue. © Google Earth, 2021, modified by Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 172: View from Calle Bahondillo in its current form, referred to as Calle de los Chorros in the foundational book. The church is misaligned with the façades, occupying a considerable section of the street. © Google street view, 2022.**

Finally, a set of natural landmarks and territorial references complete the hypothesis, following those featured in Juana I order to populate this site. The exact wording of the 1508 order was:

*Susaña e Rnera, con el ar(r)yo El Zerezo, se puede hacer otra po-/blazion de otros zien bezinos, porque ay muchas/ aguas e ríos y fuentes, en lo qual antigua-/mente parece que vbo población e tenia sus/ azequias y abria en el para siento y çincuenta/ bezinos, en el qual d(ic)ho termino ay muchas guer-/tas/ e biñas y olibares, e molinos e tier(r)as de riego/ e de secano, e rasos e montes que se pueden/ rozar e cabar en gran cantidad, el qual esta/ zinco leguas desa d(ic)ha ziudad (Jaén) e tres de la ziudad/ de Alcala la Real.*[646]

[**Susana and Ranera**, with the stream of **El Zerezo**, here another settlement can be done with another 100 settlers, because there are **abundant waters and rivers and fountains**, in where it seems that in ancient times there was a settlement with **irrigation**, and there should be space for 150 settlers because in this area there are many **orchards, vineyards, and olive trees, and (water) mills, irrigated farming areas and lands for dry cultivation, and hills and mountains that can be cleared and dig in great quantity**, which is located five leagues away from **the aforementioned city (Jaen)** and three from **Alcala la Real**.]

All the highlighted terms in this paragraph refer to natural landmarks or artificial remains that characterized the site of the foundation. The hypothetical plan features the rivers Susana and Ranera as the main elements that characterized this location and gave the new town its name The site of arroyo El Zerezo is located downstream of Susana, so it appears mentioned in a vertical sidenote similar to those written in Mancha Real. Other water streams irrigating farming lands are also featured, with the badillo de Los Berros as the main landmark conditioning the layout of the plan. Hills and mountains have been traced over the city in a similar way to the plan of Mancha Real, with Cerro del Hoyo on the horizon. The sites of El Hoyo and Cabañeros are located on the opposite side of that hill. These were meant to house a different settlement but, as they were merged with Valdepeñas by Rivadeneyra, a reference to them has been included in the plan. Two labels have been included near the roads exiting Valdepeñas from its main street, confirming its connection with Jaen to the north-east and Alcalá la Real to the south-west, as indicated in Juana I order. Finally, a water mill has been traced in a similar style to how Torre El Moral was depicted in the plan of Mancha Real. It represents the mill at *fuente de Los Chorros*, the abandoned building that was later assigned to the settler Juanil Le Clerque, who restored it and operated it in exchange for a tax. That abandoned building was the most prominent architectural

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[646] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 2 r.

remain in the immediate area and, at the same time, a vital asset for the new town's survival.

In conclusion, the resultant hypothesis presents a general disposition quite similar to the plan of Mancha Real, following the systemic approach and methodology used by the foundational commission. The size of the paper, the orientation, the institutional symbols, and the hierarchy between elements are all the same. However, the details of the plan and the landscape it represents are tailored to the particular case of Valdepeñas, following the records of its foundation and embedding its technical discussions into the resulting plan. The main deviations from the standard grid used in other sites of Sierra Sur are the composition of the Square, the position of the main street and lack of a south-east district. All these features have their origin in the location of Valdepeñas between the rivers Susana and Ranera, with the stream of badillo de Los Berros enclosing it. It was not easy adapting the regular geometry and measures stablished by Reolid and the *alarifes* to this abrupt location and, even if they made concessions in the plan, further modifications and deviation were implemented as the town was built. The result resembles a set of ordered domino pieces that, at some point, got pushed from one of its sides, pushing some pieces against others and creating a twisting their original distribution.

### *Version 2.0 – Hypothesis of the foundational plan adapted to the style of trace and calligraphy of Mancha Real's plan.*

The result of the first stage of development of this hypothesis was a diagrammatic plan including the basic layout, landscape elements, and institutional symbols, but lacking the visual quality of the original. It was a contemporary interpretation, easy to read, disseminate, and modify as new findings came in. After finishing that first version, a second stage of work began to approach it to the means used in 1570 for the copy of Mancha Real's plan developed by Luis de Molina. To achieve this objective, the vectorized version of Mancha Real plan was revisited, using its visual elements and handwritten inscriptions that had been already individualized and catalogued. These same 'pieces' were used to re-trace the hypothetical plan of Valdepeñas, drawing each element with the same kind of line, colour palette, and calligraphy by Luis de Molina. Thanks to their digitization and translation into vectorized elements, these lines and words were easily re-worked and modified, using very similar reproductions of each element but not exact copies, simulating how the hand of a human tracer would work. Names of settlers and places in the plan of Mancha Real were decomposed to build different combinations, taking advantage of how common some surnames and first names were in the period.[647] The urban part plan has been reproduced in a similar fashion to De Molina's, including small deviations in the size of plots. Streets has been

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[647] Names such as Pedro, Antonio, Alonso (Alo), Cristóbal (Xval), Francisco (Fco) appear often in the list of settlers. Some surnames are also shared, including settlers that came from the same family but also coincidences between non-related people.

shadowed with the same tone, indicating where the urban space ends. Indications of measures for streets, the square, and the church, have been placed in similar spots and worded in the same way. The sign of Reolid appears in the above the urban plan, over the central column of parcels. Side notes have also been reproduced with as much accuracy as possible. The imperial crest and the coat of arms of Jaen and the Rivadeneyra family have been included in the same position. Roads and rivers have been traced following the visual code applied by De Molina, this is, roads with small stones and streams bordered by reeds. The shape of the mountain over the horizon also makes an appearance. Finally, even though there is no fortification in Valdepeñas comparable to Torre El Moral, the pre-existing water mill has been represented in a similar manner.

The result of this second stage of work is a vector plan directly comparable to the one developed for Mancha Real using its 1570 as basis (Figure 173). When put side to side, it is evident how they share the same visual language, paper size, and general composition criteria (Figure 174). The main point of discrepancy between this new plan for Valdepeñas and its referent is that no paragraphs or notes in the middle of the plan has been added to this digital. Also, the name of the city has not been included under the royal crest. These two elements, quite prominent in the plan of Mancha Real from 1570, were additions to the original plan used during the foundation, hence not copied from the original work by Juan de Reolid. The title "La Mancha" may even been written over the 1570 copy by another notary, given the great difference between its lettering style and De Molina's handwriting. For these reasons, the additions were considered interferences that would distort the hypothesis for Valdepeñas' plan, hence they were not included.

Of course, it would have been ideal to count with at least one of the plans traced by Reolid as primary reference but, in the absence of these, the work made by Luis de Molina is the nearest document available today. The methodology used to produce these hypotheses has been design in a way that, if the original 1539 plan for Valdepeñas or any other of Rivadeneyra's new towns is found in the future, the whole process can be iterated and adjusted to produce a result closer to the most accurate referent. That same possibility applies to new insights and arguments regarding the plantation, which may demand a correction of the hypothesis presented in *Siblings Overseas*. The whole model has been built with a digital, vectorial structure which is easily adaptable to relocate elements or change their shapes and colours. As a matter of fact, during the development of these plans there were several meetings with experts to discuss the sources available on the plantation of Valdepeñas and discuss the plan via livestream, introducing changes and adjustments in real-time.[648]

The main objective of this second version of the hypothesis is to provide a document whose general aspect and aesthetic is more approximate to the unfound

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[648] The main contributors in this process have been José Manuel Marchal Martínez, historian and former PhD fellow at Universidad de Alcalá, and Eva María Amate Gallardo, architect and designer. Both were raised at Valdepeñas de Jaén.

original plan of Valdepeñas, without falling into early modern stereotypes or fantastic reimagination. This new plan, rigorously based on original documents and records, is a means to heal the historical identity of Valdepeñas community who, by 2022, still does not commemorate the day of its foundation on April 29, 1539.[649] While the first version of the hypothetical plan allows for the understanding of its various elements and the historical arguments and logics supporting its layout, the second version offers a way more potent image for the general public. Both versions are meant to be disseminated together, one as the historical reproduction that tells the story, the other as its diagrammatic analysis that explains its various elements. There is a project proposal in place to produce a third version of the plan in collaboration with Valdepeñas council, the society of local historians Lugia,[650] and the professional illuminist Francisco Gutierrez.[651] This new stage of the work will include the discussion and revision of the previous digital hypothesis and the elaboration of a handmade reproduction of the plan, drawn in curated calf skin using the same inks and techniques applied by Luis de Molina in 1570. This commemorative reproduction of the plan in high quality material will be exhibited and presented in academic and social events, acting as an anchor between the scholarly work being developed on the history of the colonization of Sierra Sur, and the community that still today lives and works the same lands that Juan de Rivadeneyra and his commission surveyed nearly five centuries ago.

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[649] At the moment of writing this dissertation, this is a hot topic of discussion between the officials of Valdepeñas city council and the historians and chroniclers linked to the town. The closest festivity in Valdepeñas to the idea of the foundation are the *Fiestas Realengas*, a fair that takes place in August and celebrates the privilege of Royal Villa granted by Philip II in 1558. The first edition of the Fiestas Realengas took place between August 13th and 15th, 2004.

[650] Asociación Cultural Lugia - https://www.lugia.es/

[651] Scriptorium Yayyan - http://www.scriptoriumyayyan.com/
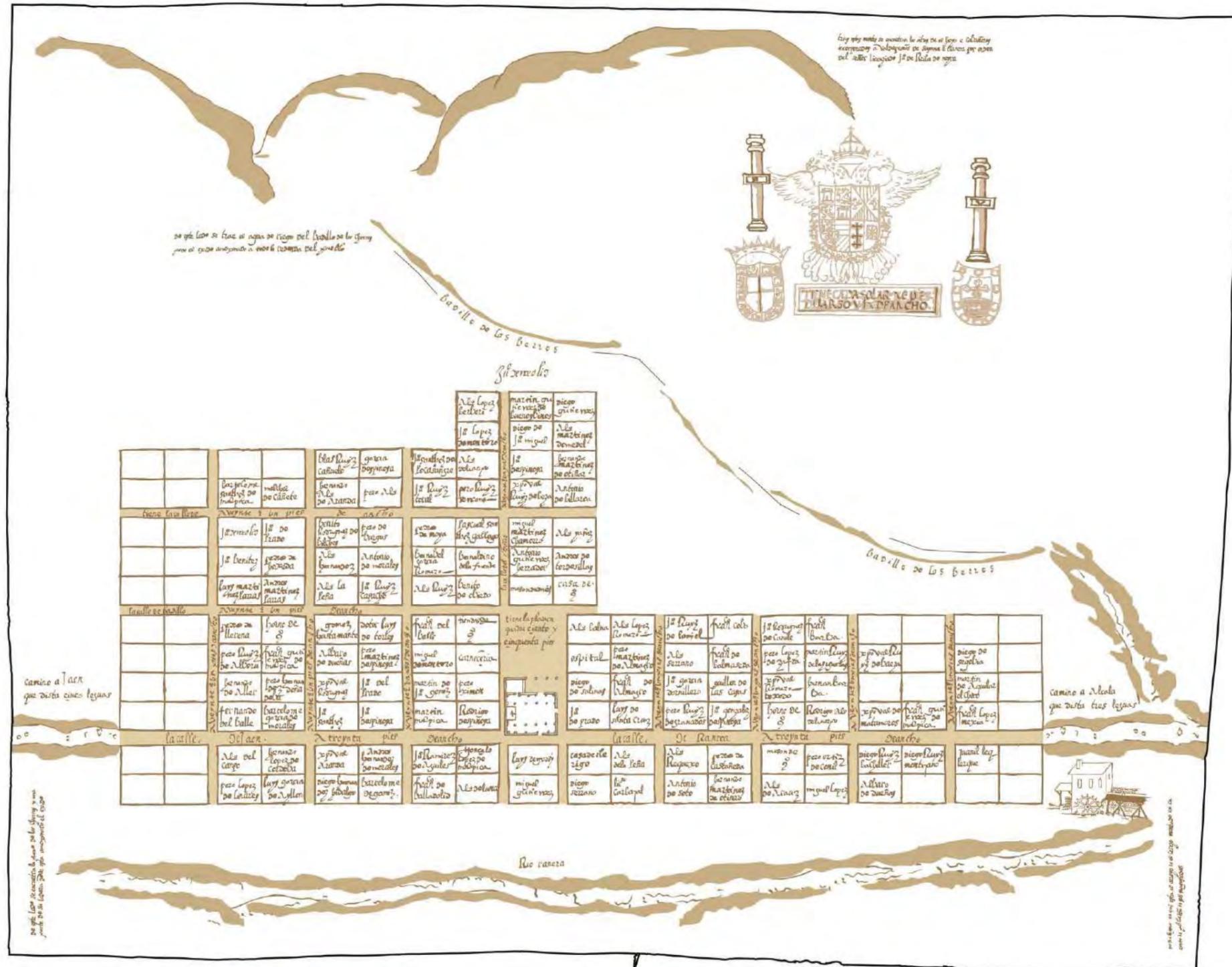
**Figure 173: Hypothesis of Valdepeñas plan, developed by following the indication and instructions of Valdepeñas foundational book and the tracing criteria shown in the foundational plan of Mancha Real. It features a vectorial reproduction of the original calligraphy and the style in which roads, rivers, and other natural landmarks were represented. © Manuel Sánchez García.**
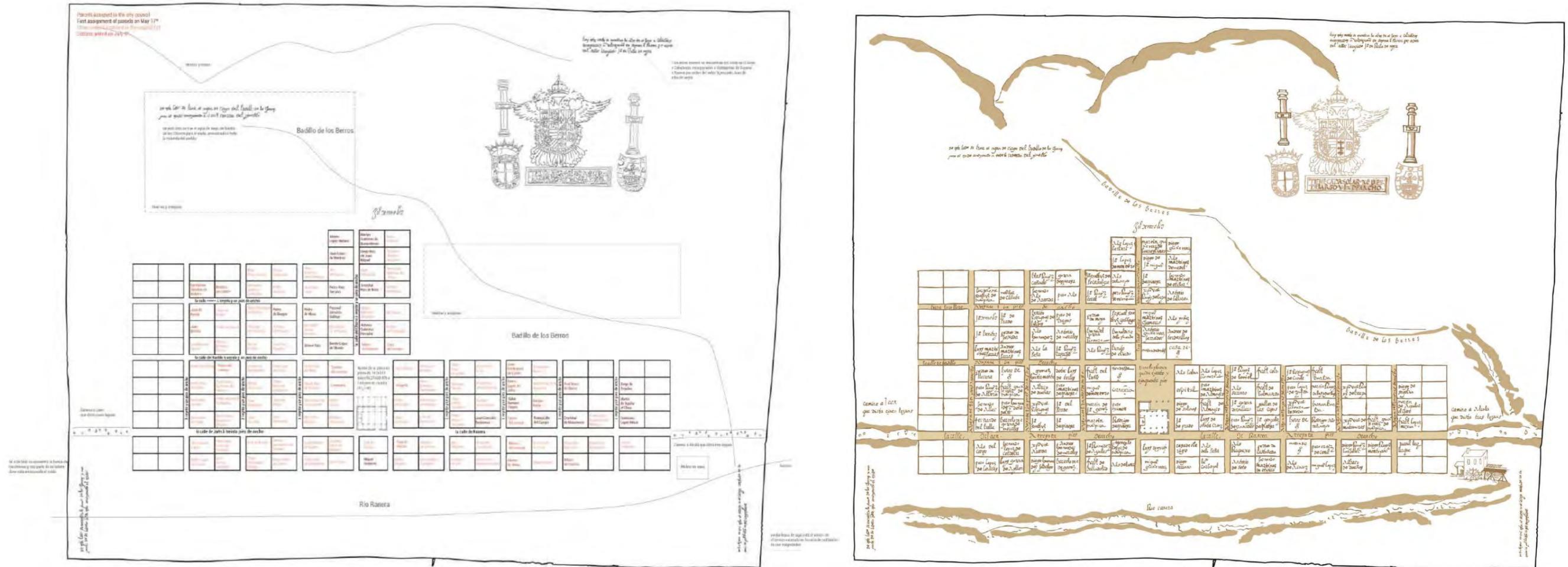
Figure 174: Second version of the hypothesis of Valdepeñas plan, side to side with the vectorized, digital version of Mancha Real plan, copied in 1570 by Luis de Molina. © Manuel Sánchez García.

## 2.7 Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas: first and last steps in the foundational process.

### General approach. Why are these cases presented last?

The new towns project in Sierra Sur wouldn't be complete without Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas, also planted by Rivadeneyra's commission in 1539. The foundational process of Los Villares, on the one hand, started in April and was the first of the group. It signalled the advance of the foundational commission through the inner valleys of Sierra Sur towards the south. They would later advance further and plan Valdepeñas de Jaén, creating a new connection between Jaen and Alcalá la real with a road that crossed the mountain instead of circling it. On the other hand, Campillo de Arenas was the last of the group. As indicated by the documents included in Valdepeñas foundational book, the complains and demands of Jaen's council regarding the foundational process were particularly strong for Campillo de Arenas, as Jaen considered this area to be a vital part of its domains. It was indeed a strategic position marking the frontier of Granada and Jaen, connected through a road crossing the narrow valley between Sierra Sur and Sierra Mágina. Securing that road was one of the main objectives of the colonization process, as it was stated several times in the royal orders and *ejecutorias* issued between 1508 and 1539. As a result of this confrontation between Jaen and the foundational commission, the first actions to settle Campillo de Arenas were delayed until July and executed in a swiftly manner just weeks before Rivadeneyra left the region.

Both Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas conserve their foundational records, whose transcriptions have been published in recent times. The foundational book of Los Villares survives thanks to a copy made in 1603, only three years after the town became a royal villa [*villa realenga*]. The copy was probably issued as a support for its legitimacy as a new town, probing how its foundation was issued directly by the Crown and developed by an agent appointed by the Royal Council.[652] It is conserved at the local archive of Los Villares, while another copy is guarded at the Jaen's provincial archive.[653] The foundational book of Campillo de Arenas is conserved integrally at the local archive.[654] This one is not a copy but a folder including the original records handwritten by Juan Vázquez himself, Rivadeneyra's notary, who was present at Jaen before the judge's arrival and accompanied the foundational commission during most of its actions in 1539. Both records for Campillo de Arenas and Los Villares were transcribed by María

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[652] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 123.

[653] "Libro del lugar y población de Los Villares" (1603), Archivo Municipal de Los Villares, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén. Archivo Municipal de Los Villares, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén.

[654] Juan Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem" (Campillo de Arenas, 1539), Archivo Municipal Campillo de Arenas.

Amparo López Arandia and published in 2011 and 2013 respectively. [655] Even if this modern edition is not widely distributed, it makes the conserved foundational documents readable to scholars without proper training in early modern Spanish palaeography, allowing for the same systemic analysis applied to Mancha Real and Valdepeñas in *Siblings Overseas*. They comply with the same structure already presented for the other two towns, including the preliminary documents and orders, the judge's first visit to the site, his discussions with the foundational commission, their consultation with local citizens knowledgeable of the land, the marking of the urban plan and farming land plots, their assignment to settlers, and the appointment of majors and officials, among other records. The main particular feature available in the transcriptions of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas books but not present in the other two is that they include the full log of possession taking acts. These completely absent in the book of Valdepeñas. The book of Mancha Real has this record in it, but Martín Jiménez Cobo only included one example in his transcription. María Amparo López Arandia instead transcribed all the possession taking acts for Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas,

The following sections offer a brief review of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas foundational processes. For the sake of synthesis, this argument has been limited to a general description, presenting those aspects that can be compared with the other two new towns without delving deeply into them. Then, another brief section is dedicated to the acts of possession taking, as these pose the main documental value for expanding the methodology of urban historical analysis proposed by the *Siblings Overseas* project.

## Los Villares: a first step to connect the interior of Sierra Sur.

### *16th – 22nd April, 1539: Plantation of Los Villares*

According to the foundational book, the plantation of Los Villares started on April 14th with the arrival of Juan de Rivadeneyra to the place.[656] [657] On April 16th they met at the farmhouse known as Casa de la Misericordia, belonging to the San Juan de Dios Hospital at Jaen, which was located at the site of Los Villares. This and other elements in the book signal how that location was an already active agricultural enclave before the creation of the new town. It was a natural consequence of its closeness to Jaén and Martos and the amplitude of its fertile valley, separated from the future site of Valdepeñas by the mountain of La Pandera (Figure 175). In this location there was an urban trace already marked by the previous Judge, Bustamante de Herrera, which Rivadeneyra took into account for

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[655] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación, repoblación y buen gobierno en Castilla. Campillo de Arenas, 1508-1543*; Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*.

[656] According to 2013 López Arandia's transcription, the pages of Los Villares foundational book are not numbered. For appropriately referencing its sections, the page numbers of that modern transcription have been used instead.

[657] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 169.

his own foundation. Another particular detail is that the judge asked to his *alarifes* which was the difference in measure between the fanega of land in Jaen, more similar to what was traditional in Castile, and the fanega of land in Granada which was smaller.[658] This was a natural question coming from an external agent, arrived to the Granadan frontier from the north. The *alarifes* gave him a simplified conversion rule: 45 fanegas of land by the Castilian measure, which was the amount of land to be gifted to it settler, were equivalent to 60 Granadan fanegas.

The record then follows with the first visit of the judge to the site, logged with the same detail than for the other new towns. They discussed the existence of older buildings remains and the possible locations for Los Villares plan. That same day, the representative of Jaen's council Pedro Ruiz de las Bacas issued his first direct complain against the settlement process. Jaen's requirement was swiftly responded by Alonso de Arauz, representative of Sierra Sur settlers. They exchanged official letters and petitions to Juan de Rivadeneyra until April 21st, at the same time that the judge consulted with his *alarifes* and decided on the definitive site for the foundation, at the site of Los Majanos.[659] This location at the lower part of the valley is guarded by the slope of Loma del Toril to the north and the hill of Alto del Cerrajón to the south. It has direct access to the rivers Eliche and Río Frío, along with several smaller streams and water courses flowing down the valley (Figure 176).

On April 22nd, the *alarifes* declared to have marked 204 plots, a number close to the 206 of Mancha Real and definitively higher than the 150 of Valdepeñas. The central plaza was placed at the center of the plan. It was a square 50 *varas* long, that is 150 feet, quite smaller than the 220 feet of Mancha Real's square and the 170x141 feet of the square in Valdepeñas. The church plot measured 150x123 feet, also smaller than in the other new towns. The pasture or *dehesa* was place immediately north of Los Villares, at the slopes of Javalcuz mountain, crossing the Eliche river with a wooden bridge specially designed for moving livestock. Finally, the alarifes reported on the location of farming lands and vineyards, and the water jumps where available for placing mills. There is no mention to the adequate width for main and secondary streets. The resultant urban plan is visibly regular around the main square as in Valdepeñas and Mancha Real but more compact, denser, with narrower streets in both directions (Figure 177). The church is placed between the square and the main street like in Valdepeñas, but with its short side facing the square instead of using a lateral entrance. The main square is clearly enclosed by the façades of houses and institutional buildings, resembling a more traditional mediaevalesque town square (Figure 178). No main street reaches it and the secondary ones that do it are narrower than the 20 feet (82,40 mtrs) instructed for the other new towns.

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[658] A fanega in Castile measured around 6459,6 m2 depending on the source consulted. A fanega in Granada was around 4700 m2, with small variations between towns and provinces.

[659] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 174–81.

**Figure 175: Strategic situation of Los Villares, connecting Jaen and Martos through the lower valleys of Sierra Sur and providing access to its higher area, where Valdepeñas is located. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 2007.**[660]

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[660] Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Nacional, *Mapa topográfico Nacional*, 1:50.000, Mapa topográfico Nacional (Madrid, 2007).

**Figure 176: Detail of Los Villares location, along the river Eliche. It is separated from Jaen by the Jabalcuz mountain to the north, and from Valdepeñas by the Pandera mountain to the south. Both landmarks are part of Sierra Sur. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 2007.[661]**



**Figure 177: Satellite view of Los Villares foundational district. © Google Earth, 2019.**

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[661] Dirección General del Instituto Geográfico Nacional.

**Figure 178: Plaza del Ayntamiento [City Hall Square] at Los Villares, featuring the city hall on the left and the church of Saint John Baptist on the center. While most council houses in Sierra Sur new towns have been substituted by modern buildings, Los Villares conserve a historical construction for its council whose stone façade matches with the church. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2022.**

### *A hypothesis on the foundational plan of Los Villares and Reolid's agency in its development.*

The declaration of the *alarifes* from April 22nd ends with an interesting note. After finishing their statement, the judge asked them if they had produced a plan showing what they had marked at the foundational site:

> *Preguntando si lo que tienen/ trazado en el dicho sitio eji-/do e paradas de molinos/ q(ue) si lo pueden dar en la tra-//za pintada, digeron que pin-/tado en planta la traza la/ pueden dar*[662]

> [Asked if what they had traced in the aforementioned site, farming area and water jumps could be delivered in a drawn plan, they answered that a drawn floor plan they can deliver]

In the question, the expression *traza pintada* [drawn plan] is specifically used, insisting in the coexistence of two simultaneous *trazas* operating at the same time. One was the plan marked directly on the settlement site with stones, crosses, and sticks; the other one was traced in paper or parchment as a visual record of the foundational process. So, it is clear that the *alarifes* Juan de Requena and Sebastián Ruiz del Salto drew an urban plan and presented it to the judge, vowing for its truthfulness. After that, they petitioned the judge to grant them license to return to their houses in Jaén, supposedly to rest with their families.

Where was the appointed tracer, Juan de Reolid, during all this procedure? Was not that his task? The fact is that Reolid is nowhere to be found in that chapter of Los Villares foundational record. He is mentioned later on when, on May 21st, his name appears as one of the settlers listed as citizens of Los Villares.[663] On

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[662] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 182.

[663] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, 204–11.

May 28th, Juan de Reolid was present at the act for the appointment of majors and officials. Then he is named again in the commandment to Melchor de Cañete to conduct the acts of possession taking of the settlers, issued on June 10th. That document appoints Reolid to assist De Cañete in the assignment of urban parcels, as he was the "man knowledgeable of the plan" [*para la de-/clarazion de los so-lares/ que iran contenido en la/ traza mando que baya con vos, Joan de Reolid,/ entallador que entendio en/ la dicha traza*].[664] In this way, the record of Los Villares foundation go, in a period of roughly six week, from not mentioning Reolid's presence at all to giving him the maximum responsibility over the city's foundational plan. What is the explanation for this?

To follow the gap in time between the tracing of Los Villares and the first mention of Juan de Reolid in its foundational book, we have to change books and look at the plantation executed immediately after: Valdepeñas. As it has been mentioned before, the record of the foundation of Valdepeñas starts on April 24th when Juan de Rivadeneyra arrived at the site of Los Osarios.[665] He was accompanied by a commission composed by the notary, the measurers, and a group of farmers from Jaen. Juan de Reolid was not in that group and the *alarifes* are not mentioned since they were still at Jaen. Then, the record for April 25th is brief and only states that the *alarifes* Juan de Requena and Sebastián Ruiz del Salto presented themselves at Los Osarios to comply with the judge's orders. They were coming back from their days off at Jaen. Immediately after that we have the record of Rivadeneyra's visit on April 26th to the surroundings of Los Osarios which has been analysed in a previous section (Figure 157). It is on that day that Juan de Reolid appears for the first time in any of the four books recording the colonization of Sierra Sur. On April 28th, when the judge ordered the trace of Valdepeñas to be done, he issued his command to the *alarifes* alone, without listing any task for Reolid. However, when they returned on April 29th, Reolid is named among them as one of the men responsible of "placing and tracing the site of Los Osarios" [*sitiar e trazar el d(ic)ho sitio de Los Osarios*].[666] That is also the first time that Reolid's background as engraver [*entallador*] is mentioned.

Given the precision of the foundational books and their notarial nature, the omission of Juan de Reolid in the records before April 26th must be interpreted as evidence of his effective absence. Reolid was simply not there. The foundational commission operated without an official tracer at Los Villares and did not incorporate one until the first of the new towns was planted and its plan traced by the *alarifes*. The motives for the late inclusion of Juan de Reolid to the foundational commission are not explicitly presented in the records. He just simply appears as one of the men escorting Rivadeneyra during his visit on April 16th and then as a supporter of the *alarifes* for the marking of Valdepeñas plan, even though the judge had not specifically ordered him to participate in that task.

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[664] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, 223.
[665] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 27 v.
[666] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 33v.-34 r.

A possible explanation for this behaviour is that a tracer was not considered necessary in a first moment. Rivadeneyra would not consciously order the tracing of the new towns without such a vital agent. Measuring and marking the plan of the new towns in the site and in parchment was considered the *alarifes*' task and theirs alone. However, from the very beginning of the process, it is evident that they found trouble when applicating the rigorous technical regulations and geometric rules specified in the royal instructions. In fact, the *alarifes* did not know how to sign or write,[667] so it is most probable that they were illiterate and incapable of reading. That means that they were incapable of consulting the instructions for the plantation of the new towns and depended on Rivadeneira's direct orders. Consequently, when the judge did not include a direct mention to the streets measure and order for the tracing of Los Villares, the *alarifes* did not apply any specific rule on that regard nor they declared anything about the streets after completing the task. The plan they traced is not conserved, but it would be reasonable to assume that it was of worse quality and technical rigor than those developed by Juan de Reolid later on.

Most probably, the foundational commission found some kind of issue in the plantation or in its plan that raised the necessity of having a specialist in the team. Reolid may have been called for the work by a messenger sent by Rivadeneyra sometime in between April 24th and 26th. It is also possible that the *alarifes* themselves were sent as emissaries under the excuse of visiting their homes just some days after starting the foundational process in Sierra Sur. This would make sense since Rivadeneira was constantly pressured by agents against the plantation project. Openly recognising the lack of skill of his subordinates and asking for a trained tracer such as Reolid could have been seen as a weakness and exploited by his adversaries. By sending the *alarifes* to Jaen with a more discreet message and organically incorporating Reolid in the workflow, Rivadeneyra was protecting the documental coherence of the project.

At least one more hypothesis transpires from the absence of Juan de Reolid during the tracing of Los Villares. Even though there is no mention to this in the foundational book, it is unlikely that Reolid used the *alarifes'* plan during the possession taking acts that he was ordered to support. All evidence points to that first plan being of poor quality, as it was developed by illiterate measurers who did not know how to sign a document, much less drawing the official plan of a foundational process. The reference to Reolid as a man who "knew about the plan" [*entallador que entendió en/ la dicha traza*][668] makes clear that the tracer intervened the plan in some way, taking responsibility over it and implementing the same graphic tools and criteria applied in the other three. Most probably,

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[667] This is mentioned several times along the records. For example, at the end of the report on the tracing of Mancha Real on May 7th by the alarifes, it said that Reolid "signed with his name and the others did not know how to sign" [*el dhº rreolid lo firmo de su nonbre e los otros no sabian firmar*]. Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*, 76.

[668] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 223.

Reolid reworked or even remade that original plan, translating the parcels marked by the *alarifes* to provide a more appropriate visual support for the plantation of Los Villares.

The later sections of the foundational book include, as usual, the commandment [*mandamiento*] on June 10th to one of Jaen's deputies to arrange the possession taking acts for all settlers, with the help of Juan de Reolid, the *alarifes* and the measurers.[669] Later on, after the copies of the time extensions granted by the Royal Council and other secondary documents, the record arrives to the possession taking acts.[670] It uses the same formula that would be later applied to Mancha Real, dedicating a whole paragraph for each of the pieces of land include in every settler right: one for the house, one for farming that may be divided in two or more minor parcels, and one smaller lot for the vineyard. The log is exhaustive and extensive, occupying more than half of the whole folder of foundational documents. It's complete transcription by María Amparo López Arandia in 2013 occupy no less than 160 pages, so it is no surprise that, in 1998, Martín Jiménez Cobo decided not to transcribe the complete equivalent record of Mancha Real except for the first possession act logged. Jiménez Cobo argued that the first paragraph was enough to understand the formula that was systematically applied in all of the later acts. However, the complete record allows for detailed studies and comparative analysis that enrich the historiographical discussion on early modern Spanish colonial new towns in Andalusia and in other latitudes.

Even though the scope of *Siblings Overseas* does not allow for an exhaustive analysis of the possession act records in Los Villares, its main features need to be highlighted to provide a complete image of the documental value linked to the colonization of Sierra Sur. Before deepening further into this issue, the following section presents an overview and actions taken for the plantation of Campillo de Arenas, the other new town whose possession act records have been completely conserved and transcribed. After that, we will present further insights into how the possession acts were performed, what data can be gathered from them, and what potential lines of research emerge from it.

## Campillo de Arenas: four particularities in the foundation of Sierra Sur's spearhead.

### *The delayed plantation process at Campillo de Arenas*

The last new town to be planted in Sierra Sur in 1539 was Campillo de Arenas. The delay of its foundation is not coincidental: Campillo de Arenas location at the south extreme of Jaen's jurisdiction was precious for several reasons (Figure 179). It was a well-known border fertile valley mostly unexploited before the fall of Granada as it was totally undefended and open to attacks. During the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, this area was kept empty, a reserve of open land between

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[669] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, 223–43.
[670] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, 247–411.

the gated valley entrance of Puerta de Arenas (Figure 180), the Castle of Arenas responsible for its protection (Figure 181), and Granadan fortresses such as Montejicar and Píñar guarding the frontier.

After 1492, Jaen made some timid efforts to populate it and put its farming lands into activity, but it did not grow further than a few tens of settlers grouped around a small chapel. When Juana I 1508 population charter was issued, Campillo de Arenas appeared as the top priority of the seven new towns proposed. It is the first site mentioned in the order, located in the middle point of the 14 leagues-long road between Jaen and Granada whose security was one of the royal council's main concerns (Figure 182). This leading role assigned to Campillo de Arenas made it the central piece of the conflicts between the council of Jaen and the settlers of Sierra Sur. As we have seen in the foundational books of the other three towns, Jaen mentioned Campillo de Arenas in most of the complaint letters presented to judge Rivadeneyra, petitioning for the settlers to desist in its foundation. These conflicts persisted until an agreement was reached almost three months after the arrival of Rivadeneyra. As a consequence, the foundational process of Campillo de Arenas is the latest, quicker, and more systematic of the four, rigorously following the methodology of the other three except for the particular measures taken to compensate Jaen for withdrawing their claims.

The record of the foundation of Campillo de Arenas starts with the arrival of Rivadeneyra to Jaen on April 2nd, 1539.[671] It is a short testimony stating the specific date of Rivadeneyra's departure from the Royal Court at Toledo, where he received the commandment to settle Sierra Sur. The document, signed by the judge, his notary, and the representative of Sierra Sur settlers, was to be copied and delivered to the representatives of Jaen councils, showing the high level of notarial pressure and control between the confronted agents involved in the process. The foundational book follows with a note written on April 7th detailing how Rivadeneyra ordered his notary to search for the records of the actions of the previous judge, Jerónimo de Bustamante.[672] The documents were found on a writing desk [*escribanía*] used by Bustamante and incorporated into the folder of foundational documents.

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[671] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 30 v.

[672] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 31 v.
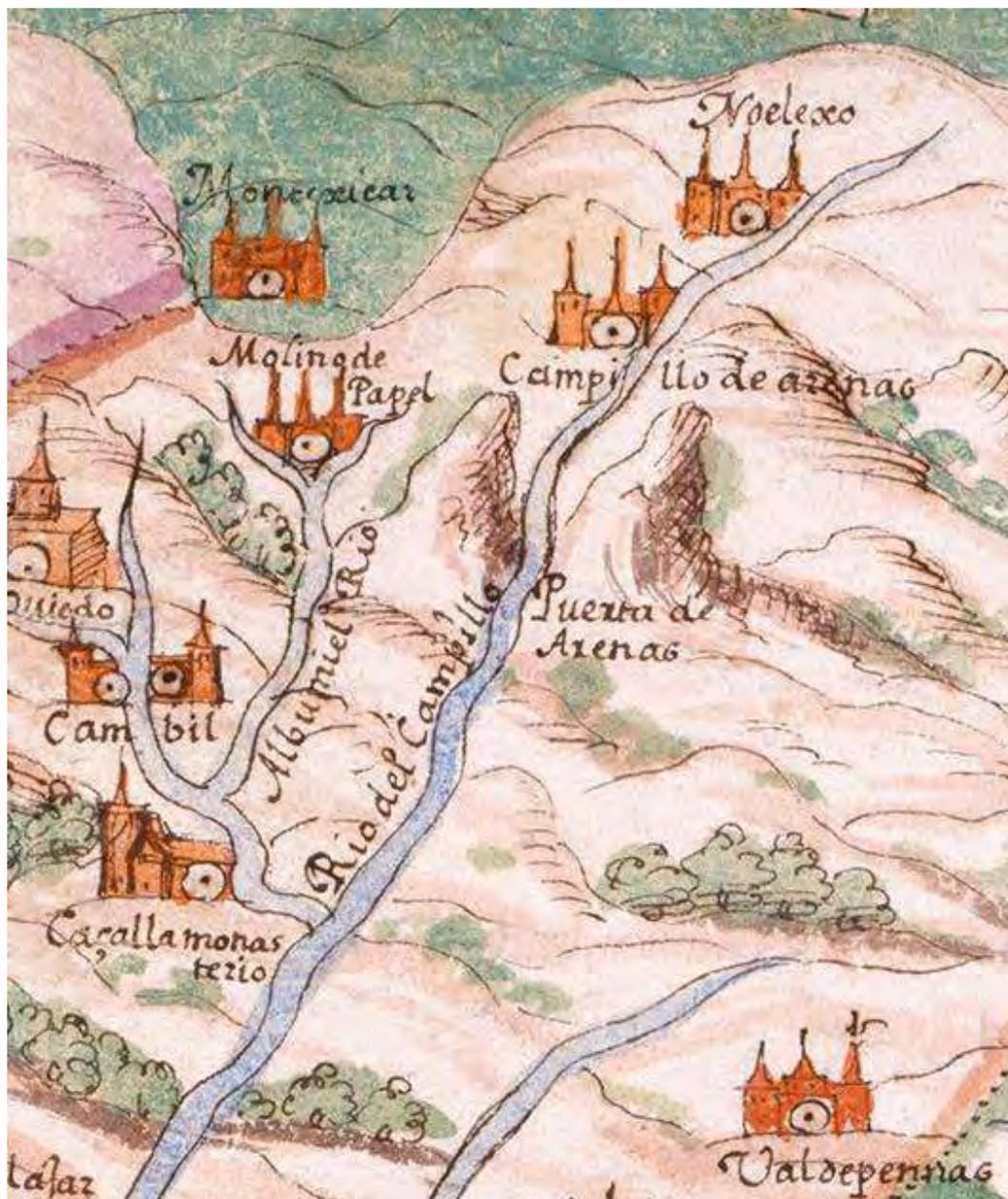
**Figure 179: 1587, detail of Jaen's Archiepiscopate map by Gaspar Salcedo de Aguirre, showing the location of Campillo de Arenas, planted in 1539, and Noalejo, planted in 1559. Both are located in the area between Puerta de Arenas and the Granadan border to the south, marked in green. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.[673]**

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[673] Salcedo de Aguirre, "Geographia o description nueua del obispado de Jaen fecha en el 2º anno del Pontificado de Nrô mui Sancto Padre Sixto. V. y del reinado del Rey dô Phillippe el.2º. nro señor en el anno de treintayuno por orden del obispo de Jaen Frâcisco en el anno. 7 de su Obispado y del nascimiento de N. S. Jesuchîo de 1587."

**Figure 180: North side of Puerta de Arenas in its current state. The only passage available during the 15th and 16th centuries was the natural gate between two rock walls, visible on the right. The tunnel, now expanded to house the national highway A-44, was originally opened in 1840. © SEP dolores González Osorio, Centro Guadalinfo de Cárcheles y Campillo de Arenas, 2017.**[674]



**Figure 181: Castillo de Arenas in its current ruinous state, placed at an advantage point that guards the plains below. © Calaralto, 2011.**[675]

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[674] SEP Dolores González Osorio and Centro Guadalinfo de Cárcheles y Campillo de Arenas, *Paraje de Puerta de Arenas y Ermita de Santa Lucía (Campillo de Arenas)*, April 19, 2017, Fotografía digital, April 19, 2017, https://sepdoloresgonzalezosorio.wordpress.com/2017/04/19/paraje-de-puerta-de-arenas-y-ermita-de-santa-lucia-campillo-de-arenas/.

[675] Calaralto, *Castillo de Arenas*, 2011, Fotografía digital, 2011, https://es.wikiloc.com/rutas-coche/2011-09-13-campillo-de-arenas-castillo-puerta-de-arenas-sierra-sur-de-jaen-2247903/photo-882560.
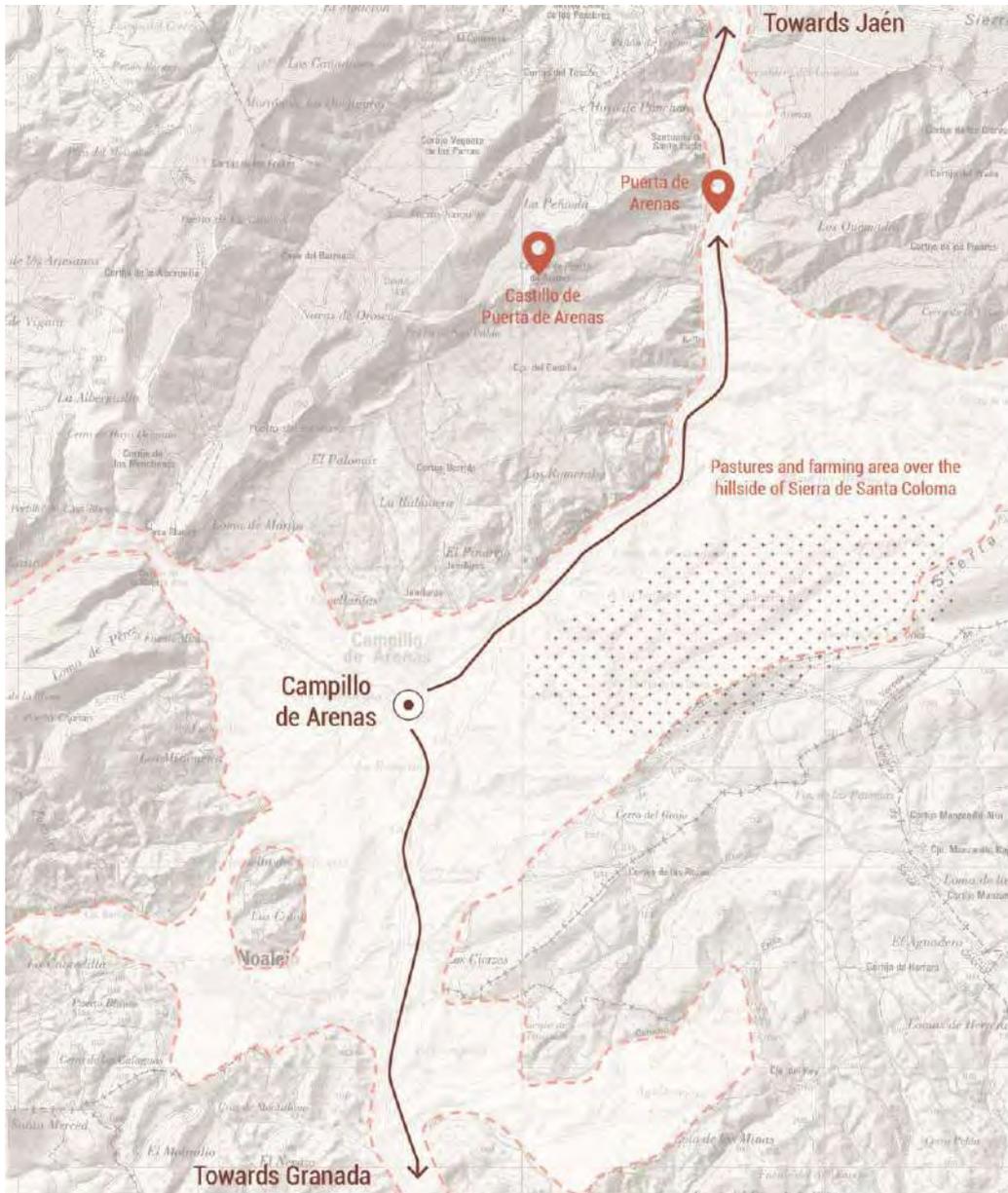
**Figure 182: Strategic location of Campillo de Arenas, south of Puerta de Arenas that signalled the natural frontier between Granada and Jaen. Noalejo, a small town south of Campillo de Arenas, was planted in 1559 as a royal concession to Mencía de Sancedo, servant of Philip II and Isabella of Portugal, taking part of Campillo de Arenas lands in the process. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 2007.**

**Figure 183: Top: Satellite view of Campillo de Arenas. Bottom: Detail of Campillo de Arenas foundational blocks and main square. The central square is connected to a smaller public space separating the church and the council house, both marked in red. © Google Earth, 2009.**



**Figure 184: The main square of Campillo de Arenas, named Plaza de Andalucía. The church of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación faces the square with its long side, in a similar fashion to Valdepeñas. The city hall is located in a white building, visible on this picture on the left of the church. In this way, the church and the council house face each other, forming a secondary public space annex to the main square. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

After that, the record jumps almost three months to June 24ᵗʰ, when Rivadeneyra listed the names of those benefited with settling rights at Campillo de Arenas.[676] In the other three books this list came later in the record when the initial plan had already been marked by the *alarifes* and Juan de Reolid. The delay in the foundation provided enough time to prepare the list before arriving to Campillo de Arenas. It could also be a sigh of the documental rigor demanded for this specific new town. Whatever the case, the list names 135 settlers, differentiating old settlers, new settlers, and settlers by royal privilege. This particular list includes and additional category for 45 families who were already living at Campillo de Arenas prior to the plantation, at a small village formed by several houses, a chapel and a farmhouse [*venta*]. While these people were not officially part of the group of Sierra Sur settlers, they were included in the new foundation of Campillo de Arenas as part of the arrangement reached with Jaen's council. In the list, they appear as labelled as "inhabitant/neighbour at the Canpillo" [*abitante/vecino en el Canpillo*]. The group includes a significant number of women, most of them widows and one whose marital status is not specified, which is highly unusual.

On July 4th, being Rivadeneyra still at Jaen, he ordered foundational commission to travel to Campillo de Arenas and start the foundation.[677] The tasks were distributed similarly to Mancha Real, with Juan de Reolid and the *alarifes* Juan de Requena and Sebastián Ruiz del Salto in charge of marking the urban parcels, and the measurers Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernández responsible for farming lands, pastures, and vineyards. The judge specified that the new town was to be placed directly over the existing buildings, including them in the new urban plan.

On July 5th the judge had finally arrived at Campillo de Arenas.[678] He consulted with his commission and a group of Campillo's dwellers on the location for the pastures and the farming land. Both groups coincided that the best place for them was over the slopes of Sierra de Santa Colona, a minor chain of hills and mountains reaching out from Sierra Mágina (Figure 180). Juan de Reolid and the *alarifes* reported back on July 6th. They stated that the houses already built at Campillo de Arenas were at an excellent location according to the urban values of that time: in the middle of the road between Jaen and Granada, near to sources of water for both humans and animals, with an easy access to pastures and farms, bathed by natural sunlight, and close to sources of construction materials such as wood, stone, and earth.[679] They declared to have traced 165 urban parcels with the standard measure of 60x90 feet. The parcel for the church and the sacristy was

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[676] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 32 v.-36 r.

[677] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 37 v.

[678] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 38 v.

[679] "por aver muy buena parte donde se/ ponga la dehesa y exido, y estar en medio del cami-/no que pasa de Granada a Jaen, e tener aguas/ buenas para bever e para los ganados, e bañale/ el sol los tiempos que son nesçesarios e que/ tienen buen fundamento, e tierra y piedra/ e mucha madera çerca para hazerse las d(ic)has/ casas." Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 41 r.

marked around the existing chapel and was square of 120 feet per side, the same measure used for Mancha Real. According to their declaration, the grid of streets was "very well traced" [*a su e(n)tendimyento esta muy bien traçado*] and complied with the instruction but, to seize the local chapel and the flat space around it, they had to trace streets and blocks traversing the houses already built at Campillo. In other words, the new town erased all pre-existing buildings. The location of the main farmhouse or *venta* may have preceded the later council house which, instead of being placed at the main central square, it is located at an adjacent secondary public space (Figure 183). The church was place at the corner between both squares, facing the central plaza with a gate at its long façade and the secondary square through a minor gate in its short façade (Figure 184). The record follows with the visit to potential watermill locations and the marking of the pasture and farming areas, following the usual formula referred before.[680]

### *Juan Tavera, a Morisco settler by royal grace at Campillo de Arenas.*

The next section in the foundational book of Campillo de Arenas focuses on a quite particular agent absent in the other three new towns: Juan Tavera *El Africano,* a Granadan Morisco converted to Christianism granted settlings right directly from the Royal Council. As mentioned before, Tavera was a member of the converse Morisco aristocracy that accepted the new Castilian order and found its place in its higher social classes. He was married to Isabel Zegrí from the Zegrí clan, a prestigious bloodline of Granadan aristocrats, courtesans, and governors associated to the Nasrid rule.[681] Many members of privileges families such as Zegrí, Venegas, and Alarcón accepted baptism before the forced Christianisation of 1500 and enjoyed positions in the government of Granada and its province.

According to Enrique Soria, the integration of these former Muslim noble clans in the new Castilian order was quick, rising way above other Morisco collectives thanks to their political advantage.[682] They stablished alliances via marriage with equally privileged Christian families that came to Granada after the conquest. During the ward, Granadans Muslim wardens in charge of frontier castles were often granted privileges and rewards in exchange of surrendering their fortifications peacefully. Some of them were even appointed back as wardens of Castilian fortresses in Granada. Privileged Moriscos participated in the political life of Granada and managed the payment of special taxes imposed to the conquered community. For example, Don Gonzalo Fernández Zegrí became a member of Granada's council[683] and, in 1542, left an abundant legacy of his son

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[680] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 42 r.-45 v.

[681] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Fundación, repoblación y buen gobierno en Castilla. Campillo de Arenas, 1508-1543*, 82–83.

[682] Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la conquista a la asimilación. La integración de la aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina. Siglos XV-XVI," *Áreas. Revista Internacional de Ciencias Sociales*, no. 14 (1992): 51–64.

[683] *Caballero veinticuatro*.

including real state property and farming lands in Granada and in several other towns around it. This was the social and political background of characters such as Juan Tavera. some decades later, when the Alpujarras uprising broke in 1568, the Morisco elites were so much stablished and intertwined with the Christian order that they aligned against the rebels, employing their abundant resources to help extinguish it and ensuring their own permanence after the final expulsion edict in 1609.

The record of Campillo de Arenas states that, on July 7th, 1539, Rivadeneyra took a deposition from his notary Juan Vazquez who, during the time he accompanied the previous judge, witnessed how Jerónimo de Bustamante provided Juan Tavera with four parcels for houses [*quatro vezin-/dades de tierra*] and three farmland lots [*tres vezindades de tierra de raso*] at a site known as Puerta de Algava, near the water stream of the same name.[684] Bustamante did not only supervise the marking of these parcels but he also conducted the possession taking act himself, following the usual protocol, that will be further described in the next section. The judge took Tavera by his hand, introduced him to the parcels, and bestowed their possession upon him [*como juez de/ Su Magestad le tomava por la mano e le me-/ta en la posesion real e corporal*]. Tavera accepted the possession "peacefully" [*paçificamente*] and, in sign of it, took a hoe and made some earth mounds. Rivadeneyra also took the declaration of the measurer Juan de Molina, who marked these same parcels. Then, the judge summoned Juan Tavera himself. He petitioned that his previously enacted royal settling privilege was to be complied with, this means, that he should be included in the new list of settlers and his properties should be granted the same level of protection as before. Moreover, Tavera argued that a part of his farming land had been taken by the measurers to mark a road meant to conduct animals to the pastures and back. He demanded that his farming lots were to be re-measured and marked again to compensate him for the lost area. Rivadeneyra commanded his measurers and notary to visit Tavera's properties that same day and make the necessary adjustment, which they made and recorded immediately after. Finally, the judge ordered that Tavera was to be granted possession once more to make it official, including the aforementioned four parcels for houses, expanding the farmland lots from three to four, and adding the equivalent vineyard area of four normal settlers.[685] Thus, in addition to this bountiful gift of real estate properties, Juan Tavera enjoyed a privilege treatment from both judges Rivadeneyra and Bustamante who treated his particular case separately from the regular settlers. When Tavera took possession of his lands once more on July 19th of 1539, the act was not instructed a representative of the judge as it was usual in this kind of ceremonies. The Morisco aristocrat was considered of such a high rank that it was the very own judge Rivadeneyra who, following the steps of Bustamante, took Tavera by the hand,

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[684] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 45 r.

[685] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 48 v.

entered him into the marked lots and officially granted their possession.[686] The record of this act appears in a different section of the foundational book, separated from the rest of the settlers and further highlighting his ranking even above other settlers appointed by the Royal Council. Tavera's privilege as a Morisco aristocrat, even if it is a rare case in the general context of the colonization of Sierra Sur, points to the particular characteristics of this territory and the political climate of Granada after its Castilian conquest.

### *Inclusion of Navaelcan and Otiñar in the jurisdiction of Campillo de Arenas.*

A third particularity in the plantation of Campillo de Arenas is that it ended up including the sites of Navaelcan and Otíñar, originally meant to house other two new towns. The reasons behind this decision are provided in a series of statements signed by Juan de Rivadeneyra on July 10th.[687] On the one hand, Navaelcan was a private property granted by the Crown to Doña Mencía de Salcedo, court lady of Isabella of Portugal, wife of Charles V and mother of Philip II. Mencía de Salcedo, daughter of stewards of the Catholic Monarchs, received many privileges and gifts during her years of service, often in the form of real estate. She had been granted most of the lands at Navaelcan after during the timeframe between the Juana I order of 1508 and the population process in 1539, invalidating that site for any plantation. In consequence, Rivadeneyra's opted to reduce the number of new towns and incorporate the remaining area at Navaelcan to the site of Campillo. After the decease of Isabella of Portugal that same year, the power and influence of Doña Mencía de Salcedo grew over Sierra Sur, expanding his properties over the still unconsolidated former frontier. In 1558 he bought the vallage of Noalejo and the lands around it, entering in direct conflict with the council of Campillo de Arenas who considered those lands to be under its jurisdiction, and creating a new legal conflict that lasted for decades.[688]

On the other hand, there is the site of Otíñar, also known as Campo de los Almogárabes. The settlement chart from 1508 ordered the creation of a new town for 50 settlers in this place; however, when Rivadeneyra arrived there, he found the site unfitting for any kind of settlement. The judge marked 15 parcels of farmland there and granted them to the Council of Campillo de Arenas, placing them under its jurisdiction. In this way, Navaelcan and Otíñar were merged with Campillo de Arenas in a similar manner to how Hoyo de Cabañeros was merged with Valdepeñas. The decision to reduce the number of new towns in Sierra Sur

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[686] The possession act includes a note indicating that water sources and streams flowing through Tavera's lands, as well as the quarries of gypsum and lime inside his property, were of public use by all the citizens at Campillo de Arenas.

[687] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 54 v.-56 r.

[688] As a sidenote, the readers of this dissertation may find interesting that Doña Mencía de Salcedo stored several relics at the Church of La Victoria in Noalejo, most of them inherited from Isabella of Portugal after her decease. The most important among them are two copies of the Holy Shroud of Turin or Santa Sindone, commissioned by Charles V and gifted to the empress.

from the original seven instructed by Juana I to the final group of four planted in 1539 were recorded with great detail and supported by clear arguments, ensuring the documental rigor of the foundational process.

### *Yearly tribute to Jaen as a result of the negotiations by judge Rivadeneyra.*

The later stages in the plantation of Campillo de Arenas follow the basic model already applied to the other three. On July 9th, Rivadeneyra performed the official foundation of the new town, giving it the name of Campillo de Arenas and dedicating its church to Our Lady of the Incarnation [*Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*].[689] Since the church was still unbuilt, the judge ordered that all religious services were to be performed at the pre-existing chapel of the Holy Sacrament [*Santísimo Sacramento*], built by the community settled at Campillo before 1539. This chapel prevented any necessity to build a temporary temple, hence this part of the foundational book includes no contract for it as it happens at Mancha Real and the other new towns. After that, the record follows with statements on the access to irrigation water, the vineyard location, its measurements and its marking. On July 11th the judge ordered to mark additional farming lots along the road to Noalejo. By July 13th these were already laid out. That same day, Rivadeneyra visited the new town center, visited the church site, and placed a wooden cross where the future altar was meant to be.

During that visit, the judge maintained a meeting with the settlers to discuss the fourth and final particularity of this plantation. The agreement reached with Jaen's council involved a yearly, perpetual tribute, to be paid with harvested crops by the citizens of Campillo de Arenas. This was a heavy toll for such a new and young settlement, so the judge made sure that Campillo counted with enough land and resources to afford it. Rivadeneyra assigned to Campillo's council the farming area at Campo de los Almogárabes (Otíñar) and along the road to Cambil north of Puerta de Arenas.[690] The council's lots were meant to be taken on lease by individual owners in charge of their cultivation, paying part of their production as a rent that would later go to Jaén to cover the yearly tribute. The property of those lands would remain in the hands of Campillo's council, ensuring the future of the city and the fulfilment of its obligation towards Jaén. One particular detail in this system was that the price of the lease was not fixed. Those who wanted to acquire needed to present a bid for each particular piece of land, which was then logged in the foundational record. Thanks to this rule, the foundational book of Campillo de Arenas is rich in documents showing who was in the capacity of taking charge of extensive farming operations and compromise to pay a yearly fee even after a bad harvest. The following sections of the record are comprised by the usual assignment of lots to the city's hospital, the church, and adjustments of

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[689] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 50 r.

[690] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 61 r.-61 v.

low-quality farming parcels, mixed with bids and offers for the council's farm-lands that were recorded as they came in.

On July 20th, the first majors and officials of Campillo de Arenas were appointed.[691] Rivadeneyra named two majors, and one deputy for a term of two years each. Then, the settlers unanimously chose two juries or councillors and one steward. All these steps followed exactly the same protocol applied in the other three new towns, except for one final point in the agenda: the official announcement of the annual tribute to be paid to Jaen and its exact amount:

*...bien sa-/bran como por la çibdad de Jaen el avia dado a-/syento para que toviesen por bien que los cor-/tijos que al presente poseyan en el ter-/myno deste Canpillo de Arenas, desde luego se/ repartiesen a los vezinos, e mora-dores e po-/bladores que poblasen este d(ich)ho lugar, con tan-/to quel conçejo del d(ic)ho lugar cargase sobre / el d(ic)ho conçejo quinyentas fane-gas de trigo de çen/so ynfitiosin, para çyenpre jamas, pa-/gados al deposito de la d(ic)ha çibdad en cada/ vn año, por el dia de Santa Maria de Agosto,[692] la pri-/mera paga el año venydero de quinyentos e/quarenta años...[693]*

[ You know well how the city of Jaen has stated their agreement for the farm-lands that now are in the jurisdiction of Canpillo de Arenas to be of course distributed to the neighbours, dwellers, and settlers who settled the aforementioned place (of Campillo), as long as the council of the aforementioned place (Campillo) paid to the aforementioned council (Jaén) five hundred *fanegas* of rent *ynfitiosin*, forever and ever, paid to the granary of the aforementioned city (Jaén) every one year, on the day of Santa Maria in August, the first payment due the next year of 1540]

This tribute was not an imposition of forced labour. The settlers of Campillo de Arenas, represented by its chosen council, were free to accept or reject it, in which case the legal fight would continue, and the plantation would suffer further delays. The record says that, after hearing the judge, the men of the council moved to a place "retired from where the judge was, well retired, and discussed the matter for an amount of time equivalent to one hour of more" [*se apartaron de donde/ estava el d(ic)ho señor juez, bien aparte, e pla-/ticaron sobre lo susod(ic)ho algun espaçio de / tienpo que seria media ora de tienpo/ e mas*].[694] The use of this specific words, detailing the distance and the amount of time spent in private conversation, was meant to ensure the privacy of the decision, its solemnity, and the supposed lack of influence of the judge over its final outcome. When the council reached a verdict, they communicated to the judge that, although the tribute was

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[691] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 70 v.

[692] August 2nd, "Día de la Virgen de los Ángeles."

[693] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e juris-diçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 77 r.

[694] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 77 r.

"very tough" [*les paresçia muy rezio el tributo*] to be paid yearly and without any discount, but they accepted the payment dividing it in two parts. 300 fanegas were to be paid directly to Jaen in grain or its current monetary value, and the resting were to be charged directly by the royal council, demanding as much quantity of grain, bread, money or other trading goods until reaching the final value of 500 fanegas "more or less, what (the royal council) considered, accounting for what (Campillo) could afford and the lands given to them" [*fasta las d(ic)has/ qunyentas fanegas mas o menos, lo q(ue)/ fuese su serviçio, aviendo consyderaçion/ a lo que podrian sustentar, e a las/ tierras que les dan*]. This final effort in the negotiation ensured that a part of the yearly fee did was dependant of the Royal Council and not Jaen's council, so the citizens of Campillo de Arenas could plea to lower the fee in case they find themselves unable to pay. It was an intelligent strategy indeed, one that ensured a direct connection between Campillo de Arenas and the Crown that would be fruitful shortly after the foundation. The record was signed by Alonso de Arauz, representative of the Sierra Sur settlers, as witness, strengthening the connection of this particular act with the colonization project as a whole.

The foundational book then continues with additional offers for the council's lands on July 21st, 24th, and 28th; followed by the marking of Campillo de Arenas jurisdiction on August 8th and, that same day, the final assignment of the council's lands to the highest bidders.[695] The sections after this present, once more, the instructions to and conditions to be fulfilled by Campillo's dwellers, an then list the assignment of farming lots, vineyards, and urban parcels for each of the settlers.[696] Finally, the record presents the order from judge Rivadeneyra to Jaen's deputy Juan Francisco Berrio who, with the aid of the measurer Juan de Molina and the tracer Juan de Reolid, was charged with the task of conducting the acts of possession taking for all settlers in the new town.[697] The instruction is quite extensive and includes further listings of settlers and the properties gifted to them. Juan Francisco Berrio, De Molina and Reolid had a great responsibility indeed, as the written log of the possession acts would act as the foundational property title for all future citizens of Campillo de Arenas and their descendants. In fact, the record states the acts for possession taking had started weeks before the official commandment, and there are register of them since at least July 14th. Even though Juan de Reolid is mentioned in the commandment and all the possession taking acts, it is unclear if he was physically there or not. What is sure is that his trace, his foundational plan of the town, was used during the acts as an indisputable reference for the order in which all urban parcels were to be gifted.

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[695] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 78 r.-84 r.
[696] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 84 r.-109 v.
[697] Vázquez de Acuña, fol. 110 r.-140 r.

## 2.8 The ritual for possession taking during the plantation of La Mancha, Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas

*The "Toma de posesión": a highly protocolary act for ensuring property and privileges over the land.*

As mentioned in previous sections, the original foundation books of the new towns in Sierra Sur dedicated abundant pages to record the active taking of possession of settlers and institutions over their assigned lands. Taking a property was a solemn protocol to be performed in a very specific manner logged in great detail. Its record, written by Rivadeneyra's notary Juan Vázquez and signed by witnesses, was the essential proof of property indispensable for any future operation, including sales, trades, leasing, inheritance, etc. The notary dedicated one paragraph for each of the different parcels granted to each of the settler,[698] occupying such an extension that in some cases weights more than half of the foundational book. There was no particular order in which the parcels were to be gifted and the record seems to mostly follow a chronological sequence. For example, some sections in the book of Campillo de Arenas present groups of settlers who took possession of their urban parcels all in the same day. The book of Los Villares, on the contrary, groups the possessions taken by a single settler and places them one after another even if they were performed in different dates.

The acts themselves were not particularly brief and required the settlers and the witnesses to be present along with the other foundational agents, taking weeks and even months to complete. Settlers of all four new towns were taking possession parallelly at different times between May and July of 1539, further complicating the process. For this reason, it was impossible for the judge to be present at all the ceremonies. The solution of this problem appears in a series of commandments included in each of the foundational books, in which the judge appointed an official representative to perform the possession taking acts for a particular group of settlers and parcels. These representatives were often deputies [*alguaciles*] of Jaen's council such as Melchor de Cañete at La Mancha and Los Villares, or Juan Francisco de Berrio at Campillo de Arenas. They were accompanied by a royal notary such as Juan Vázquez, who was part of Rivadeneyra's commission, or others appointed specially for this task like Antonio de Villa Real. The deputy and the notary were also supported by Juan de Reolid as specialist of the new town's plan to inform on the exact location of urban parcels, and by the measurers Juan de Molina and Alonso Hernandez who had marked all farmland parcels and vineyards in the four new towns. The record does not make totally clear if Reolid and the measurers were always present during the acts. In most cases, the record states that the location of the granted parcel corresponded with

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[698] Including: One urban parcel or "solar para casa", one or more parcels of farming land depending on their size, and section of the town's vineyard.

what was marked in the plan made by Reolid, evidencing that both marking of parcels in the site and in parchment continued to be used together to support the foundational process. The same happens with farmland lots, which are said to be marked by the measurers. However, it is not always recorded if these people were there or not, even though the judge had ordered so.

The basic lines in the record of every possession taking act at Sierra Sur always follow the same basic structure. For example, the first act performed at Mancha Real was written in this way:

> *En veyte ocho dias del mes de mayo año del nasçimiento de nrº señor iesu xrtº de myll e quynyentos e treynta e nueve años el dhº melchior de cañete alguazil estando en el dhº lugar e sytio de la mancha por virtud del dhº mandamyento de suso yncorporado tomó por la mano a xro^val gutierrez^699 colmenero vezino que dixo ser de jaen e lo metió en la posesyon rreal çivil abtual corporal del e asy de un solar para casa señalado por juan de rreolid entallador conforme al dhº mandamyento que dixo que hera aquel solar contenydo en la traça e asy metido le traxo paseando por el e dixo que le dava e le dio la posesyon de él segund dicho es e le anparava e anparó en ella en tanto quanto puede e de derecho deve el qual es en la linde de la calle señalada de torres e alinda con la terçera calle que cruza arriba de la plaça hazia torres. el dhº xro^val gutierrez dixo que la aprendia e aprehendió la dhª posesyon e en señal dela se paseó por el de una parte a otra e lo pidió por testimyº como quedava contradiçion de persona alguna siendo testigos que fueron presentes al dhº rrequerymiento e al dar de la dhª posesyion marcos perez medidor vezino de lucena e xr^val gutierrez de morales e alonso de morales vezinos en jaen a santiago.^700*

This structured record provides useful information on what elements and conditions were in order for any settler to take possession of a property in a new town, become its citizen, and start its material construction. The following pages offer a dissection of this paragraph in separate parts to explain its diverse aspects, deepen into their significance, and compare them with other records conserved from the new towns planted in Sierra Sur in 1539.

1. En veyte ocho dias del mes de mayo año del nasçimiento de nrº señor iesu xrtº de myll e quynyentos e treynta e nueve años

[On the twenty-eighth day of the month of May on the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ of fifteen thirty-nine years].^701

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[699] According to Martín Jiménez Cobo, Cristobal Gutierrez Colmenero was the same person as Cristóbal Rodríguez Colmenero, who appears listed as the first settler in the assignment of plots written the day before. Most probably, this change of surname is just the notary's mistake. Jiménez Cobo, *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*, 287.

[700] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 147 r.-147 v.

[701] Translation by the author.

The paragraph begins by stating the specific date of the ceremony. Instead of being written at the beginning and the end of the log for each specific day, the date is written in all paragraphs of the possession taking record. Different urban and non-urban plots for one settler could be handed over in different days, especially if they were distant from one another. Completing all the acts instructed by the judge would take a considerable amount of time and it is possible to check how time passes as the record advances.

2. el dhº melchior de cañete alguazil estando en el dhº lugar e sytio de la mancha por virtud del dhº mandamyento de suso yncorporado

[the aforementioned Melchor de Cañete, deputy, being present at the aforementioned site of La Mancha by virtue of the aforementioned order incorporated in this document][702]

This part introduces Melchor de Cañete, deputy of Jaen, the person appointed by judge Rivadeneyra as responsible for the possession taking acts. He is named in every single paragraph, effectively linking his figure with the order [*mandamyento*] and the settler who was receiving his new property. The word *dhº*, abbreviation of *dicho* meaning "aforementioned", appears in the same fashion as many other fragments cited before in this dissertation. It is used every time the notary repeats a name, location, or date that was already referred to in previous paragraphs. In this way, the notary creates a link between the records of possession taking acts that happened on the same day or at the same place, as well as between the people participating in them.

3. tomó por la mano a xro<sup>val</sup> gutierrez colmenero vezino que dixo ser de jaen e lo metió en la posesyon rreal çivil abtual corporal del e asy de un solar para casa

[(Melchor de Cañete) took Cristobal Gutierrez by the hand, neighbour who said to be from Jaen and introduced him to the real, civil, current, and corporal property of a parcel for a house][703]

This line records the first action to be performed in each ceremony: Melchor de Cañete took the settler by his hand and physically introduced him in his assigned property, in this case, an urban parcel. The property is said to be "real, civil, current, and corporal," four very specific adjectives that refer to the legal status of the parcel. The property was real, authorized by the king, hence not a fake or a fabrication. The property was civil, legally recognized and written down in the new town's official record. The property was current [*actual*], up to date, not a gift to be made effective in the future but in the present moment. Finally,

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[702] Translation by the author.
[703] Translation by the author.

the property was <u>corporeal</u> [*corporal*], physical, composed of material things like earth, stones, and plants in the parcel that would be owned by the settler. Bodies had indeed a protagonist role in the taking of possession. A simple written transaction was not enough: the property over real estate could only be given from one body to another. The deputy's gesture taking the settler by his hand was not coincidental: he was acting a transmitter of the property rights ordered by law, to the physical body of the settler, being both of them standing over the parcel that was to be granted. This connection between law, right, body, and land was solemn and essential for the correct execution of the possession act.

Another relevant detail is the origin of the settler, in this case, Jaen. It is a piece of information that builds up the documental coherence between the possession taking record, the commandment of what pieces of land were to be granted to whom, and the list of settlers issued at earlier stages of the foundational process. The settler's profession is also included in some cases, especially for higher ranked individuals or jobs other than farmer that were relevant to the new town's future. For example, at Los Villares, Joan de Orne is presented as "of His Majesty's guard" [*de la guarda de Su Magestad*], and Pedro Garcia de Torres is introduced as "bread miller, neighbour of the aforementioned Jaen" [moli-/nero de pan, vezino de la dicha ciudad/ de Jaen].[704] At Campillo de Arenas, Myguel Lopez de Aguylar is referred as "builder" [*albanyr*] and Francisco Martinez as "chronicler His Majesty's council" [*relator del consejo de Su Magestad*].[705] Of course, there is a genre bias in these presentations: Women are introduced just as widows in most cases, without naming any specific profession. At most, they are said to be individual accompanied by their sons and other heirs of the deceased settler originally appointed.

4. señalado por juan de rreolid entallador conforme al dhº mandamyento que dixo que hera aquel solar contenydo en la traça

[marked by Juan de Reolid engraver according to the aforementioned order, who said it was <u>that</u> parcel contained in the plan][706]

It is then written that the parcel was laid out by Juan de Reolid, "engraver." In other records Reolid is presented as "engraver of the plan" [*e(n)-/tallador de los conthenidos e(n) la traça*], further highlighting his task. The marking of that specific plot was said to obey the judge's command and, more importantly, to be included in the plan of the city: "*aquel solar contenydo en la traça*" [that parcel contained in the plan]. This expression indicated that the piece of land being granted was, without any doubt, the same piece marked in the plan. In many cases, Reolid was present during the act of possession <u>with his plan in hand, a plan that</u>

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[704] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 288, 292.

[705] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 145 r., 151r.

[706] Translation by the author.

already had the names of the assigned settlers written on it. In others, Reolid was not on-site during the ceremony, but he was still named and refer as the person responsible for the layout of the town and its traced plan, so any demand or doubt regarding those should be addressed to him. In this way, the plan was not the representation of an urban project for a future city or a record of an already planted one: it was an active agent in the process of the plantation. Apart from recording information, measures, and orders, the plan was part of the whole ritual performance for possession taking, in a similar fashion to how the foundational book or the wooden cross to mark the future church were active legal entities of the uttermost importance for the foundation of the city.

5. e asy metido le traxo paseando por el e dixo que le dava e le dio la posesyon de él segund dicho es e le anparava e anparó en ella en tanto quanto puede e de derecho deve

[and in that way inside the parcel he (Melchor de Vergara) walked with him (Cristóbal Gutiérrez) and said that he would give him and gave him possession of it as said, and protected it (his possession) to the extent of his power and his lawful duty][707]

Then, the deputy, who was still holding hands with the settler, walked him through the parcel while saying that he gave him possession of it and offered lawful protection of his ownership rights. Once more, bodies acted as indispensable channels for bestowing land property and legal rights. During these acts, the deputy acted in representation of the judge and the judge embodied the law emanated from the Royal Council so, by holding hands with the recipient of the property, its ownership rights were supposed to literally 'pass' from one body to another. There is no record of possession taking in any of the four new towns in which settler and judge/deputy were not holding hands. In some cases, settlers acted through representatives who took the possession for them. When that happened, the deputy still took the representative by his hand as it represented the hand of the original settler, in the same way as the deputy's hand represented the hand of the judge. A humble example of this happened on June 27th at Los Villares, deputy Melchor de Cañete took the hand of Pedro Garcia de Archidona, who was acting in representation of his father Joan Gomez Sastre.[708] The use of representatives was also common among high-ranking settlers who did not live near Jaen.

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[707] Translation by the author

[708] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 329.

**Figure 185: 1539/1570, location of the parcel granted to Cristobal Gutiérrez Colmenero in Mancha Real foundational plan, following the record of the act of possession celebrated on May 28th, 1539. The map is oriented with the south on top. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada.**

6. el qual es en la linde de la calle señalada de torres e alinda con la terçera calle que cruza arriba de la plaça hazia torres.

[this being (the parcel) at the border of the street labelled "de torres" which borders with the third street that crossed upwards of the main square towards torres] [709]

The location of the parcel was recorded next. It was at Calle de Torres, the main street coming out from the square to the east, at the corner with the third secondary street "upwards", that is, towards the natural slope of Sierra Mágina coming from the south. The copy of Mancha Real's foundational plan features this settler's property in the same exact spot, matching the visual record of the foundational process with its written, notarial log (Figure 185).

The parallelism between both sources opens new paths for developing hypotheses for the plans of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas. In the case of Valdepeñas, whose possession taking records are not available, it was not possible to know with precision what exact parcel was assigned to each settler. However, Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas conserve their whole log of land properties and its transcription has been published. A trained scholar can rebuild the plan using the same method presented in *Siblings Overseas*, and then locate every single settler just by following the record. If the log of possession taking acts at Valdepeñas de Jaen were to be found, the plan proposal presented in precedent section could be revised and modified to offer a more accurate historical reconstruction

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[709] Translation by the author

7. el dhº xro^val gutierrez dixo que la aprendia e aprehendió la dhª posesyon

[the aforementioned Cristóbal Gutiérrez said that he would take and took the aforementioned possession] [710]

This is another vital part in the ceremony: Cristóbal Gutiérrez verbally accepted to take possession of his land. The exact wording varies from settler to settler. In this case from Mancha Real it is written "*la aprendia e aprehendió la dhª posesyon*" [(he) would take and took the aforementioned possession], but in others at Los Villares it says "*se dio por contento y entregado de la posesión*" [he declared to be content and provided of the possession].[711] There are also cases, particularly for urban parcels, when the deputy in charge asked the taker three times if he agreed with the assigned piece of land. The standard formula used at Campillo de Arenas was "*le requirio tres vezes, vna en pos de otra,/ sy se tenya por contento y entregado de la dicha posesión*" [(he) asked him three times, one after the other, if he declared to be content and provided of the aforementioned possession].[712] Also three times was the steward questioned during the act of possession for Mancha Real council's lands, leaving no room to doubt their agreement. This solemn act of confirmation was not exempt of religious resonance, posing the question three times in the same way that Jesus Christ asked Peter three times if he loved him.[713]

At this point, settlers who do not agree with their assigned piece of land can also reject the possession. For example, on July 30th, Hernando de Arnedo rejected a farmland parcel at Los Villares arguing that "he did not want it" [*no la quería*].[714] That same day, also at Los Villares, Hernan García de Cobaleda rejected another piece of farmland because "it was not too good" [*no era muy buena*].[715] Rivadeneyra would be eventually notified of these rejections and, after deliberation with the agents involved in the plantation, the settler would be given a new parcel.

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[710] Translation by the author.

[711] For example, in the record of the taking of a farmland parcel at Los Villares by Diego García del Moral on July 30th, 1539: Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 349.

[712] For example, in the record of the taking of an urban parcel at Campillo de Arenas by Tomas Lopez de Valbuena on July 14th, 1539: Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 127 v.

[713] John 21: 15-17.

[714] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, *Las nuevas poblaciones del Renacimiento. Los Villares (1508-1605)*, 397.

[715] Delgado Barrado, Fernández García, and López Arandia, 403.

8. e en señal dela se paseó por el de una parte a otra e lo pidió por testi-myº como quedava contradiçion de persona alguna

> [and, in signal of it (the taking of possession), he (the settler) walked through it (the parcel) from one part to another, and asked it as testimony without contradiction of no person] [716]

This is one of the most relevant and meaningful actions in the ceremony. Settlers, after accepting the property three times, needed to signal their agreement in some way. Some settlers did not make any specific action to assert acceptance and were logged in the record as people who "took the possession peacefully" [*aprehendio la posesyon paçificamente*].[717] A static and quiet stance or "being in peace" was considered a sign of compliance. However, this form of acceptance was minoritarian and most of the settlers engaged in short but meaningful actions that physically connected their bodies with their newly owned lands.

The main action of this sort consisted in just walking, nothing more, nothing less. When Cristóbal Gutiérrez Colmenero took possession of his parcel, he "walked through it from one part to another," and then asked this to be recorded as testimony of his possession. It was a simple action indeed, just a few steps through the lot of land, however it was considered significant enough to communicate a signal of legally binding possession. His short walk was recorded as a corporeal manifestation of his agreement with the given plot, confirming in actions what he had already spoken in words. This is one of the most peculiar parts in the act possession ritual, as it manifested a connection between law, property, the owner, his body, and the land he now possessed. The connection of walking with cultural, social, and political meanings is indeed a topic of historical and artistic enquiry that has received great attention in the past decades.[718]

In other records from Sierra Sur, it is said that the settler "walked through the parcel with their feet, bodily" [*paseó por el de pies, corporeamente*], using a

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[716] Translation by the author.

[717] Appears at several points of the record, for example at: Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 208 v.

[718] One of the most influential texts on this regard is Francesco Careri's "Walkscapes: Walking as an aesthetic practice," an essay that explores the significance of walking through history, from the Palaeolithic to a number of artistic practices in the twentieth century such as land art and the situationist derive. See: Francesco Careri, *Walkscapes: El Andar Como Práctica Estética. Walking as an Aesthetic Practice.*, Land&scape Series (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2002), 50–57; Gilles Ivain, Guy Debord, and Asger Jorn, *Teoría de La Deriva y Otros Textos Situacionistas Sobre La Ciudad* (Barcelona: MACBA/ACTAR, 1996). Joseph Rykwert also delved into the role of walked landscape in the origin of the street in: Joseph Rykwert, "La Calle: El Sentido de Su Historia," in *On Streets.*, ed. Stanford Anderson (Cambridge, Massachusets: The MIT Press, 1978), 23–35. The idea of how walking is intimately linked to how urban and non-urban spaces are understood and even created, have permeated the current state of the art, inspiring new approaches to the study of buildings, cities, and natural spaces through the framework of their walkable nature. See: Rafael Ángel De Lacour Jiménez, "Aproximaciones al proyecto arquitectónico: Miradas, paisajes, territorios y arquitecturas" (Tesis Doctoral, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2016), https://digibug.ugr.es/handle/10481/43399.

similar formula to when, in previous part of the foundational process, witnesses are said to have "sighted by eyes sight" [*visto por vista de ojos*] certain fact or event. To demonstrate knowledge and connection between a person and certain territorial feature, their body was an essential, unavoidable channel. Local farmers and shepherds, when consulted by Rivadeneyra because of their local knowledge, based their information on their experience walking the territory "by feet" and sighting its landscape "by eyes sight." Moreover, when the judge and his commission visited the foundational sites and their surroundings, they did so not only to get a first impression of their general disposition but to "walk by feet" and "see by eyes sight", to create a legally viable connection that would authorize their future arguments and decisions on how the new towns should be laid out. According to the legal framework of the time, this was the better kind of connection they could create: through their bodies and senses, reporting on what they have experienced *in-situ* instead of relying on second-hand witnesses alone.[719]

Most settlers who walked through their parcels to signal possession did not stopped there. Usually, the act of walking was accompanied by a second action that implied a direct modification of the parcel made by the settlers themselves, usually by hand. The most common formula by far was moving stones from one place to another [*mvdo piedras de una parte a otra*]. Sometimes, the stones were arranged in a specific way, creating a new stone marker of the parcel's limits, or rebuilding one of those originally placed by Rivadeneyra's measurers. Another popular option was to take a piece of soil [*terruño*], either by hand or using a hoe [*azadón*], and take it from one place to another. Once more, these were simple but highly significant actions whose genealogy can be tracked back to the classic Greco-Roman, Gothic, and Islamic roots of Hispanic culture. Soil and its modification are considered a foundational sign, present in most chronicles and myths on the plantation of towns and the creation of archetypical cities.[720] The use of the plow as part of the ritual to mark the new urban limits or the reunion of pieces of soils from different places at the town's center, were not only mentioned in manuscripts and treaties circulating during the sixteenth century: these ideas were also part of popular knowledge, even if the average Andalusian peasant may not be aware of its historical ramifications. Another factor in favour of these actions was that they could be performed in most parcels at Sierra Sur with relative ease. At rocky parcels uphill [*suertes de monte*] the option of taking stones from one place to another seems to be more popular, while at urban parcels and regular farmlands [*suertes de raso*] there is a mix between settlers who choose to move a piece of earth and those who took stones.

Re-arranging the soil of a newly given property was not the only option to signify possession over it, and the modification of any element in the parcel by the settler was indeed an acceptable sign. For example, on July 22nd of 1539,

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[719] This is the core concept of the
[720] Giorgio Muratore, *La città rinascimentale: tipi e modelli attraverso i trattati*, Planning and design (Milano: Mazzotta, 1975); Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1976.

Alonso Covo chose to rearrange a pile of already cut wood to take possession of a farmland parcel at Campillo de Arenas.[721] Still, wood was not a common sight in before the settler's arrival. It was far more usual to find small plants, trees and bushes, vegetation that most probably would be eventually mown or taken down to make place for buildings or crops. A considerable number of settlers in Sierra Sur chose to signal their possession by taking branches from these plants. This action could be performed alone or in combination with the ones mentioned before. For example, when the steward of Mancha Real took possession of the town council farmlands on June 28th, he walked through them, cut some branches of rosemary, and took some stones from one place to another [*anduvo por los dhᵒs solares e dehesa y exido y cortó rretamas e rromeros e mudó piedras de una parte a otra*], further signalling his power over the land and the will to change it.[722] Something quite relevant in the record of actions such as this is that the notary noted the specific species being modified, from small plants such as rosemary and thistle to full grown oaks, ashes, and poplars.[723] More than 20 species of trees and bushes are mentioned through the records of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas, providing an overview of which species were abundant at the foundational sites and which names were used for them (

Figure 186). Oak trees could be refered as *quexigos* or *robres*, both words still in use today, and kermes oaks appear named as *chaparros*, *cozcojas* or *coxcoxas*. The record also allows readers to infer which species were more abundant in certain areas. For instance, settlers taking possession in a place where oaks are abundant will often cut branches from them, filling the section of the record linked with that particular site. When the steward of Campillo de Arenas council took possession of the farmlands between Puerta de Arenas and the new town's pastures, he took some branches from a willow, a tree that does not appear in any of the parcels taken by settlers. This signals the unique location of that particular farmland and its extension, occupying a site separated from the lands of the regular folk.

At some points, the notary introduced corrections for a tree or bush incorrectly recorded. For example, during the taking of the possession on July 20th of the vineyard for Alonso Lendines and Cristobal Sanchez at Campillo de Arenas, the notary first wrote that they had taken a branch of rosemary, then crossed that

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[721] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e jurisdiçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 223 v.

[722] "Libro del lugar y población de Mancha Real," fol. 287 v.

[723] Species mentioned in the record of possession taking acts at Los Villares: Arbutus, hawthorn, gorse, oak, kermes oak, thin poplar, *lanternago*, willow, thick ash tree, holm oak, ivy, *torvisco*, mastic, white asphodel, dwarf palms, *genista*, and rose hip [*Madroño, espino, abulaga, quejigo (roble), cozcoja/coxcoxa/chaparro, alamo prieto, lanternago, sauce, frexno gordo, carrasca, yedra, torvisco, lentisco, gamon, maragallo, aulaga/genista y escaramuxo*].

Species mentioned in the record of possession taking acts at Campillo de Arenas: Oak, poplar, thistle, kermes oak, *torvisco*, wheat, olive tree (of the *cornicabra* variety), rosemary, fennel, hawthorn, pine, *iniesta/genista*, rosehip, and willow [*quejigo, alamo, cardo, chaparro/coscoxa, torvisco, trigo, cornycabra, romero, hinojo, espino, pino, iniesta/genista, escaramujo, sauce*].

lined and noted *quexigos*.[724] On July 22nd, during the possession taking of a farm-land parcel by Benyto Sanchez del Moral, the notary wrote down *quexigo* [oak] and then changed it with *espino* [hawthorn]. These corrections feature the level of care and precision of the record. Even though it is impossible to guarantee that all species listed were absolutely correct, it is safe to say that the notary and other agents involved invested a great effort to present the facts with as much exactitude as they were capable of, introducing changes and corrections when necessary, and following a structured methodology of every settler was comparable with the rest of them.[725]

9. siendo testigos que fueron presentes al dhº rrequerymiento e al dar de la dhª posesyion marcos perez medidor vezino de lucena e xrᵛᵃˡ gutierrez de morales e alonso de morales vezinos en jaen a santiago

[being witnesses that were present at the aforementioned mandate and at the giving of the aforementioned possession Marcos Perez, measurer neighbour of Lucena, and Cristobal Gutierrez de Morales and Alonso de Morales, neighbours of Jaen and Santiago][726]

The paragraph ends by listing the witnesses who confirmed the possession. As every single settler received four different parcels of lands at different times, their witnesses varied from lot to lot. It is also common to find settlers taking possession who then acted as witnesses of the possession of other settlers at that same day and place. In the particular case of Cristobal Gutiérrez, his witnesses had also been present during the lecture of the mandate provided by the judge, which was hereby mentioned in the record of the possession taking act. Another relevant detail is the mention to the witnesses' origin as well as their profession if it was relevant to the foundational process, following the same criteria shown in earlier sections of the foundational book.

### The possession taking act in nine steps.

In sum, the protocol for possession taking can be summarized in nine steps that were repeated in most acts, usually in the same order (Figure 187):

1. Record of the specific date and place.
2. Mention to the deputy in charge of the ceremony and the original commandment issued by the judge Juan de Rivadeneyra.
3. The deputy takes the settler/s by his/her/their hand and introduce them in the new parcel.

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[724] Vázquez de Acuña, "Libro del lugar e poblaçion del Canpillo de Arenas, termino e juris-diçion e la muy noble e muy nonbrada íbdad de Jaem," fol. 218 r.

[725] The possession taking by Juan Tavera on July19th, conducted directly by the judge and recorded in a different section, is the only exception to this rule.

[726] Translation by the author.

4. Mention to the nature of the parcel and the person responsible of marking it. If it was an urban parcel, the record mentions that it matches with the plan traced by Juan de Reolid. If it was a farmland parcel or vineyard, the record mentions the name of the measurer in charge.

5. The deputy takes the settler/s and walks them across the parcel, officially giving possession of it to the settler.

6. The precise position of the parcel is stated. When the acts for several parcels are celebrated consecutively, the position of one of them can refer to those recorded previously. The position can also mention street names, the church, the main square, among other landmarks.

7. The settler/s accept the possession. They are usually asked three times if they are content and provided of the property. Settlers can also reject the possession at this point if they do not agree with its size, its general condition, or the quality of its land for building or farming. In that case, the rejection is recorded, and the judge eventually notified.

8. The settler/s performs one or several actions to signal their possession to be taken as testimony of their acceptance. The performance included a combination of actions such as walking across the parcel, moving rocks, taking soil from one place to another, making holes, building stone markers, moving a pile of wood, cutting branches from trees or bushes in the parcel, among others. When branches are cut down, the notary logs the particular species of the plant.

9. The possession act record is signed off by witnesses who were present during the whole ceremony.

In sum, the act for possession taking was a highly protocolized ceremony in which each action held legal and symbolic meaning. Its normative framework was composed by the Castilian laws of the time, as well as religious influences reflecting acts such as the triple affirmation of Saint Peter. Medieval legal traditions were also embedded in these rituals through the corporeal quality of property and the need to transmit it from one body to another, the interaction between the body of the taker and the taken land, as well as the requirement of witnesses to be present at the place and time of the ceremony. [727] Finally, the whole act needed to be recorded by an authorized notary in a structured way, so it could be consulted in the future. It was of the uttermost importance since the log of possession taking acts served as a backlog for any future scripture of property and for real estate businesses.

From a contemporary perspective, the record of acts for the taking of possession are of great documental value. In the cases of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas, the record of these ceremonies occupies more than half of the pages in the foundational book. It logs fine grain information such as exact locations of

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[727] Tomás Puñal Fernández, "Análisis documental de los rituales de posesión en la Baja Edad Media," *Espacio Tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Historia Medieval* 15 (January 1, 2002): 113–48, https://doi.org/10.5944/etfiii.15.2002.3676.

parcels, dates and other references to time and space, names of agents involved in the ceremony, as well as non-human agents such as trees, plants, rocks of different types and soils whose quality is constantly evaluated. The information stored in these records, summed to the possession taking acts of Mancha Real that has not been transcribed, offer great opportunity for future inquiries focused on the environmental state of Sierra Sur in before and after the plantation, the social structure of the settler community and, of course, the reconstruction of the foundational plans for Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas. At Valdepeñas de Jaén, the lack of possession taking records have a great impact on any future hypothesis or reconstructions regarding its foundational history. It is a documental wound, a vital missing piece in the foundational puzzle.

**ARBUTUS - *MADROÑO***

LOS VILLARES

**HAWTHORN - *ESPINO***

LOS VILLARES - CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

**GORSE - *ABULAGA***

LOS VILLARES

**OAK - *QUEJIGO***

LOS VILLARES - CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

**KERMES OAK - *CHAPARRO***

LOS VILLARES - CAMP ILLO DE ARENAS

**THIN POPLAR - *ÁLAMO PRIETO***

LOS VILLARES - CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

**WILLOW- SAUCE**

LOS VILLARES - CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

**THICK ASH TREE - FREXNO GORDO**

LOS VILLARES

**HOLM OAK -CARRASCA**

LOS VILLARES

**IVY - YEDRA**

LOS VILLARES

**TORVISCO - TORVISCO**

LOS VILLARES - CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

**LANTERNAGO- LENTISCO**

LOS VILLARES

**WILLOW- *GAMÓN***

LOS VILLARES

**THICK ASH TREE - *MARGALLO***

LOS VILLARES

**HOLM OAK - *AULAGA/GENISTA***

LOS VILLARES

**IVY - *ESCARAMUXO***

LOS VILLARES - CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

**THISTLE - *CARDO***

CAMIPILLO DE ARENAS

**WHEAT - *TRIGO***

CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

TEREBINTH - *CORNYCABRA*

CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

ROSEMARY -*ROMERO*

CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

FENNEL - *HINOJO*

CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

PINE - *PINO*

CAMPILLO DE ARENAS

INIESTA/GENISTA- *INIESTA/GENISTA*

CAMIPILLO DE ARENAS
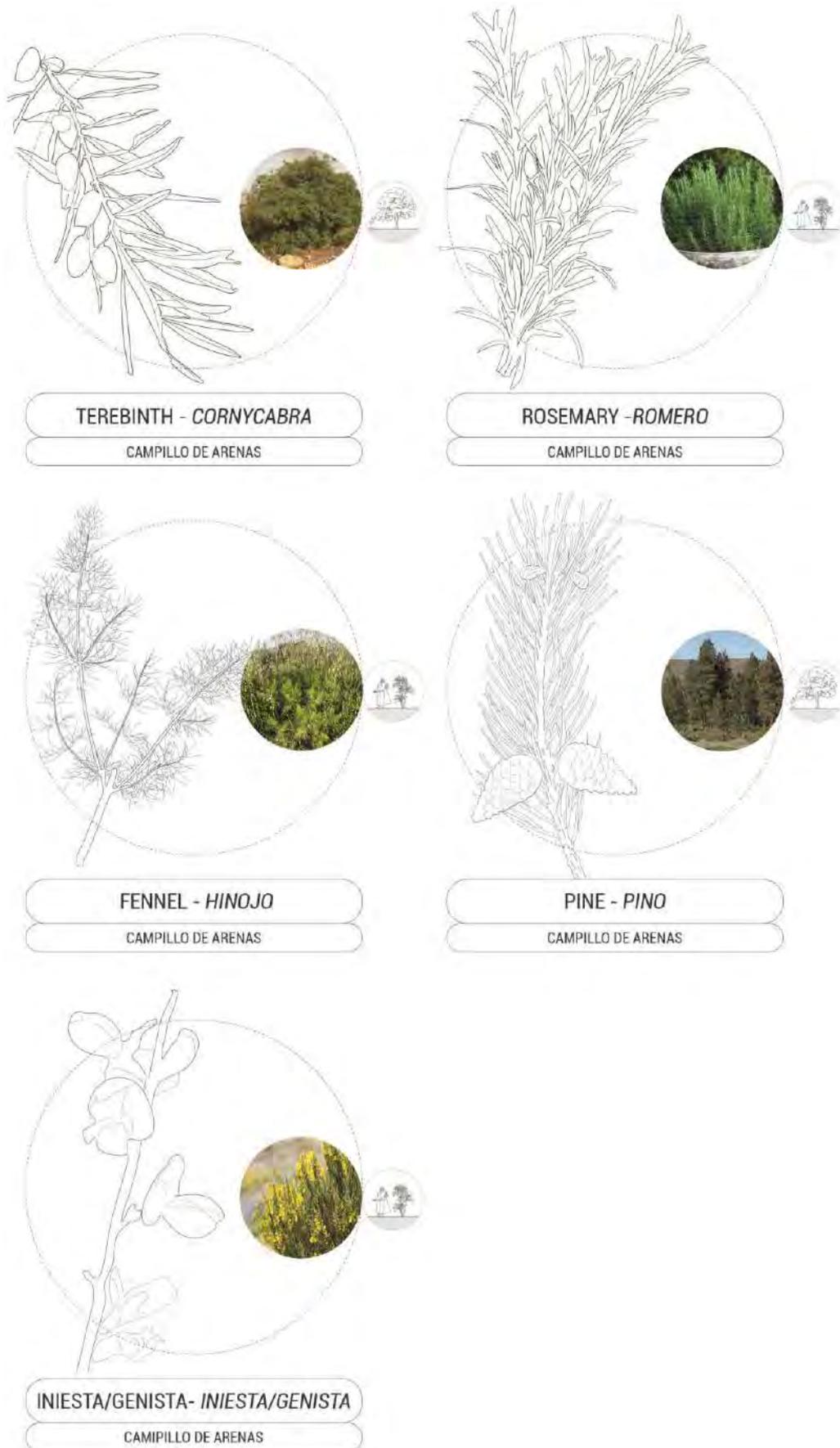
**Figure 186: Catalogue of species mentioned in possession taking acts records of Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas. © Manuel Sánchez García**
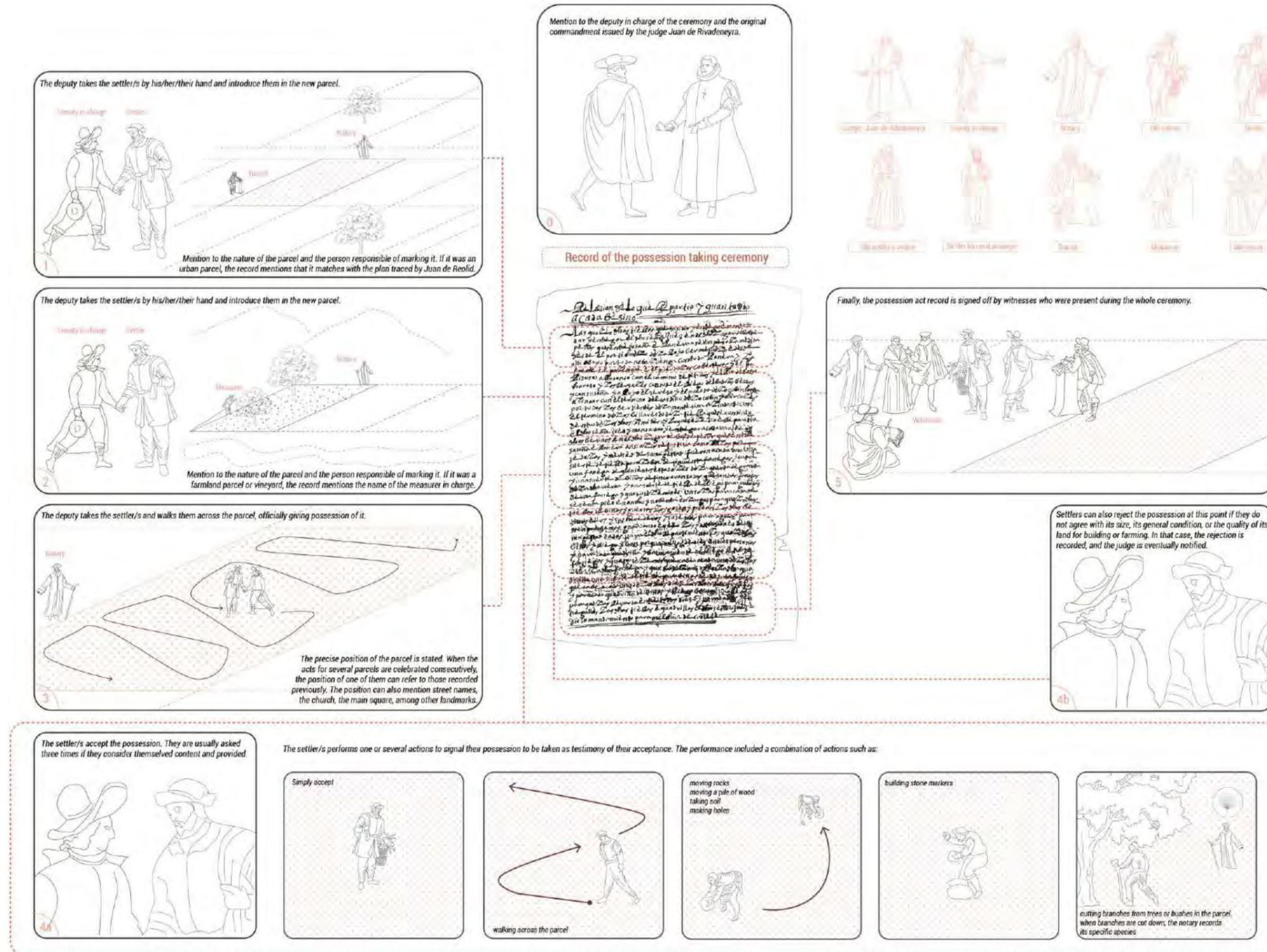
**Figure 187: Actions performed by deputies and settlers during the possession taking act. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

## 2.9 Aftermath of Sierra Sur colonization project.

By the end of 1539, all new towns in Sierra Sur were completely set up and ready to operate, at least, from the institutional and legal point of view. From an urban perspective, the new towns were still a bunch of unpaved streets and unbuilt parcels. They would remain in a similar state for the following years, slowly being constructed as the population got stablished. As we have seen, most of the settlers in Sierra Sur were citizens of Jaen and other neighbouring towns, so it was not too difficult for them to work their lands and maintain the officiality of their settlement rights without moving houses definitely until years later. This lack of a stablished physical form was not synonym of a quiet institutional life; on the contrary, the councils of all four new towns were active part of the regional political scene, featuring a steadfast desire for independence born from their historical conflicts with the Jaen's capital. To close the argument on Sierra Sur, the following paragraphs cover some of the documents and buildings that provide testimony of these early years, further emphasising on the case of Valdepeñas.

Most of the documents referred here are held at local and provincial historical archives scattered across the region. Some of them are conserved as central pieces of local archives and are referred often in official media develop by town councils and cultural associations. That is the case of the royal villa privileges. Other documents in this section are included in lists of historiographical resources and miscellanea of manuscripts. They have been circulated thanks to volumes and articles by scholars such as Manuel González Jiménez, as well as compilations like the recently published volume by Pedro Galera Andreu and Miguel Ruiz Calvente.[728] These sources open new lines of research that, even though they go beyond the reach of this dissertation, highlight how the contribution of *Siblings Overseas* connect with Sierra Sur documental heritage.

### *16th – 18th cc., Royal Villa privileges and lawsuits related to them. The case of Valdepeñas de Jaén.*

During the second half of the 16th century, king Philip II reinstated a policy that made possible for small towns to buy the privilege to become royal villas or *villas realengas*.[729] Many small cities and villages under Castilian rule acquired this status, becoming indebted with the royal treasure in the process. To afford it,

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[728] Pedro A. Galera Andreu and Miguel Ruiz Calvente, *Corpus documental para la historia del arte en Jaén: Arquitectura del s. XVI* (Jaén, 2006); Manuel González Jiménez, "Fuentes para la historia de la frontera Castellano-Granadina," *Boletín de la Real academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae Baeticae*, no. 37 (2009): 29–40.

[729] About the selling of royal villa privileges during the old regime, consult the work of Susuana Truchuelo: Susana Truchuelo García, "Villas y Aldeas En El Antiguo Régimen: Conflicto y Consenso En El Marco Local Castellano," *Mundo Agrario* 14, no. 27 (December 2013), http://www.scielo.org.ar/scielo.php?script=sci_abstract&pid=S1515-59942013000200012&lng=es&nrm=iso&tlng=es. See also: Juan Antonio López Cordero, "Cartas de Privilegio de Independencia Jurídica en Jaén durante el reinado de Felipe II," *Elucidario* 3 (2007): 255–66.

the councils of newly appointed royal villas arranged additional taxes and money collection so the debt could be distributed among all its neighbours and slowly paid in periodical instalments. It was quite common that royal villas eventually found themselves unable to cover their debt. Lords, noblemen, and other powerful agents often took advantage of this situation, covering the cost of the whole privilege in exchange for owning the town. Its exchange would hereby change from a royal villa or *villa realenga* to a lordship villa or *villa de señorío*.

Although the new towns in Sierra Sur were originally intended to be part of Jaen's *alfoz* and grow under its jurisdiction, that situation would not last long. All four new towns in Sierra Sur made quick use of this policy and became royal villas just a few decades after their plantation. Mancha Real was the first in 1557, then it came Valdepeñas de Jaén in 1558, and Campillo de Arenas in 1559. The process for Los Villares was the latest in the group, with a delayed privileged that finally arrived in 1600.[730] This fact signals the complicated political relationship between the new cities and Jaen's Council, with which they have been litigating between 1508 and 1539. Even during the final foundational process coordinated by Juan de Rivadeneyra in 1539, Jaen issued several protests and demands against the new town, including petitions to completely cancel some of the plantations. As it has been explained in previous sections, the negotiation was difficult and implied the imposition of taxes and boundaries over the newly arrived settlers.

Becoming royal villas was a way out for these towns to escape their dependence to Jaen's elites and acquire legal faculties and freedom to take their own decisions. A royal villa did not respond to any provincial council, only to the Crown and the Royal Council. They operated similarly to lordship villas but, instead of being managed by a single lord or noble family, the citizens of the royal villa were free to elect their own majors, deputies, and councilmen. They could also elect their own body of judges, meaning that any crimes or offense could be put on trial at the own city instead of recurring to the 'foreign' magistrates of Jaen. Moreover, royal villas had the authority to manage all land inside their jurisdiction as they pleased, virtually avoiding future territorial conflicts against Jaen and other surrounding towns. Of course, this was not the case and further disputes arise over the years but, thanks to the royal villa status of the new towns, their position was much stronger in case of negotiation or legal demand.[731]

The official documents enacting royal villa privileges are beautifully illustrated manuscripts of great value. That is indeed the case for all four new towns

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[730] López Arandia, "De las ciudades del Renacimiento a las ciudades de la Ilustración. El caso del Reino de Jaén.," 242–43.

[731] One immediate example is the conflict between Noalejo and Campillo de Arenas mentioned in previous sections. On paper, both villas were protected by royal privilege, so they stood at the same hierarchical level during their confrontation in court. However, Noalejo had been directly granted to Doña Mencía de Salcedo as a valuable woman trusted by queens and kings, posing a much closer link with the royal council than the bought privilege of Campillo de Arenas. For more information on the origins and history of Noalejo, see: Manuel Amezcua, *El Mayorazgo de Noalejo. Historia y Etnografía de La Comunidad Rural.* (Jaén: Ayuntamiento de Noalejo, 1993).

in Sierra Sur, where each royal council guards at least a copy of the original privilege in their archives. For example, the 1558 royal privilege for Valdepeñas de Jaén presents decorated calligraphy, floral banners, and the figure of *Santiago Matamoros* [James the Moorslayer] (Figure 188). The representation of James the Moorslayer was indeed a quite popular image during the Reconquista: a mythical version of the Apostle Saint James engaged in battle against Muslims (Figure 189). His figure was well spread along the Andalusian frontier, symbolizing Christian willingness to fight and domain Hispanic-Muslim lands. The templar order of Santiago, devoted to Saint James, used it thoroughly. Moreover, the church of Valdepeñas de Jaén was dedicated to Saint James by Juan Rivadeneyra on April 29th of 1539, so it was only natural that this foundational devotional image would carry on to the first page of the royal privilege. The figure of James the Moorslayer is encased in a 'D' decorated with golden leaves, connecting with the rest of the emperor's name DON FILIPE, all written in smaller golden letters with branches and leaves. The emperor's crest is featured in the central, lower part of the page, flanked by one winged female bust in each side (Figure 190).

Valdepeñas royal privilege states that the amount paid for it was of 1.370.000 *maravedíes* [*Un cuento y trescientos setenta mil maravedís*], a very high burden over for such a small community of settlers. To afford it, new taxes and yearly tributes were imposed over all citizens in the town, particularly over those who managed the council's farmland and public sites such as the council's ovens and mills. The payment appears mentioned as a matter of concern in the records of council meetings even in the 17th century, when the new town was nearing its first century of life.[732] The privilege also states the jurisdictional limits of the town and its new rights, which were signed off on April 21th, 1558 (Figure 191).

Despite the rise in hierarchy that this privilege brought for Valdepeñas, its political tensions with Jaen did not end there. The Council of Jaen immediately protested against Valdepeñas independence and started a lawsuit at Granada's Royal Chancery that would last until 1579. The verdict favoured Valdepeñas, and a second privilege was signed confirming its independence (Figure 192). This second manuscript features James the Moorkiller in a different style and a way more protagonist role. In the scene, James is presented in his typical attack pose, bearing the cross of Santiago. The fight takes place in the mountains surrounding Jaen, which appear protected by its numerous castles and fortifications (Figure 193). The document compiles all the rights and concessions made to Valdepeñas settlers in 1558, effectively confirming its status of royal villa and shielding it against any future lawsuit. It was signed on April 29 of 1579, exactly four decades after the naming and foundation of Valdepeñas by Juan de Rivadeneyra (Figure 194). Both royal privileges were accompanied by royal weights with the effigy of Philip II on one side and the imperial crest on the opposite side (Figure 195).

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[732] José Manuel Marchal Martínez, "Apuntes en torno a la independencia jurídica de Valdepeñas de Jaén: el privilegio de villa (1558)," *Trastámara, revista de Ciencias Auxiliares de la Historia* 3 (2009): 87.

These were threaded to the binding the book, acting as a seal to prevent the extraction or modification of its pages. Eventually, the threads wore off, the weights fell and deteriorated over time, erasing most of their details (Figure 196).

Even though manuscripts include details of the plantation process that were already recorded in the foundational books of Valdepeñas, their artistic quality and improved readability made them valuable assets. According to the historian José Manuel Marchal, judges and lawyers "presented them as evidence in tens of lawsuits against the city of Jaen and other bordering settlements."[733] The same applies to the royal villa privileges of the other three new towns in Sierra Sur. Their legal and symbolic relevance is still celebrated today. These documents, along with the foundational books, speak of a fully-fledged protocol for urban planning, a strong normative framework for public and private real state, and complex legal system controlling territorial governance. Conflicts and confrontations among Spanish early modern cities were developed exclusively through civil law procedures, with no generals or military juries involved even though the strong frontier component that was still present in the Andalusian borderland.

The royal privilege was later confirmed once more in the 18th century, after a long lawsuit between Valdepeñas council and the Count of Santa Coloma, a small town in the province of Barcelona (Figure 197).[734] According to the record, the Count of Santa Coloma argued to have bought Valdepeñas' rights and be its new owner, changing its status to a lordship or *villa de señorío*. This change happened often in towns that bought royal villa privilege in the 16th century as a result of Philip II policies but whose citizens found themselves unable to pay later on. One way to solve this kind of situation was to sell the villa to a rich person, someone who would take care of the debt in exchange of becoming the new lord or lady of the town. This mechanism was used by already stablished noblemen and women to extend their domains, at the same time it helped rising fortunes to escalate the aristocracy and elevate their social position.

However, the scenario of Valdepeñas was quite different. Valdepeñas was up to date in its payments and had no need to sell its privileges, on the contrary, its status of royal villa was a vital piece of his governance system and political life. On the opposing part, the Count of Santa Coloma stated that he had bought the town's privilege to a third party and demanded his property rights to be enacted. After a series of hearings and trials, the court failed in favour of Valdepeñas and confirmed his royal rights for the third time in 1785. The record of this lawsuit is conserved at Valdepeñas council's archive and has been traditionally studied parallelly to the previous privileges of 1558 and 1579, forming a documental triad intimately tied to the local foundational narrative and its regional heritage.

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[733] Marchal Martínez, 80. English translation by the author.

[734] Concejo de Justicia y Regimiento de Valdepeñas de Jaén, "Ejecutoria ganada contra Conde de Santa Coloma" (Valdepeñas de Jaén, 1785), Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén.

**Figure 188: 1558, *Real Ejecutoria otorgada por Felipe II donde se concede a Valdepeñas de Jaén el título de Villa*. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Photography by Manuel Sánchez García.**



**Figure 189: 1558, figure of Saint James Moorkiller [*Santiago Matamoros*] in the first page of *Real Ejecutoria otorgada por Felipe II donde se concede a Valdepeñas de Jaén el título de Villa*. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Picture by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

**Figure 190: 1558, Philip II imperial crest in the first page of *Real Ejecutoria otorgada por Felipe II donde se concede a Valdepeñas de Jaén el título de Villa*. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Picture by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**



**Figure 191: Signatures of the Royal Council members in the last page of *Real Ejecutoria otorgada por Felipe II donde se concede a Valdepeñas de Jaén el título de Villa*. According to the heading paragraph, these were written at Valladolid on April 21st, 1558. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Picture by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

Figure 192: 1579, *Ejecutoria del concejo de justicia e requerimiento de la villa de valdepeñas contra la ciudad de Jaén*. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Photography by Manuel Sánchez García.



Figure 193: 1579, detail of Saint James Moorkiller illustration in the first page of *Ejecutoria del concejo de justicia e requerimiento de la villa de valdepeñas contra la ciudad de Jaén*. The background landscape presents features similar to Sierra Sur: a mountainous territory protected by towers and castles, with a city built right afoot the mountain. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Pictures by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.
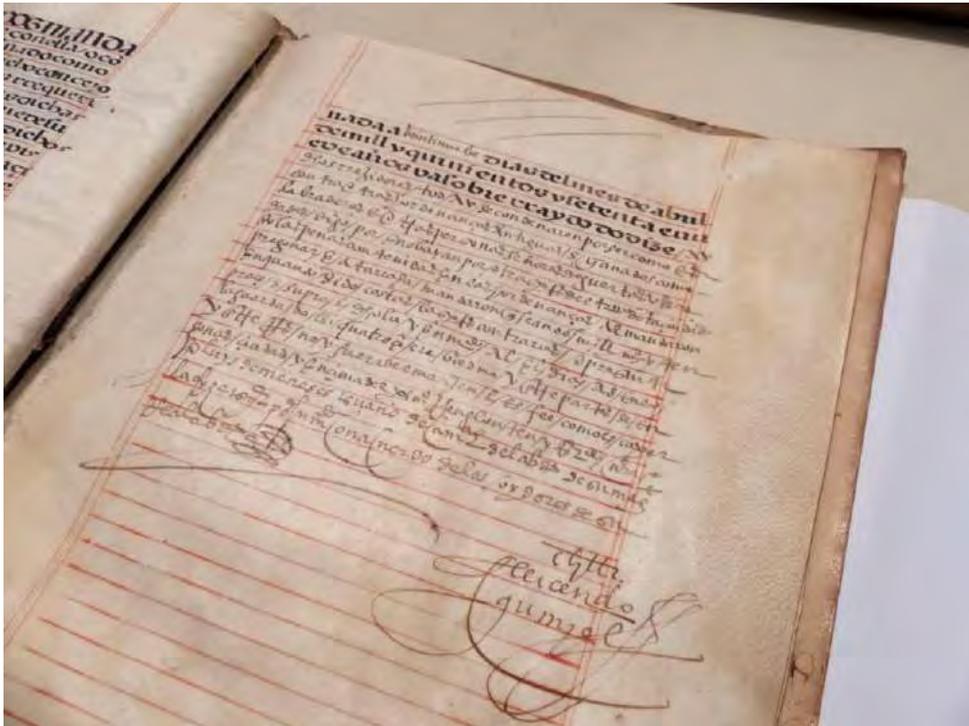
**Figure 194: 1579, Final page of Valdepeñas confirmation of royal privileges. The document was prepared knowing that it would be signed at Granada in April 1579, but the specific date was left blank. When it was signed later on, a different person filled the gap with the date "Veintinuebe" (29) and added new annotations. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Pictures by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**



**Figure 195: Philip II seal accompanying the 1579 confirmation of Valdepeñas de Jaen royal privileges. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Pictures by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

**Figure 196: The two Philip II royal seals accompanying the 1558 royal privilege for Valdepeñas de Jaen (right) and its 1579 confirmation (left). Both seals follow a similar model: one side with the emperor's figure, seating in the imperial throne and holding the globe, and the imperial crest on the reverse. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Pictures by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**
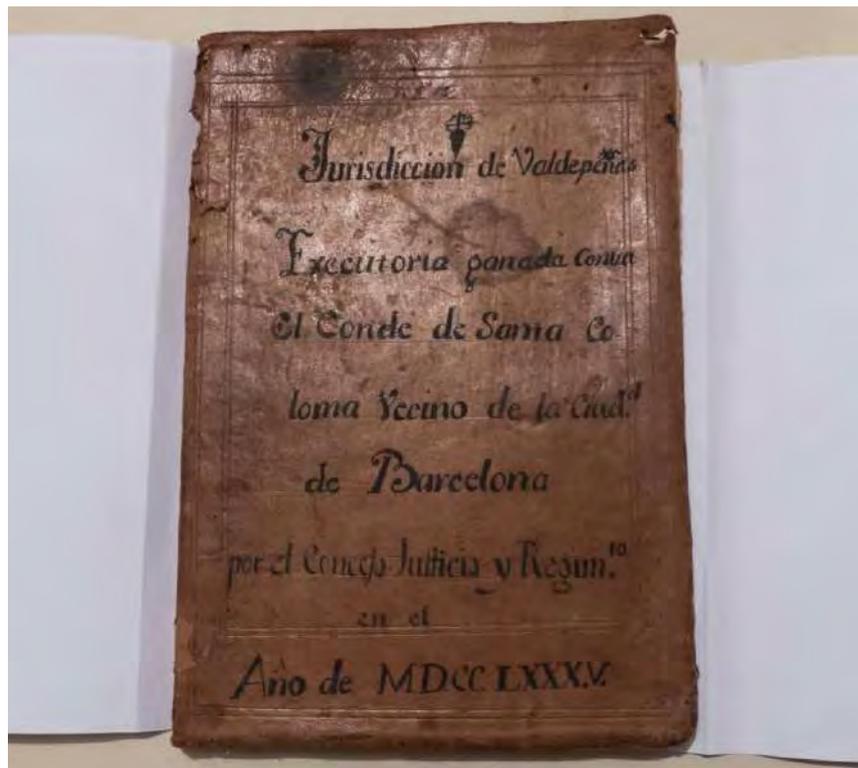


**Figure 197: Cover of the lawsuit of Valdepeñas de Jaen against the Count of Santa Coloma, Barcelona, for maintaining the status of royal villa. © Archivo Municipal de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Pictures by Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

### *1547, Contract and instruction to build a house at Valdepeñas de Jaén.[735]*

Guarded at the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén*, this document is one of the few manuscripts conserved regarding the first years of Valdepeñas after its foundation. It refers to a context where the physical form of the new town was not stablished. It pages contain a signed contract between Andrés Rivero, settler of Valdepeñas, Juan de Ademes, a builder from Jaén who was hired to build Rivero's house. The contract includes the technical specifications of the house and its construction process, including the construction techniques and materials that were to be used for the foundations, the walls, the floors, the roofs, etc. It makes reference to quality requirements, the specific schedule of payment, dates for the beginning and expected ending of the job, among other information that provides a better image of how the city was being built eight years after its plantation.

This contract is not the only manuscript of this nature conserved today. For example, a deed signed in 1553 by a builder from Jaen named Cristóbal Cano states his commitment to build a series of houses at Los Villares.[736] The document, signed off by Jaen's judge Cristóbal de Biedma, included a list of technical instructions similar to those in Ademes' contract. The coincidences between these and other documents regarding building techniques and technologies evidence the existence of a stablished local tradition, which would be transferred to the new towns thanks to the involvement professional builders and constructors arrived from Jaen and other parts of the region.

### *1569, Earlier baptism records in Valdepeñas de Jaén.[737]*

Another document of great value is the earlier record conserved of children baptized at Valdepeñas de Jaén, which dates from 1569 (Figure 198). Its introductory paragraph reads:

> *Libro de los baptizados desta villa de Valdepeñas començaren/se a escrevir dende el año de [tachado] sesenta [tachado] mil y quinientos y sense/ta y nueve años siendo el primero prior que fue desta dicha villa / después de su población el bachiller Pedro Díaz y beneficiado y mayordo/mo Benito del*

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[735] Melchor De la Serna (Escribano), "Concierto entre el señor don Andrés de Ribero contra Juan de Adame" (Contrato, Valdepeñas de Jaén, February 22, 1547), lEG. 366 F. 143V-145, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén. Transcription by Pedro A. Galera and Miguel Ruiz available at: Galera Andreu and Ruiz Calvente, *Corpus documental para la historia del arte en Jaén*, 135–41.

[736] Martín Sánchez Cachiprieto (escribano), "Escritura entre el jurado de la ciudad de Jaén, Cristóbal de Biedma, y el albañil Cristóbal Cano para construir unas casas en los Villares" (Jaén, 1558), Leg. 334, Fs. 29r. - 29v., Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén. Transcription by Pedro A. Galera and Miguel Ruiz available at: Galera Andreu and Ruiz Calvente, *Corpus documental para la historia del arte en Jaén*, 132–35.

[737] "Libro primero de bautismos de Valdepeñas de Jaén" (Valdepeñas de Jaén, 1569), Archivo Parroquial de Valdepeñas de Jaén.

*Hierro acabose de escribir otro libro antes / desde que duro diez y nueve años el qual comença y acaba el señor / prior.*[738]

[Book of those baptized at this villa of Valdepeñas started to been written on the year of ~~sixty~~ one thousand and five hundred and sixty nine years being the first prior of this villa after its settlement the bachelor Pedro Díaz and steward Benito del Hierro being finished another book before that lasted for nineteen years which was started and ended by the sir prior.][739]

As these words point out, there was an earlier baptism record at Valdepeñas, however it has not been conserved. Even though that first document is not accessible today, the log starting on 1569 is a valuable asset for future research that offers substations information regarding local demographic, religious practices, notarial criteria, and the management of Valdepeñas parish church.[740]
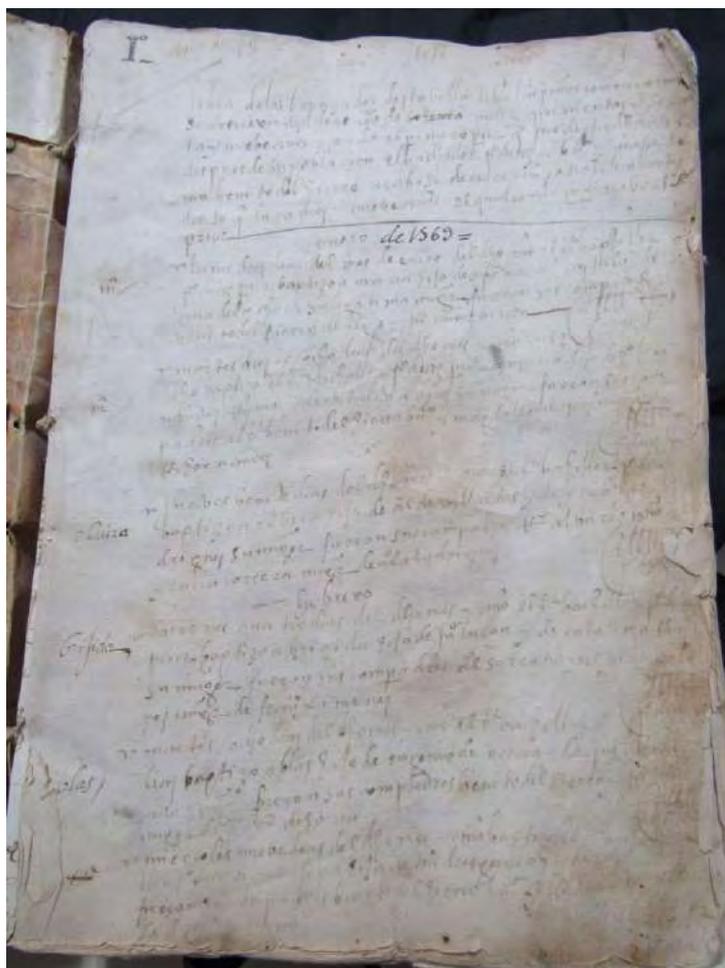


**Figure 198: 1569, first page of the earlier record of baptisms at Valdepeñas de Jaén. © Archivo Parroquial de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Picture by José Manuel Marchal.**

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[738] Transcription by José Manuel Marchal.
[739] English translation by the author.
[740] A full professional transcription of the document is currently on development.

### 18th c., Correspondence of Tomas Lopez, Royal Cartographer, regarding the new towns at Sierra Sur.

Later documents regarding the four new towns planted by Juan de Rivadeneyra include the correspondence of the Royal Cartographer Tomás López. López was in charge of the cartography office of King Charles III and work in coordination with the cadastre being developed by Zenón de Somodevilla, 1st Marquess of Ensenada.[741] The objective of their work was to produce a detailed archive of demographic and cartographic information of the different regions in Spain, vital for the modernization of their management and the collection of taxes, among other issues.

One of the most important products of this endeavour would be the National Atlas of Spain published in 1804, two years after the decease of Tomás López.[742] To support the atlas, all councils and parish churches in the territory were asked to report on the configuration and state of their cities, towns, and village, as well as the territories surrounding them. Public servants and priests from all provinces in Spain wrote back to the royal cartographer, providing a considerable number of reports and testimonies.[743] The information included in them vary greatly from one to another. Some are just written reports with different levels of clarity and precision. Others include rudimentary maps and plans that are difficult to interpretate. However, in other cases, the reports were made by trained officials who offered valuable information of the finest grain, taking care for minor details, names of secondary landmarks, paths, streams, and other elements that may have slipped through a more general study.

Some of these reports are particularly useful to track the urban evolution of the new towns in Sierra Sur. Thanks to depictions such as the one made for Campillo de Arenas by its local priest, it is possible to determine, for example, the degree of consolidation of its original plantation, how many of the assigned plots had been effectively built and how many remained empty (Figure 199). The general image it provides is that of a regularly traced but quite small village, far from the 165 urban parcels originally laid out and distributed by Rivadeneyra's foundational commission.

A final example of report to Tomás López featuring Sierra Sur can be found later in the chronology. It is the map of Castillo de Locubín, a town in Sierra Sur preceding the new plantations of 1539 (Figure 200). Campillo de Arenas stands still today as a sort of gate to the interior of Sierra Sur when coming from Alcalá la Real. The map developed in 1793 for the Royal Cartographer, depicts Castillo de Locubín in this same fashion, locating it in the center of the drawing as a

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[741] José Martín López, *Cartógrafos Españoles* (Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento, Instituto Geográfico Nacional, 2017).

[742] López, "Atlas geográfico de España, que Comprehende el Mapa General del Reyno, y los Particulares de Sus Provincias / Por D. Tomás Lopez, Geógrafo que fue de los Dominios de S.M., de varias academias y sociedades."

[743] All the documents of Tomás López correspondence consulted during the development of *Siblings Overseas* are stored at the Spanish National Library – Biblioteca Nacional de España.

midpoint between Alcalá la Real to the east and Martos to the west. From there, a number of roads and rivers permeate the surrounding valleys, showing how Castillo de Locubín is encased between two mountains. The map features two other towns: Almedinilla, located in the lower plains guarded by Alcalá la Real, and Valdepeñas de Jaén at the higher point of the topography, only accessible through the mountain port of Locubín. The cities and towns in the map are not indicated with stylized symbols such as those in Valdepeñas's 1781 plan, but with small drawings that present their singular urban spaces. Even though their facture is quite rudimentary, it is clearly distinguishable how the drawing for Valdepeñas matches with its main square, showing the lateral façade of the church, the belltower, and the sacristy in the same places the stand today. The castles, towers, and fortified towers of Alcalá la Real and Alcaudete appear as their main landmarks, while in Castillo de Locubín there is just a single tower surrounded by a dense tissue of houses. As we have seen, whose buildings would eventually entrap the small fortress at Castillo de Locubín and make it almost invisible to the untrained eye.

Other reports do not focus on the plan of the towns but on their geographical position, their landscape and their connections with surrounding cities and landmarks. That is the case of the letter sent on August 23$^{rd}$ of 1781 to Tomás López by Tomás de Porcuna y Fuentes, parish priest of Valdepeñas de Jaén. The priest accounted for 621 neighbours living in an independent town [Villa Esentta] planted by Charles V, demonstrating the lasting impact of the town's early years and its struggle to achieve self-governance rights. Then, the report present details on the Chircales Hermit and the devotional movement surrounding it, as well as a reference to abundant source of water at Badillo de los Berros that continued to irrigate Valdepeñas' crops 242 years after its foundation. After this presentation, the priest focused on territorial details that were of the most interest for the cartographers, leaving the state of the town and its construction in a secondary place.

The information provided in the letter was summarized in a humble but well-crafted map, supported by a short paragraph listing all landmarks and rivers in the map (Figure 201). The level of care put into the map is quite distinct if compared with the rest of the letter, and even the handwriting appears sharper and more precise than the text in other pages. The iconography of towns and cities, as well as the shapes of mountains and rivers, seem to be inspired by the Doctor Salcedo's map of Jaen's archiepiscopate, develop in 1587. Tomás de Porcuna y Fuentes, being a priest trained in the region, could have perfectly accessed that map at Jaen's capital and used its visual language for his own territorial depiction. Still, contrary to Salcedo's map, the one made in 1781 is oriented towards the north. The map shows the structure of mountains, valleys, rivers, streams, roads, and paths permeating the interior of Sierra Sur, showing a density of information and connections that is not present in any earlier cartography, as we have seen at the beginning of this chapter.

In sum, the correspondence of Tomás López regarding Sierra Sur offers an updated vision over this territory. Although the information they provide is often

imprecise and their visual support was not developed by expert cartographers, their description of this territory shows clear evidence of how the foundational project executed by Juan de Rivadeneyra had a lasting impact.
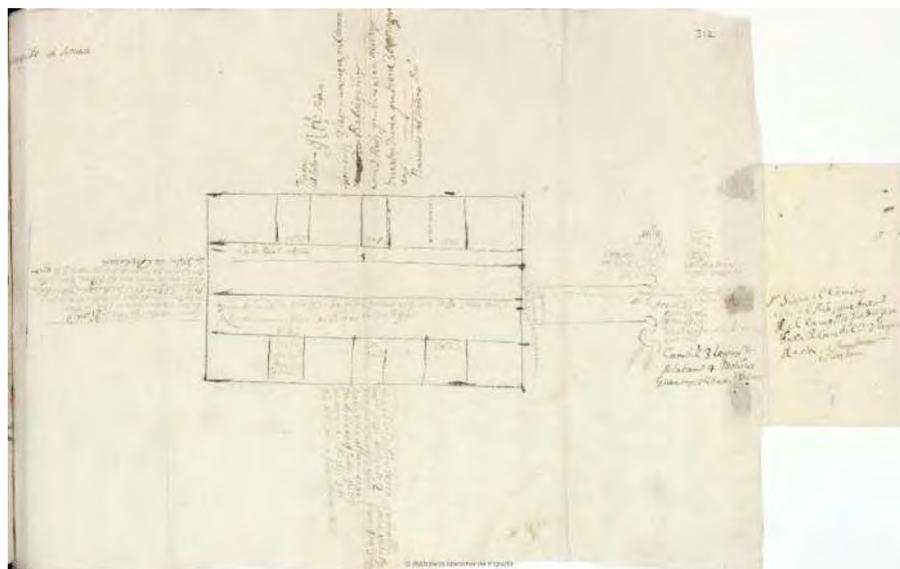


**Figure 199: 1781, plan of Campillo de Arenas by Sebastián del Castillo y Salazar, included in his correspondence with the Royal Cartographer Tomás López. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**[744]



**Figure 200: 1793, Map of Castillo de Locubín that includes Valdepeñas de Jaén and other locations in Sierra Sur. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**[745]

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[744] Sebastián del Castillo y Salazar, *Croquis del plano de población de Campillo de Arenas*, Sin escala (Campillo de Arenas, November 1781), Mss/7301(h.312r.). Encuadernado con otras obras, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

[745] Franco Félix de Mesa, *Mapa del Castillo de Locubin e igualmente de las Poblaciones, sierras, rios y términos que lo circundan formado en el año de 1793*, Mapas generales, [ca.

**Figure 201: 1781, Map of Valdepeñas de Jaén and its surroundings, included in the report sent to the Royal Cartographer Tomás López by Francisco Tomás de Porcuna y Fuentes, parish priest of Valdepeñas de Jaén. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.[746]**

1:76100] Escala gráfica 1 legua [= 7,3 cm] (Castillo de Locubín, 1793), Sala Goya, Biblioteca Nacional. Item number: Mss/7301-fol. 320, r.

[746] Francisco Tomás de Porcuna y Fuentes, *Mapa de Valdepeñas y alrededores*, 1 mapa: ms. a tinta ; 31 x 21,5 cm, Escala de 3 leguas (Valdepeñas, August 5, 1781), Mss/18700/44(h.7r.), Biblioteca Nacional de España. Included in Francisco Tomás de Porcuna y Fuentes, "Descripción

### *Buildings as sources for the study of the foundational project of Sierra Sur. The systemic design of churches at Los Villares, Valdepeñas, Mancha Real and Campillo de Arenas.*

A final source to be considered for the study of Sierra Sur's new towns project is their own architecture, their physical built form. However, although the urban centers of these towns keep their original structure, most buildings in them are not foundational. The majority of them have been deeply modified, transformed, demolished, and rebuilt. Others were built decades after the plantation and cannot be taken as a direct consequence of the original planning decisions. Still, there are four buildings, one in each town, that merit a systemic and comparative analysis. These are not other than the main churches.

As it has been explained in previous sections, the church of a new town was one of its indispensable assets. The foundational ceremony for naming the new town at the main square was immediately followed by the dedication of the church, square and church acting as an indivisible pair that represented political and religious authority. Their importance was such that their parcels where the only variable elements in an urban system where all blocks and streets had standardized measures. They were also the first thing to be placed and measured, influencing the rest of the new town traced after them. The shape, size, proportion, and roughness of the square affected the structure of the new town, creating perfectly regular plans such as Mancha Real or introducing small deformations like in the case of Valdepeñas. Additionally, the church reigned over one of the façades of the main square.

All new churches at Sierra Sur planned by Juan de Reolid, that is all of them except for Los Villares, had a similar size and design, with a structure of three naves 120 feet long (50 m. approx.) and a belltower incorporated near one of its corners. The priest's house was adjacent to the church, creating a cohesive body of buildings facing the square and surrounded by streets. Their design was generally respected even though each church was built at a different pace and by different builders, introducing modifications and changes. The main difference between them is their orientation and position relative to the square, creating four related but quite different situations.

The church of Apostle Saint James [*Apostol Santiago*] at Valdepeñas de Jaén is aligned with the main square, showing its side, long façade to the public space and the town council in front (Figure 202). The belltower and the priest's house are placed on its right, creating a corner with the façades of other houses and buildings in the square. There was previously a street between them that was closed at some point. The stone façade of the church has an austere, rough style, with buttresses and almost no decoration except for a small niche over the lateral gate facing the square. The church has another lateral gate facing *Calle Ánimas*, the foundational main street of this town, and a currently unused central gate. The

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y mapa de la villa de Valdepeñas (Jaén) y sus alrededores" (Valdepeñas de Jaén, 1781), Mss/18700/44, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

priest's house façade, currently covered with ceramic plaques imitating stone, was originally whitewashed in the same way as the rest

At Campillo de Arenas, the church of Our Lady of the Incarnation [*Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*] has a quite parallel urban presence, at least towards the main square (Figure 203). The main difference between these churches is that the one at Campillo de Arenas is placed at the corner between two connected squares, the main one and the smaller with the council house. The belltower is placed near the frontal gate instead of the main altar. The side and frontal gates are in the same spots as Valdepeñas' church; however, the main gate does have a protagonist role in the seasonal ceremonies of this temple. The priest's house is located beside the short façade instead of the long one. Despite these variations, both churches present a similar image thanks to their longitudinal shapes, their stone façades, the proportion of their gates and windows, their gable roofs with ceramic tiles and their squared belltowers covered by pyramidal roofs.

The church of Saint John Baptist [*San Juan Bautista*] at Los Villares present these same features but in a smaller size than the others (Figure 204). The difference may be caused by the absence of Juan de Reolid during the first stages of this plantation. It is oriented to face the town's square and present its back to the main street behind. The priest's house is attached on its left flank, creating a small block with two narrow side passages that connect the square and the main street, and establishing the church as an articulating piece between them. This role can be compared to the church at Valdepeñas, with the difference that in Valdepeñas, since the church is placed sideways to the square, it can be also traversed through the side gates to walk from the square to the main street. Also like in Valdepeñas, the belltower at Los Villares is placed between the church and the priest's house.

Finally, we have the church of Saint John the Evangelist [*San Juan Evangelista*] at Mancha Real, the biggest in the group. It is the only one from which a foundational plan is conserved, as part of plan of Mancha Real traced by Juan de Reolid in 1539 and copied in 1570 (Figure 205). In the plan, the church is placed in a square plot 120 feet wide -1.126 $m^2$-, forming the corner between the main square and the main street that crosses it through its middle point. The belltower is located in the corner, standing as a tall landmark similarly to the church at Campillo de Arenas (Figure 206). Its side façade is part of the church's original structure, presenting a side gate and the priest's house in a similar disposition to Valdepeñas (Figure 207). The main feature that stands out in Mancha Real's church is its frontal façade and the additional body of its belltower, finished in the 18th century.[747]

The monumental side gate of Mancha Real's church, finished in 1575, is an original design by Andrés de Vandelvira, master builder of Jaen's cathedral and

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[747] By master builders Juan de Aranda Salazar and Eufrasio López de Rojas in the 17th century, and Ventura Rodríguez in the 18th century. The upper body of the belltower was rebuilt in 1969.

one of the most influential architects in Andalusian Renaissance.[748] Rivadeneyra was also responsible for the general design of the church, which followed the set rule provided by Juan de Reolid of a basilica ground plan with a triple 120 feet-long nave. The result is a columned church, supported by svelte columns instead of the thicker pillars that can be found in any other temples of this region and period. The columns end in strong capitals supporting a structure of round arches and spherical vaults, one of the trademarks of Vandelvira's architecture (Figure 208). This same kind of vaults and structure are present at the church of Valdepeñas de Jaén, although is pillars are much less elaborated and its general finishing is not as monumental as Mancha Real, with lower roofs and smaller dimensions overall (Figure 209).



**Figure 202: Church of Apostle Saint James [*Apóstol Santiago*] at Valdepeñas de Jaén. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

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[748] Pedro Antonio Galera Andreu and Francisco Jesús Martínez Asensio, "A vueltas con Andrés de Vandelvira en la iglesia de Mancha Real," *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, no. 219 (2019): 308. For more information about Jaen's cathedral, the work of Andrés de Vandelvira and its global influence, see: Pedro Antonio Galera Andreu and Felipe Serrano Estrella, eds., *La Catedral de Jaén a examen I. Historia, construcción e imagen*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (UJA Editorial, 2019).

**Figure 203: Church of Our Lady of the Encarnation [*Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*] at Campillo de Arenas. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**



**Figure 204: Church of Saint John Baptist [*San Juan Bautist*a] at the center Los Villares. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2022.**

**Figure 205: 1539/1570, detail of Mancha Real foundational plan showing the central square and the main church. © Real Chancillería de Granada.**

**Figure 206: 1639/1670, west façade and bell tower of the Church of Saint John the Evangelist [*San Juan Evangelista*] at Mancha Real. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**



**Figure 207: 1572, Lateral façade of Mancha Real's main church, projected by Andrés de Vandelvira. The white wall on the right belongs to the priest's house. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

**Figure 208: Top: Interior of the church of Mancha Real. Bottom: Interior of the church of Valdepeñas de Jaén. Both buildings share several architectural characteristics. The main common element is the spheric vault, typical in the architecture of Andrés de Vandelvira and other renaissance works in Jaen. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

**Figure 209: Top: Interior ceiling in the church of Mancha Real. Bottom: Spherical vaults cover the central nave. Detail of a spherical vault covering the central nave of Valdepeñas de Jaén. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**

**Figure 210: Interior of the church of Our Lady of the Encarnation [*Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación*] at Campillo de Arenas. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2020.**



**Figure 211: Interior of the church of Saint John Baptist [*San Juan Bautist*a] at Los Villares. © Jesús Molina Gimeno, 2014.[749]**

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[749] Jesús Molina Gimeno, "Iglesias de Jaén. Iglesia de San Juan Bautista de Los Villares," *Jaén Desde Mi Atalaya* (blog), September 28, 2014, http://jaendesdemiata-laya.blogspot.com/2014/09/iglesias-de-jaen-iglesia-de-san-juan.html.

The other two churches do not share this feature. The church at Campillo de Arenas uses the basilica plan but its pillars are of rectangular section with lower arches (Figure 210). They support a wooden ceiling of Mudejar style, including laced beams and other decorations. In the case of Los Villares, its interior image is a consequence of the lower size of the church and its design prior to Reolid's arrival. It is a vaulted single nave with a slightly taller dome over the main altar (Figure 211). There are no pillars, columns, or elegant capitals. Los Villares' temple, as well as its foundational plan, represent a less-rigorous and developed version of the planning criteria applied to the whole colonization project at Sierra Sur. They responded to the same requirements, yes, but did so in a direct way, lacking the training in arts and geometry that would be brought in by tracer from Jaén. The urban instruction, with its technical specifications and set measures, where not enough to provide the best 'ordered' structure. It was also necessary the intervention of a knowledgeable artists such as Reolid, someone who could implement in the trace the same level of excellence and efficiency that judge Rivadeneyra, with his notaries and supporters, would apply to the foundational process.

## 2.10  Brief recap

If the structure of *Siblings Overseas* were to be understood as an hourglass, this chapter two that now concludes would be its central section. A space where the historical and conceptual baggage presented in chapter one gets compressed and applied to a significant case study: The new towns project of Sierra Sur. The chapter starts presenting Sierra Sur and its general contexts as a pocket of land surrounded by fortresses, an unvaluable opportunity for a kind of colonial urban project that was not as common in Andalusia as in the Americas. The original arguments behind the project were clear and consistent, securing the road between Granada and Jaén, offering land to supporters of the Crown, distributing population over the province, and creating new hubs to recover the commercial activity that Sierra Sur enjoyed in the 13th and 15th centuries. The chapter then pass to analyse the preliminary documents and actions regarding the foundational process, from the original population order by Juana I in 1508 to the executory order by Charles V in 1537 and the events leading to the arrival of the judge Juan de Rivadeneyra to Jaén on April 2nd, 1539. Shortly after, Rivadeneyra began the process of plantation of four new towns whose foundational documents are presented in detail. Instead of following the judge's foundational trail in a chronological order, this chapter starts accounting for the plantation of Mancha Real, the only new town that conserve a complete set of records including a plan copied in 1570 from an original traced in 1539. This abundant source has been of great value to put the more lacking records of Valdepeñas de Jaen in perspective and offer new hypotheses for the reconstruction of its missing foundational plan. Moreover, the study of these two new towns along with the other two in the group, Los Villares and Campillo de Arenas, how rigorous and well-structured was the

planning methodology applied by Rivadeneyra and his associates. Its steps were recorded systematically, with events that offer a great deal of valuable information such as the official visit to the foundational site, the commandment and report on the trace, the appointment of majors and officials, the listing of settlers, the distribution of land, and the ceremonial taking of their possession. Exceptions in the process such as the lands gifted to the Morisco aristocrat Juan Tavera or the absence of the tracer Juan de Reolid at Los Villares are of great documental value, as they help to interpret the events of the foundation and explain the differences between the new towns. Correspondence and discussions were constant between the foundational commission, the settlers, and the council of Jaen, filled with petitions and demands inserted in the structured narration of the plantation. The joint study of the four foundational books helps reading the negotiation in a more transversal way, from the first complains at Los Villares to the final agreement reached at Campillo de Arenas, whose settlers would bear with a yearly tribute to the capital until achieving their independence in 1559.

This study would have been inviable without the transcriptions of Sierra Sur foundational documents published between 1988 and 2013 by Martín Jiménez Cobo, José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia. On the one hand, thanks to their work, it has been possible to analyse the foundational records through their original wording, overcoming the limitations of this project to produce and full original transcription. All the sections in this chapter make wide use of these transcriptions, along with their English translation, to provide precise explanations on the use of certain terms and voices that may be not accessible to international audiences, unaccustomed to the use of early modern Spanish in notarial documents. On the other hand, not all foundational records are equally accessible to researchers. While local associations such as Lugia at Valdepeñas and institutions like Jaen's Provincial Archive[750] and the archive of Granada's Royal Chancery adapted their protocols to attend petitions during the pandemic period, it was virtually impossible to access materials custodied at other archives.

Thanks to the transcriptions, transversal research on the four foundational records from 1539 was finally viable. As a result, most of the pages in this dissertation are dedicated to the case of Sierra Sur. However, this line of work is far from exhausted. Even though the scope of the argument has been mainly framed to the events taking place during 1539, the complexity of its sources and its wide documental heritage keep the way open for new enquiries on particular aspects such as, for example, the lost foundational plans of Campillo de Arenas and Los Villares.

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[750] I am particularly grateful to its archivist Maria Gema Cobo Hervas who attended my messages and petitions with great care until the global COVID-19 pandemic

# Chapter 3

# *Siblings Overseas*
# Iberoamerican parallels and Transoceanic connections

## 3.1   Chapter presentation

### *Structure of the chapter*

The third and final chapter of *Siblings Overseas* focuses on Spanish urban practices in America during the 16th century. Here is where the title of this dissertation fulfils its promise, presenting new siblings of grid urban foundational practices and establishing an overseas relationship between them. The chapter includes two different sections involving both methodologies previously presented: The historiographical discussion on regionalized urban history used in chapter one, and the comparative study of cases through foundational records applied in chapter two.

As a result, the first part of chapter three provides a basic overview of Spanish colonial urbanism. Its argument begins in the Canary Islands as an early example of Spanish colonial urbanism developed in synchronicity with the Americas. Then, it follows with a selection of cases in the Caribbean and the Andean region in South America, highlighting the Colombian cities of Cartagena de Indias and Santa Fe de Bogotá. The tensions between the open grid and fortified perimeter in Cartagena, along with the Granadan roots of Bogota's founder, the lawyer [*licenciado*] Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, act as mechanism of connection with concepts presented in previously in this dissertation. Finally, the first half closes a brief analysis of the Indies Laws compilation. The Laws of the Indies, often referenced but not usually presented in its complex structure, offers a series of features that support the argument on the weight of legal principles in the plantation of colonial cities. Instead of deepening further on the laws regarding the site,

shape, structure and orientation of the city that have been abundantly present in scholarly literature, Siblings Overseas will focus on the principles that tackle how the plantation had to be recorded, how parcels had to be distributed, who was authorized to create the new city, and the conditions that settlers needed to comply with, among other items that relate American urbanism with the Andalusian new towns in Sierra Sur.

The second part of this chapter focuses on the foundational documents of Mendoza in Cuyo, Chile, (planted in 1561-62, now part of Argentina), and Villa de Leyva in Tunja, Nueva Granada (planted in 1572-82, now part of Colombia). The acts for the plantation of these two cities are some of the oldest conserved in Latin America. For this reason, they can be considered as the best cases to be compared with the documents in Sierra Sur already presented in chapter 2. Of course, there are other grid cities planted at the same time as Sierra Sur or by Spanish agents with a closer relationship to it, but these conserve no original plans and records. What it is known about their origins comes from correspondence between founding agents, testimonies, chronicles, partial records, and early council acts.[751] However, these documents are not of the same typology of the acts conserved at Sierra Sur. They are incomplete. In this sense, the comparison between 1530s plantation records in Sierra Sur and those in the Americas between 1560s 1580s is doubly interesting: it not only generates new knowledge on which features did these record share and which were different; it also provides insights on what common principles could also been applied in America in the 1530s and before. What we propose here is a triangulation exercise. To get more precise coordinates on the early urban practices of Spanish colonist of the Americas (point A), will study their relationship with the better-known documents of Sierra Sur (point B), and from later American processes such as Mendoza and Villa de Leyva (point C) (Figure 212). The relationship between points A and B is coetaneous but far away in geographical space. The relationship between points A and C is much closer in a geographical, political, and social sense, bur farther in time.

Through these exercises of historical overview and comparison of cases, the final chapter of *Siblings Overseas* acts as an opening to the global scene of the preceding arguments and findings. Therefore, it demands for a more fluid tone and structure. The historiographical inquiry and the analysis of cases presented in chapter three are much briefer and more focused than in chapters one and two, in an effort to synthesize the narrative. Findings presented in this chapter are not meant to close the issue of the migration of urban and architectural forms and ideas between different domains in the Habsburg Empire, much less in the ever-expanding early modern world. In this way, the 'hourglass' of *Siblings Overseas* presents its lower and wider part, using the findings obtained from the detailed study of Sierra Sur to establish a comparative analysis methodology that may be

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[751] Santa Fe de Bogotá is a great example of this, since its foundational act was lost at some point, presumably during one of the several fires that the council archive has suffered in the past. For a full account of its early years and the documents available for their study, see: Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*.

applied to other cases in the future. The insights and ideas that emerge from this discussion will set the pace for future research projects, shedding new light over the transoceanic relationships between Spanish urban realms and the way in which grid urbanism is depicted in historiography.
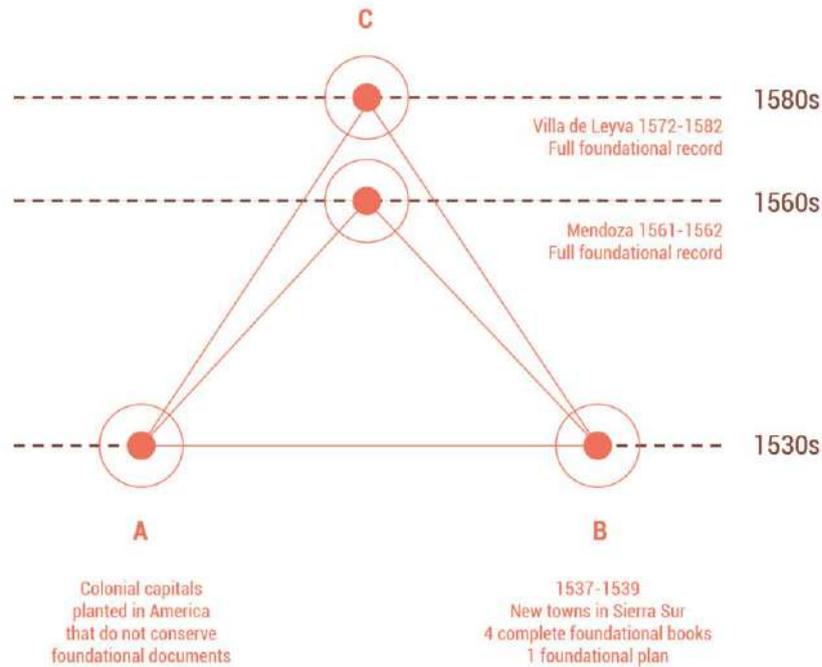


**Figure 212: Diagram of the triangulation exercise presented in this chapter. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

### The Spanish grid in urban historiography

In previous sections of *Siblings Overseas* we have already introduced many of the main authors who have tackled the history of the Spanish grid. Some of them appear in chapter one for how they reference the plantation of Granada's Santa Fe as a point of articulation between Spanish and American urban histories. Others may not mention Santa Fe directly, but they maintain the argument on how an already developed and closed urban model was exported from Spain to America to be use in colonial settlements. It is usual that, in this kind of discourses, authors do not bother to dig deeper into the finer grain of such a diverse but seemingly cohesive planning tool such as the Spanish grid. Despite this generalized "shallowness", the grid has been studied and theorized under a diversity of lights, from its condition as morphological model to a technocratic solution, a legal rule, a cosmogonic, religious trope, or an innovation disseminated thanks to its simplicity. There are of course exceptions such as Marta Herrera and Alain Musset, both mentioned in chapter two, who offer a much more settled approach, rooted on local histories of cities and territories supported by original documents, not just by built urban form. Their approach to provincialized urban studies offers an alternative to the broad, and often simplistic, global urban survey.

In any case, the grid seems to be always-present, irrefutable, unmistakable. It is everywhere in American Spain, not totally regular in the first decades of the colonies, but perfectly squared and "gridded" after the model was "further developed" in the 1530s. The origin of its shape, similar to many other urban plans developed worldwide, has nurtured wide (and wild) arguments comparing the Spanish grid with other models, some of them contemporaries, others vastly separated in time and space.

As a result, most classic volumes have referred to the Spanish grid as a result of influences coming from the Italian Renaissance, early modern treatises, the Spanish Reconquista, Roman military planning, and Greek urbanism, among others. Such assumptions are mostly frowned upon today when expressed in simplistic terms. They are the product of a conceptual frame in which forms, shapes, and ritual are inherited in a single direction, from a Eurocentric past to an also Eurocentric early modern period. However, history is always much more complex and, as we have already discussed, the creation of cities is not a banal action whose origin may be explained in a couple of lines. Today, scholars prefer to speak in not genealogic terms such as the circulation of ideas and the "pan-Iberian visual culture", as Laura Fernández González puts it in her much more architectural study of El Escorial.[752] *Siblings Overseas* follows this line of thought and propose an argument paved with cases and findings that do not lead to a single, closed conclusion, but rather reinforce the narrative of a dynamic flow of agents, ideas, and practices across the vast array of territories in early modern Spain. This flow of culture and innovation, not exempt of aggressiveness, violence, and actions for domination, is where the roots of the Spanish grid lay deep.

This shift in historiography can be explained, at least partially, through the tensions between macrohistory and microhistory developed during the second half of the 20th century. When writing about microhistory in the 1990s, Carlo Ginzburg presented Fernand Braudel and his studies of the Mediterranean in the 1940s as one of the authors responsible for the historiographical framework contrasting to Ginzburg's own approach.[753] A few years earlier in the same decade, in 1946, the expert in Spanish and Portuguese colonial urban history Dan Stanislawski wrote a seminal work on the "Origin and Spread of the Grid-Pattern Town," published in the journal Geographical Review.[754] In it, he offered a great overview ranging from Mohenjo-Daro to Spain and the New World. In the final remarks of this piece, Stanislawski stated:

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[752] Fernández-González, *Philip II of Spain and the Architecture of Empire*, xiv.

[753] Carlo Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 1 (1993): 10–35. Italian version: Carlo Ginzburg, "Microstoria: due o tre cose che so di lei," *Quaderni storici* 29, no. 86 (2) (1994): 511–39. Ginzburg directly quotes Fernand Braudel, *Le Mediterranée et Le Monde Mediterranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949). For more information on the discussion by Braudel on history of long, estable trends, see: Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et Sciences Sociales : La Longue Durée," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 13, no. 4 (1958): 725–53. English translation: Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences: The Longue Durée," trans. Immanuel Wallerstein, *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 32, no. 2 (2009): 171–203.

[754] Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of the Grid-Pattern Town."

"As she (Spain) was uninitiated in the methods of town planning, her settlements were amorphous for about three decades after the beginning of her control. Finally she realized the necessity for a plan, and for this she turned to her neighbors, and beyond them to the Roman and Greek sources from which they had profited. But this is a subject in itself and must be treated in a separated chapter"[755]

That second chapter would be published in 1947 in the same journal, under the title "Early Spanish Planning in the New World."[756] In this second article, the American historian defended the relationship between Spanish colonial urbanism and its Roman roots by comparing the 1573 Indies Laws by Philip II with the principles stated by Vitruvius in the Ten Books on Architecture.[757] The comparison is quite interesting, even stimulating, evidencing the weight of early modern literacy and classic studies in the development of Spanish imperial law. However, the conclusion supported by it is quite disappointing:

"The codification in the reign of Philip II shows the almost complete dependency of the Spaniards on Roman and Greek experience. [...] It is not to their discredit that they did so. The grid and the details within it established by the earlier peoples had proven their usefulness."[758]

Such a statement comprises most of what is wrong, or at least inaccurate, in the approaches that study the grid as a pure geometrical abstraction that can be encapsulated and used across different places, times, and cultures. The Greeks and the Romans, as the earliest encoders of the grid from the European point of view, would perform as its authors and mythical guardians in this historiographic mindset. Of course, much has changed in early modern historiography since the 1940s. As we have argued before, in 2008 Reuben S. Rose-Redwood presented a detailed response to Stanislawski work published in the very same journal *Geographical Review*.[759] Rose-Redwood responded to Stanislawski's work point by point, discussing the existence of "multiple genealogies of the grid" developed since the 1960s. Many of the authors quoted by Rose-Redwood as responsible for these genealogies have been already referenced in *Siblings Overseas*, for example, A.E.J. Morris, L. Mumford, or S. Kostof.[760] Although Rose-Redwood does not include Joseph Rykwert's "The Idea of a Town" in his bibliography, he

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[755] Stanislawski, 120.

[756] Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of the Grid-Pattern Town."

[757] Dan Stanislawski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World," *Geographical Review* 37, no. 1 (1947): 102–4, https://doi.org/10.2307/211364.

[758] Stanislawski, 104–5.

[759] Rose-Redwood, "Genealogies of the Grid."

[760] Anthony Edwin James Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolution* (London: George Godwin Limited, 1972); Mumford, *The City in History*; Kostof, *The City Shaped*.

comments on Richard Sennett's "American cities: the grid plan and the protestant ethic," an article published in 1990 whose very first line is a reference to Rykwert's work.[761] In this same group, he could have referred to a whole generation of Spanish-speaking authors who tackled the issue of the colonial grid, including the works by A. Bonet, F. Terán, or J. Salcedo, or F. Marías (with Richard Kagan), among many others.[762]

Another key element in Rose-Redwood's article is his mention to an abundant group of late 20th-century authors who have proposed alternative approaches to the study of the grid from a diversity of scholarly fields, even though only "few have attempted to link these different discussions together in an interdisciplinary genealogy."[763] One of the authors he refers to is Ángel Rama, Uruguayan writer and editor specialized in the narrative and legal dimension of Latin America. His posthumous book "La Ciudad Letrada" [Lettered City], published one year after his decease in a plane accident in 1983, is a seminal essay on the impact of written culture and law in colonial society that has inspired many later works. Volumes such as "Beyond the Lettered City," published in 2011 by Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, and translated into Spanish in 2017, expands this lettered relationship to early depictions of colonial landscape, indigenous identities and genres, social hierarchies and elites, and of course urban realms and foundational actions.[764] This and other proposals in the same line evidence that the study of the Spanish colonial law and its effect on urban realms is an evolving research topic still today, even if none of these scholars are searching for a single, isolated origin of the Spanish grid.[765]

*Siblings Overseas*, as well as its precedent project *Granada Des-Granada*, are also deeply influenced by Rama's legacy. The study of the Spanish grid proposed in this chapter builds upon the assumption that the American lettered city can be connected to parallel legal phenomena. To argue this relationship, instead of seeking for a direct and unequivocal connection such as those pursued -and never found- by scholars in the past century, *Siblings Overseas* proposes a compared genealogy much closer to Rose-Redwood's claims. The cases presented in the following sections are not to be understood as a comprehensive survey of Spanish colonial cities, but as steps in an argument to connect them with their

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[761] Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1976; Richard Sennett, "American Cities: The Grid Plan and the Protestant Ethic," *International Social Science Journal* 42, no. 125 (August 1990): 269.

[762] Bonet Correa, *Morfología y ciudad*; Terán, *La ciudad hispanoamericana. El sueño de un orden*; Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*; Kagan and Marías, *Imágenes urbanas del mundo hispánico 1493-1780*.

[763] Rose-Redwood, "Genealogies of the Grid," 53.

[764] Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City: Indigenous Literacies in the Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Joanne Rappaport and Tom Cummins, *Más allá de la ciudad letrada: letramientos indígenas en los Andes* (Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2016).

[765] Among others, see: Franco, *The Decline and Fall of the Lettered City* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2002); Alcira Duenas, *Indians and Mestizos in the "Lettered City"* (Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 2019).

Andalusian peers. This line of thought is narrated through a succession of particular cities and landscapes, each of them linked to a document or visual source, eventually arriving to the foundational acts and plans of Mendoza and Villa de Leyva. Spanish laws, royal instructions, and the political dimension of colonial plantations are at the core of these study cases, reinforcing the hypotheses already raised while also introducing new shades and nuances worth considering in any fine-grain inquiry on imperial Spain.

## 3.2   An overview of early Spanish colonial practices.

This section presents the early Spanish colonial practices for the creation of new settlements. Through a selection of particular cases in the Canary Islands and the Caribbean, it shows how the tension between fortified, militarized cities and grid foundations was also present in these territories, even though they had not performed as medieval frontiers in the same as Sierra Sur. In the Canary Archipelago, port cities were defensive positions whose urban logic is focused on maritime access and its protection through modern bastions and other fortifications. In contrast, administrative cities were place in interior positions that did not need such protection, hence their structure was more regular, open, designed for peaceful dominance, not for war. Both of them appear in the Torriani Atlas, an unvaluable source that depicts the state of the islands and their cities before their 100$^{th}$ anniversary.

A similar tension between fortified and unfortified urban realms can be observed in the Caribbean. In this region, defensive walls and pointed bulwarks were built in early colonial settlements years after their first plantation. The projects of military engineers focused on the limits of the city and the infrastructure sheltered inside its thickness, while ignoring most of the regular urban tissue and institutional buildings inside the walls. Documents such as the designs by the military engineer Battista Antonelli show this contrast between the civil and military layers of colonial cities. A few decades later, the colonial advance would produce open grid foundations in the Andean region with an utterly different logic, similar to the new towns already studied in Sierra Sur. This section discusses the opposition between these two models, a topic of discussion that have been prominent in historiography during the past decades.

## Colonial settlements in the Canary Archipelago through the Torriani Atlas, 1593.[766]

### *General description of the Canary Islands and their conquest.*

The Canary Islands form an archipelago situated approximately 1,000 kilometers to the Southeast of Gibraltar and 95 km from the African coast. This is

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[766] The contents in this section have been presented at the 68$^{th}$ annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, which took place at Dublin between March 30$^{th}$ and April 2$^{nd}$, 2022.

five times more than the distance from the Iberian coast to Palma de Mallorca in the Balearic Islands. It is located in the same meridian than the Florida Peninsula and the frontier between Morocco and Western Sahara. As a notion of scale, the distance from the Canary Islands to Madrid is more than double the distance to Marrakech. This African territory has been known since the Classical era. They appear in the works by Plinio the Elder and Plutarch under the appellative of *Fortunatae Insulae* or Fortunate Islands, which would perdure in the atlas by Leonardo Torriani. The archipelago was populated in ancient times, presumably by the Phoenicians and the Tartessians, and maintained its independence until the first years of the 15th century. By the 16th century, these islands had become a vital staging port for ships on the way to America, including all four trips made by Columbus.[767]

The occupation of the Canary Islands was violent and included several European powers, each of them with their own ways to organize settling parties and manage urban plantations. It was performed through several stages, each of them with its own military, political, economic, and social nuances (Figure 213). The Archipelago had been relatively isolated until its so-called "Medieval re-discovery" by the Genoese navigator Lancelotto Malocello, who visited the islands at some point in the 1330s. Between 1342 and 1366, several commercial expeditions were sponsored by merchants from Mallorca and Aragón, but they did not establish any lasting settlement.[768] By the beginning of the 15th century, most travels to the Canary Islands were short trips for capturing slaves to be traded back in Europe. In 1402, a new stage of conquest started. It is known as "*señorial*" or "by lordship" because it was commanded by lords authorized by the King but not directly funded or organized by the Royal Council. These lords followed the interest of their personal group of subjects, not to the whole kingdom. They sought to create their own feuds, establishing lordship over the territory, and then negotiated their relationship with the Crown, like any other vassal. The first of these expeditions was led between 1402 and 1405 by the French lords Jean de Béthencourt y Gadifer de La Salle. They conquered the islands of Fuerteventura, Lanzarote, and El Hierro. In 1402, Béthencourt betrayed his French superiors, swore allegiance to the Castilian king, and received the title of Lord of the Canary Islands. His main objective was to find and extract gold from the islands, something

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Part of this section was previously published as a section of the teaching module "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism" by GAHTC in 2020 - https://gahtc.org/modules/preview/94.

[767] For a general encyclopaedic account of the Canary Islands and their history, see Equipo GEVIC, "Gran Enciclopedia Virtual Islas Canarias: Natura y Cultura," 2014, http://www.gevic.net/. Based on Pedro Hernández, *Natura y Cultura de las Islas Canarias* (La Laguna, Tenerife: La Cultura de las Islas Canarias, 1977). For a full list of English-written literature regarding the Canary Islands, see: Isabel González Cruz, "Towards an English Bibliographical List on the Canary Islands," *Atlantis* 22, no. 2 (2000): 221–39. One of the earliest inquiries on the history of the archipelago and its conquest, apart from the Torriani Atlas, can be consulted in: José de Viera y Clavijo, *Noticias de La Historia General de Las Islas Canarias*, 4 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de Blas Román, 1772).

[768] John E. Kicza, "Patterns in Early Spanish Overseas Expansion," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (1992): 234, https://doi.org/10.2307/2947271.

that he never achieved. His hold over the land was weak at most and faced continuate native resistance. In 1420, the Béthencourt family passed on their privilege to the Castilian family "De las Casas", rich merchants based in Seville, through several treaties, commercial acquisitions, and arranged marriages. They expanded their domain to La Gomera but found great resistance amongst the Guanche natives. Their domain over the region was unstable, and by 1466 they had already lost control of several areas.
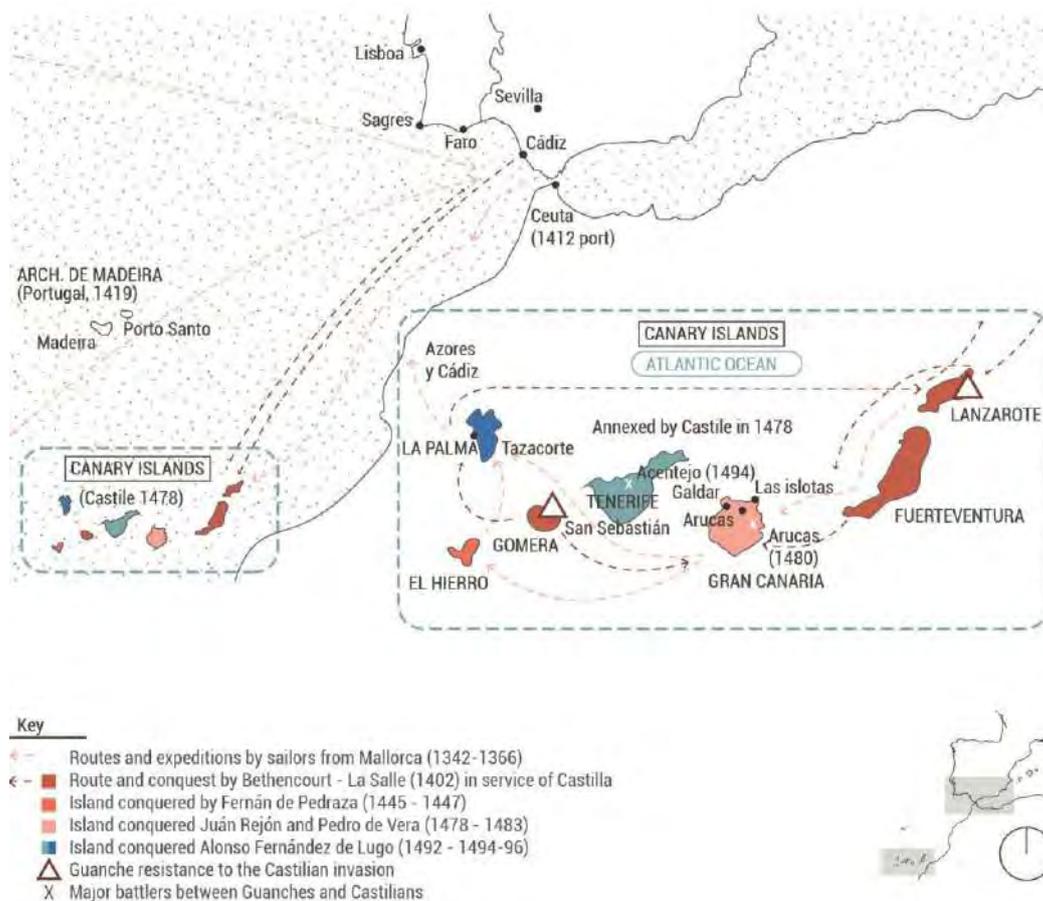


**Figure 213: Conquest of the Canary Islands. © Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Spain.**

In 1478, the Castilian and Aragonese Crowns got themselves involved in the matter during the rule of the Catholic Monarchs. They planned to conquer the full archipelago, dismantle its vassal structures, and integrate it into the kingdom of Castile. They did it through two armed expeditions. The first was commanded by Juan Rejón and Pedro de Vaca, occupying Gran Canaria between 1478 and 1483. The second, between 1492 and 1496, had Alonso Fernandez de Lugo as its head. He battled the Guanches in Tenerife and la Palma, effectively occupying the six islands. During the occupation, Castilians appointed native chiefs as governors of minor islandic provinces and married themselves into their families, creating a mestizo lineage that would eventually perdure and absorb the native culture. There were of course sources of native resistance, but these were all subdued and their members sold as slaves.

This particular strategy was previously applied in Granada after its conquest, favouring morisco aristocrats, giving them a position in the high society, and granting them lands and gifts. The same action would be performed in America to integrate and, at the same time, pacify and dominate native sectors of society. Other aspects of the Canary Islands conquest can be further studied in parallel with the final stages of the Reconquista such as, for example, the contrast between lordship privileges in the 13th century and the much more direct involvement of the Crown during the 15th. As John E. Kicza argued in the nineties, these and other similarities can be traced back and forth between America, the Canary Archipelago, and continental Spain, showing that many colonial features were a product of experience, not an imported recipe. In his own words: "Perhaps the uniqueness of the colonies that developed lay not so much in the peoples who came to them as in what they encountered when they arrived."[769] Still, Kicza and other scholars restrict the parallels to the early stages of the American/Canarian conquest and colonization, focusing on fortified, defensive settlements and the actions performed to produce them. According to them, grid new towns are above all an exclusively American colonial innovation that may be seeded in previous stages but was not totally developed until the 1530. In Sierra Sur we have already seen how this statement is not totally true, proving the existence of a dynamic flow of urban practices and ideas across the Atlantic. Now, the study of the Spanish cities in the Canary Islands will evidence that, even though the foundational procedures applied were not fully orthodox and no plantation record is conserved, the political dimension of the grid city was already there. One of the most valuable sources to study this relationship between urban morphology and meaning is the Atlas produced by Leonardo Torriani, military engineer in service of his majesty Philip II.

### *The Torriani Atlas: A masterwork of early modern chorography*

August,1584: An Italian military engineer named Leonardo Torriani, 24 years old, leaves the port of Cádiz towards La Palma, the westernmost island in the Canary Archipelago.[770] He was following orders from Philip II himself to visit the port of Santa Cruz de la Palma and design a new dockyard with appropriate fortifications to defend it. Torriani stayed in the island until July of 1586 and experience several historical events such as the eruption of mount Tajuya in 1585 and the attack of the notorious pirate Francis Drake that same year. On May 20th,

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[769] Kicza, 253.

[770] Leonardo Torriani was born in 1560 in Cremona, Italy, and trained in Germany and France. He had previously served his nephew Rudolph II, Holy Roman Emperor between 1576 and 1612. Torriani eventually adopted the Spanish customs and language, and even changed his named to Juanelo Turriano. For a complete account of his live and deeds, see: Alicia Cámara Muñoz et al., *Leonardo Turriano: ingeniero del rey* (Madrid: Fundación Juanelo Turriano, 2010), https://issuu.com/juaneloturriano/docs/leonardo_turriano_ingeniero_del_rey; Cristiano Zanetti, *Juanelo Turriano, de Cremona a la Corte: formación y red social de un ingenio del Renacimiento*, Colección Juanelo Turriano de Historia de la Ingeniería (Madrid: Fundación Juanelo Turriano, 2015).

1587, the Italian engineer received a new order expanding his visits to the full archipelago, study their conditions and provide recommendations for their adequate defence. He would stay at the Canary Islands until 1593, working on a series of drawings and reports labelled as the "Description and History of the Reing of the Canary Islands, called the fortunate, with the report on their fortifications" [*Descrittione et Historia del regno de l'Isole Canarie gia dette le Fortvnate con il parere dellle loro fortificationi*].[771] This book, often referred as the Torriani Atlas, is probably the most complete account of the state of the Archipelago after its conquest, featuring of chorographic studies, landscape views, urban plans, fortification projects, as well illustrations of Canarian natives, their culture, rituals and architecture. Its title included the label of "fortunate," inherited from the classic period, in reference to the mild climate and natural richness of the Archipelago.

Although Torriani's papers were all sent to the Spanish court in Madrid, no copy is conserved there. There are several possible explanations for this absence, including the great fire of El Escorial Palace in 1671, which burnt more than 5000 codecs. Torriani's Spanish papers may have been amongst them. In any case, it is known that Leonardo Torriani kept a copy of all his reports. They were compiled by his son, fray Juan Torriano. After his death in 1679, the Atlas and all his books were donated to the Sao Bento convent of Coimbra, and from there, they passed to Coimbra University. This tome has been digitalized and is freely accessible (Figure 214).[772] The atlas is composed by 114 pages, many of them folded or written in both sides. These are grouped in 71 chapters, each of them with one or several paragraphs dedicated to the general description of each island, their natural landmarks, their native inhabitants, the history of their conquest, their cities, and the fortifications available or needed for their defence. In this way, the atlas is not an exclusively engineering report, expanding its narration to the study of Canarian history, archaeology, ecology, politics, and even astrology. Torriani shows the diversity of his interests when, for example, he discusses the origin of the archipelago's title of "fortunate" and the possible reasons for its change to its current name Canary Islands. Another example is in the detailed explanation he provides to precise their location in front of the African coast and under the Northern Tropic, also known as Cancer Tropic. The description is supported by one of the most famous drawings in the atlas, featuring the archipelago under the sign of Cancer (Figure 215).

According to Alicia Cámara and other scholars, these wide interests were motivated by the intellectual relationships that Torriani cultivated during the long

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[771] Leonardo Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi" (1593), Ms. 314, Universidad de Coimbra, https://proyectotarha.org/tarha/bibliografia/159. A full Spanish translation can be consulted in: Leonardo Torriani, *Descripción e historia del Reino de las Islas Canarias. Antes afortunadas, con el parecer de sus fortificaciones*, trans. Alejandro Cioranescu, Colección de clásicos canarios 2 (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Goya Ed., 1959).

[772] The atlas is currently located at the archive of Coimbra University. Its digitization is open access and can be downloaded from the TAHRA database.

time he spent in the Archipelago.[773] Among his circle of friends and associate he counted with Fray Alonso de Espinosa, author of a historical description of the island of Tenerife originally published in 1594.[774] Torriani was also close with the Canarian poet Bartolomé Cairasco de Figueroa and with the Sevillian historian Argote de Molina, famed author of the chronicle of Seville's land distribution [*repartimiento*] already discussed in chapter one.[775] Another argument for the Atlas wide reach is it's particular role in Torriani's career. The engineer was still young when he arrived at the islands. He would spent almost a decade in an atlas that would pose as its first grand work, validating his skills and position while launching him upwards in hierarchy and social position. This would explain the high level of detail and care of his drawings, featuring landscape views and urban depictions that are not only precise but aesthetically attractive, beautiful, appealing to all kind of audiences without regards for their engineering literacy. According to Cámara, "the description was made with the enthusiasm of an engineer fixed in proving all his knowledge, which went way beyond fortifications."[776] In the atlas' proem, Torriani states:

> In addition, your Magesty will also find in this book some curiosities worthy of your greatness, which are not deep to make it brief, and to dress it only with those things most worthy of being presented to your divine cleverness: **without hiding that I am not just an historian, nor a simple geometer, not a pure military architect**.[777]

> [*Oltre ciò, trovarà eziando vost. Maest. in questo libro alcune curiosità degne della sua grandezza, lequali sole abbracciai per farlo breve, et adornarlo solamente di quelle cose che più degne fossero d'apparire innanzi al suo divino ingegno:* **non curandomi di parere ne solo historico, ne semplice geografo, ne puro militare architetto**.]

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[773] Cámara Muñoz et al., *Leonardo Turriano*, 23–25.

[774] Alonso de Espinosa, *Del origen y milagros de N.S. de Candelaria que apareció en la isla de Tenerife, con la descripción de esta isla [Texto impreso]* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Imp. y Librería Isleña, 1848).

[775] Gonzalo Argote de Molina, "Repartimiento de Sebilla hecho por el Rey D. Alonso el Sabio en la era de 1291 años, con los elogios, Armas, insignias y diuisas de las Reynas, infantes, Condes, Ricos hombres, caballeros, escuderos, hidalgos contenidos en el Año de 1588" (1588).

[776] English translation by the author. Original: "La *Descripción* está hecha con el entusiasmo de un ingeniero empeñado en demostrar toda su sabiduría, que va mucho más allá de las fortificaciones." Cámara Muñoz et al., *Leonardo Turriano*, 235.

[777] English translation and highlighted text by the author. Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fols. 1-1r.

**Figure 214: 1593, Leonardo Torriani, first page of the Torriani Atlas. © Universidade de Coimbra.**[778]
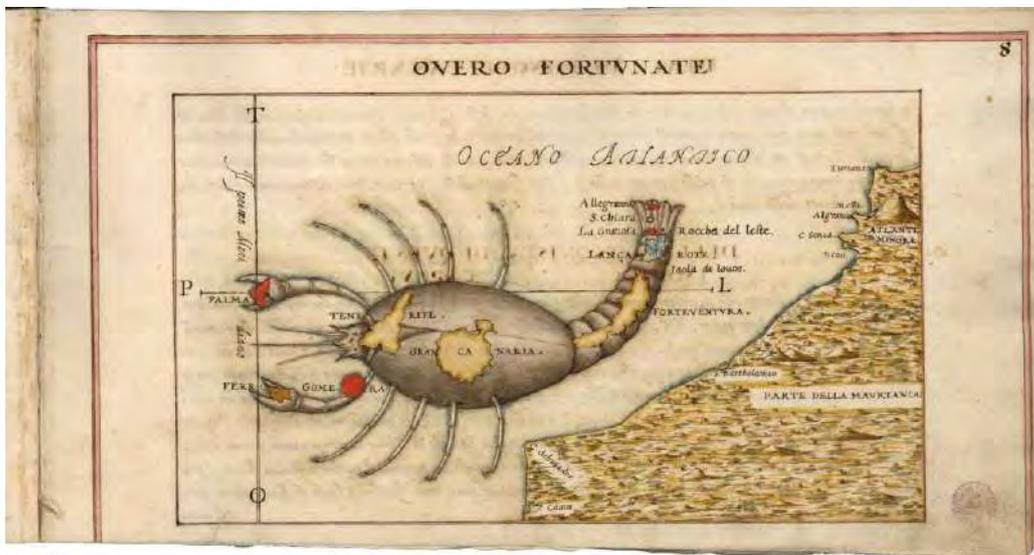


**Figure 215: 1593, the Canary Archipelago depicted in the Torriani Atlas under the sign of Cancer. © Universidade de Coimbra.**[779]

[778] Torriani, fol. 0.
[779] Torriani, fol. 8.

**Figure 216: 1593, top: view of the port of Arrecife in Lanzarote featured in the Torriani Atlas, including a project for a new stronghold protecting the entrance to the port, and the position of ships for its defense. It is possible On top of Mount Guanapai, besides the volcano's mouth, it is possible to see the silouette of Santa Barbara's castle, the oldest fortification in the archipelago, built before Torriani's arrival. Bottom: detail of the bulwark and the ships defending the port. © Universidade de Coimbra.**[780]

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[780] Torriani, fol. 17.

Torriani's chorographic approach is evident in his general views of the islands. For example, in his project for a fortification to protect the port of Arrecife at the island of Lanzarote, the engineer combines a colourful landscape view with a slightly deformed perspective that allows him to include a floorplan of the new fortification (Figure 218). Three squares support the view, one with the title of the plan, another with a general description, and a third one on the top-right corner with an axonometric view of the new fortress and the water pass besides it. The view also features other details already described in previous sections of the atlas, such as the road to Teguise, a town in the inner area of the island, and the castle of Santa Barbara protecting it. Different tones of blue indicate sea depth, while green, brown, and white details in the islands show its different areas, vegetation, and topography.

If Torriani's intentions were just to present the fortification project, a much simpler drawing would have been sufficient. In fact, other pages in the atlas feature minor diagrams and simpler drawings detailing some of the engineer's designs. However, in these general, islandic views, Torriani's objective is to show a total depiction in which his project is just one additional element. A piece in a human system deeply rooted and integrated in the "truly fortunate" islands.

### The island of La Palma and the city of Santa Cruz, planted by Alonso Fernández de Lugo, 1493.[781]

The results of Torriani's first mission at the island of La Palma were also included in the atlas. His first appointment in 1584 had one particular objective: to survey the defences of Santa Cruz in the island of La Palma and provide designs and recommendations for enhance its protection. This city was founded as the capital port-city of La Palma in 1493 by Alfonso Fernandez de Lugo, commander of the second and last royal expedition that unified the islands and annexed them to the Kingdom of Castile. It is located in the mouth of a river, protected from the winds but open to pirate sacks. Hills push the city to the seaside, so its structure was horizontal, growing along the shore. It did not have a surrounding wall but several individual structures, indicated in the atlas with supporting squares in which they appear drawn in a closer scale. In Torriani's depiction of the Santa Curz it is possible to distinguish "Forte del Mois," "Forte di S. Caterina" and Forte of "El Clavo" (Figure 217). The new and bigger stronghold designed by Torriani is on the bottom left corner of the plan. Its label reads "Novo Forte da farsi," that

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[781] Part of the contents in this section were published as a Twitter thread on September 28th, 2021, following the volcanic eruption at La Palma on September 19th of that same year. The thread got reached more than 100.000 and was included in a article published the day after on the Spanish newspaper Diario ABC. See: Manuel Saga, "Hilo sobre la isla de La Palma y sus volcanes," *Twitter post*, September 28, 2021, https://twitter.com/Sagarq_/status/1442920134750793731?s=20&t=a7trP29GbVLxbSNRCG_qqA; Manuel P. Villatoro, "Destrucción y lenguas de fuego en la España de Felipe II: «Se creó un puerto de lava cerca de Tazacorte»," *Diario ABC*, September 29, 2021, Digital edition, sec. Historia, https://www.abc.es/historia/abci-destruccion-y-lenguas-fuego-espana-felipe-creo-puerto-lava-cerca-tazacorte-202109291134_noticia.html.

is, "new fortress to be done", indicating its character as an engineering design and differentiating it from the other fortresses built before. Its pointed bastion to the northside is particularly notable, designed to assaults with gunpowder artillery from the interior of the island. Its side facing the sea was built over a risk, hence very difficult to attack by warship cannons. Even though pirate attacks augmented in the 1590s with Francis Drake as their main instigator, this bastion was never built.

One of the first insights that emerge from this plan is the fact that its urban structure was never planned. Despite the presence of urban squares and institutional buildings, its main character was not institutional but defensive and commercial. Its name "Santa Cruz," also present in other islands of the archipelago, refers to the planting of the first Christian cross at La Palma by its conqueror Alonso Fernández de Lugo. This is indeed a very different colonial new town than those planted in the 1530s following regular grid structures. A second relevant aspect is that, even though the city was created as a literal foothold in the island, its location was conscious from the point of view of sea warfare. It considered the defensive advantages of a river mouth and its overall relationship with the rest of the island. Of course, Torriani included the whole island of La Palma in his atlas, describing its landscape, its resources, its native inhabitants, among other aspects. More significantly, the engineer covered the events he witnessed during the eruption of mount Tajuya that began on May 19th of 1585, that is, eight years before the atlas was completed. Torriani's narration fills nine pages of text, more than most of the other chapters and sections in the atlas.[782] It also appears in the plan of the island, featuring smoke columns and fire tongues that cover most of its east triangle (Figure 218).

Torriani's report from the first two days in which "a terrible earthquake" transformed the previously plain area into a 50 feet high mount, to the end of the telluric movements and the fires and fumes caused by them. In some fragments the chronicle is dramatic, describing how it was possible to see "an enormous fire" between the sides of the volcano's mouth, in which the upper flames visible from outside were pushed upwards by others below the earth of "infinite quantity and much higher force." He wrote how himself and those around him experienced mixed feelings of fear and panic but also wonder:

> What greater horror and wonder than the trembling earth, moving and howling like a scared animal, in a way that no one could stand on their feet, or bear the horrendous bellow roaring in the ears?[783]

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[782] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fols. 93–97. Spanish transcription and translation available in: Torriani, *Descripción e historia del Reino de las Islas Canarias. Antes afortunadas, con el parecer de sus fortificaciones*, 229–41.

[783] Translation by the author
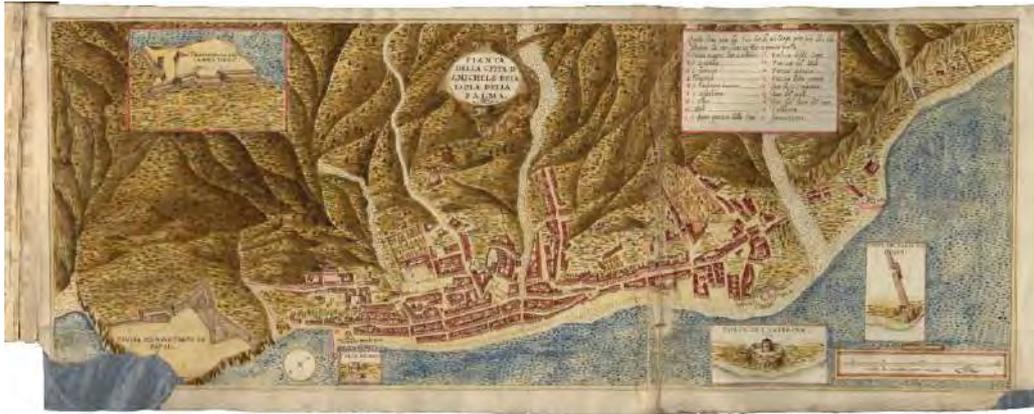
**Figure 217: 1593, top: Santa Cruz de La Palma as depicted in the Torriani Atlas. Middle: detail of the urban center. Bottom: detail of the new fortification designed by Leonardo Torriani, with the label "floorplan of the new fortress to be built" [*Pianta del novo forte da farsi*]. © Universidade de Coimbra.[784]**

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[784] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fol. 99.

*Perciòche di maggior orrore et maraviglia che la stabilissima et fermis-
sima terra, oltre al credere humani, quivi per tremore si forte di scotesse
(ululando come animale aflitto) che ci non si poteva stare in piedi; ne so-
stenere il spaventosissimo mugito et strepito à l'orechie?*[785]

Other fragments feature a much more analytical approach, distinctive of a military engineer. For example, a few days after the first eruptions, Torriani measured the volcano with: 100 feet high on the northwest face and 75 feet on the opposite, a diameter of 150 feet on the higher part and 200 on the lower, with a perimeter of 500 feet. According to his words, the measuring instrument indicated a different result some time after, showing how the volcano was rapidly growing. The day after, Torriani found the flaming mount "significantly higher, with a different shape." In another section, the engineer provides a detailed description of the rocks ejected from the volcano and its effects on the sea temperature.

Torriani the engineer and Torriani the "live reporter" are complemented in some points with a more erudite style, searching for historical parallels of this event and referring to authors such as Orosius, Virgil, and Thucydides. He compared the eruption with those of Mount Vesubius in Naples and Mount Etna in Sicily, showing his domain of the classic sources. In another tragic (but somehow hilarious) passage, he states:

All these things I saw them myself and, to see them, I got involved in such dangerous enterprises, in which for three times I got on the verge of suffering the same reckless death than Plinius.[786]

[*Lequali io vidi, et per vederle mi messi à pericolosissime imprese, in le quali tre volte fui per essere mal accorto nel morire come Plinio.*][787]

His report was not devoid of irony and a sharp sense of humour, mixed in an already heterogeneous cocktail of philosophical references, terrible accounts of witnesses, and technical descriptions of natural phenomena. The final page in Torriani's chronicle of the eruption ends with a quote of Torquato Tasso's epic poem on the conquest of Jerusalem, which Torriani had probably read first-hand in its official edition published in Ferrara in 1581, four years before the eruption. Tasso's words have a particular resonance with the Canarian nickname "the fortunate," which does not give any hints on the volcanic activity of the archipelago:

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[785] Torriani, fol. 94.

[786] Translation by the author. Plinius the Elder died from inhaling toxic gases while visiting the eruption of Mount Vesubius.

[787] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fol. 95 v.-96.

**Figure 218: 1593, top: the island of La Palma depicted in the Torriani Atlas. Bottom: detail of the eruption of Mount Tajuya witnessed by Torriani in 1585. © Universidade de Coimbra.[788]**

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[788] Torriani, fol. 90 r.

Ben sono elle feconde e vaghe e liete,
ma pur molto di falso al ver s'aggiunge.[789]


[*It is true that they are fruitful, dreamy, and happy,*
*but a lot of falsehood to the truth is added.*][790]


### The island of Tenerife. Urban duality between the fortified coastline and the institutional interior settlement of La Laguna

The atlas by Leonardo Torriani goes over many other aspects of the Canary Archipelago that will not be discussed here. The main point supported by Torriani's description is that the earliest Canarian colonial towns, planted in these islands at the same time as others in the Caribbean, were originally devised as defensive positions, not as fully fledged cities. The plantation of gridded plans would come later in the period, not only because of a greater development of colonial urban law, but also to support an effective state of peace in which institutional domination was more effective than direct conflict. The contrast between both urban types can be found in Torriani's depiction of Tenerife, the last island to be conquered by Spain in the Canary Archipelago. Comparing settlements in this Tenerife created during the first stages of the conquest with those planted in the later post-conquest scenario evidence the diversity of approaches to urban planning performed during different stages in the colonization process.

Alonso Fernández de Lugo, leader of the second and final conquest expedition supported by the Catholic Monarchs, disembarked at Tenerife for the first time on April 30th, 1493. He landed his 15 ships and a regiment of 1000 footmen and 120 horsemen at an open spot near the north pointy extreme of the island.[791] To mark the arrival, Fernández de Lugo erected a wooden cross and built an encampment around it, named *El Realejo* or *Santa Cruz*. From there, the Spaniards launched several attacks against the native Guanches of Tenerife, well-known for their fierce resistance. The campaign lasted for more than a year. Finally, the Guanches were able to repel the invasion, forcing Fernández de Lugo to retire back to Santa Cruz and fled on June 8th, 1494.

During the year after his defeat, Fernández de Lugo gathered new support from continental Spain, namely from the Duke of Medina-Sydonia, who gathered a navy of six transport ships charged with 650 footmen and 45 horsemen at the port of Sanlúcar in Cádiz and sent it to his aid. The detachment arrived to the island of Gran Canaria and, from there, the conquistador invaded Tenerife once more on November 2th, 1495, disembarking on the same spot and replacing the

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[789] Translation by the author.

[790] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fol. 97.

[791] For a full account of the conquest and settlement of Tenerife, see: Viera y Clavijo, *Noticias de La Historia General de Las Islas Canarias*, vol. 2. For a contemporary research on the conquest and population of the island, see: Francisco Báez Hernández, *El repartimiento de Tenerife (1493-1569)*, *El repartimiento de Tenerife (1493-1569)* (La Laguna: Instituto de Estudios Canarios, 2016).

cross planted two years before. This second campaign ended with the defeat of the Guanches on September 29th of 1496. Previously, on July 25th, the conquerors had defeated Benchomo, one of the most important Guanche chieftains. To honour this event, they founded the first parish church in the island where Fernández de Lugo had planted his wooden cross twice, giving birth to the town of Santa Cruz.[792] The church was dedicated to no other than the Apostle Saint James, the same James *Moorkiller* that could be found all along the Andalusian frontier before and after the fall of Granada.

The victory was acknowledged by the Catholic Monarchs on November 5th of that same year. With it, the unification of the Canary Archipelago under Spanish rule was complete. It also changed the status of Fernández de Lugo from conqueror of the island to its governor, implying that he was now responsible not only of its defence but also its correct government according to Spanish law.[793] To support this new kind of government, the new governor moved from Santa Cruz to an inner valley of the islands, near the Aguere Lake, and planted the new capital named San Cristóbal de La Laguna, commonly shortened as "La Laguna." On January 20th, 1531, Charles V elevated the town to the rank of city, issuing a level of independence and privilege similar to that of the royal villas in Sierra Sur.

The foundational history of Santa Cruz and La Laguna displays the double urban dimension of the Spanish colonial endeavour: militaristic port cities where political meaning and fortified defence is implemented after the conflict was mostly over, combined with planned, unwalled new towns meant to house institutional and political power. This double nature is evident from the earliest urban depictions conserved of these two cities, which actually are those developed by Leonardo Torriani in the late 16th century. Neither Santa Cruz nor La Laguna conserve foundational plans of any kind, similarly to the colonial cities planted in America on that same period.

The first noticeable aspect in Torriani's territorial representation is how close both cities are. They are located at the northernmost area of the island, with La Laguna at the center of the island's 'neck' and Santa Cruz as its exit to the west coast. The east coast is much more abrupt at that point, impracticable for any ship larger than a fishing boat (Figure 219). After the conquest of Tenerife, Santa Cruz remained mainly as the gate of La Laguna to the sea. Torriani states that it was the main port and space for all commerce towards the capital, distant only seven kilometres away. However, one century after its foundation, Santa Cruz had grown less more than some streets and a few blocks of fishermen houses (Figure 220). The fortifications designed by Torriani at this place were not meant to protect the port directly, but to avoid enemy armies disembarking on its wide beach. For this, the engineer proposed to create a long but low wall over the coastline to difficult any enemy operation. He also designed an additional bulwark for the

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[792] "Holy cross" in Spanish.

[793] Lawful life was often referred to as '*vida en policía*,' a challenging term for English translation.

already existing Castle of San Cristóbal, a cruciform fortress built between 1575 and 1577. The new platform is detailed in a square over the main plan with the usual label "*nuova fortificazione da farsi*" [new fortification to be built].

The image of La Laguna in the Torriani Atlas is quite different. It appears as a fully developed city with three squares, public buildings and churches listed with letters, fountains, mills, monasteries and aristocratic villas with walled orchards, and an aqueduct distributing water coming from the lake (Figure 221). The lower square of the city can be considered the center of its original plantation, housing the town council, the city hall and one of its several churches. Torriani described its general location, its access to water, its exposure to the wind, fog, rain, and other aspects following the classic principles of Vitruvian urbanism.[794] Its site was particularly significant because of the battles fought there during the war against the Guanches in 1496, providing an additional layer of symbolic meaning to the colonial planting of La Laguna. This was not the only difference of this city compared to others in the Canary Archipelago. It was not walled, neither it had an irregular fortified structure. Instead, it was an open grid town designed to host up to 6000 inhabitants, and to support all the institutional infrastructure necessary for a frontier region with its own fuero such as Tenerife. That legal status signified a shift in urban politics, demanding ordered settlements to ensure lawful governance, receive new settlers coming from the Spanish mainland, and control the system of fortified ports located around the island. Today, La Laguna is one of the few interior important cities in the Canary Island. It still depends on Santa Cruz for any connection to the seashore. In fact, both Santa Cruz and La Laguna have grown over their natural boundaries, creating a single urban continuum from the interior of Tenerife to its most important seaport.

The events in the early years after the conquest of Tenerife and the urban reality shown by Leonardo Torriani evidence the dual urban reality of the Spanish frontier during the colonial period. It is not necessary to go into further reality to see how The Canary Archipelago mirrors foundational and defensive practices applied in Andalusia and in the Caribbean within a period of just a few years. Classic historians José de Viera y Clavijo (1731-1813) argued that the final conquest of the Canary Islands was only possible thanks to the warrior-like Spanish society created during the Reconquista, even affirming that "the island of Tenerife was conquered in Granada."[795] Other scholars, including contemporary historians, have made similar statements regarding the conquest of America.[796] As we have discussed earlier, the case cannot be fully explain only through Spanish military tradition or the creation of a colonial body of law. Any rigorous study needs to include additional layers of global and local history, including contextual conditions, collective endeavours, and individual actions.

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[794] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fols. 74–75.

[795] Viera y Clavijo, *Noticias de La Historia General de Las Islas Canarias*, vol. 2 pp. 197-198.

[796] E.g. Brewer-Carías, *La ciudad ordenada*.
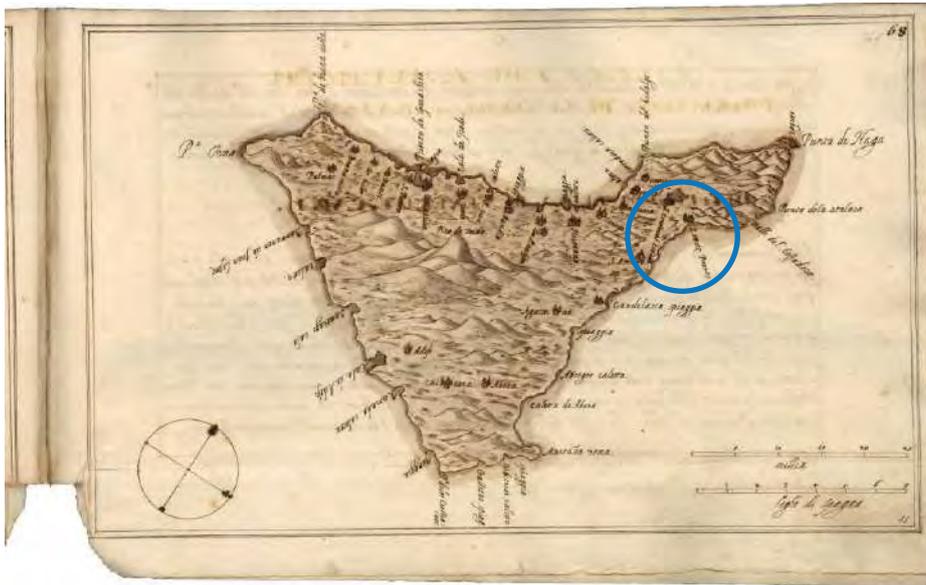
**Figure 219: 1593, plan of Tenerife included in the Torriani Atlas. © Universidade de Coimbra.[797]**





**Figure 220: 1593, city of Santa Cruz in Tenerife drawn by Leonardo Torriani (top). Detail of Santa Cruz's urban structure (bottom). A century after its foundation, Santa Cruz still was nothing more than a fisherman port, even though most maritime commerce towards La Laguna passed through it. © Universidade de Coimbra.[798]**

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[797] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fol. 68.

[798] Torriani, fol. 74 r.

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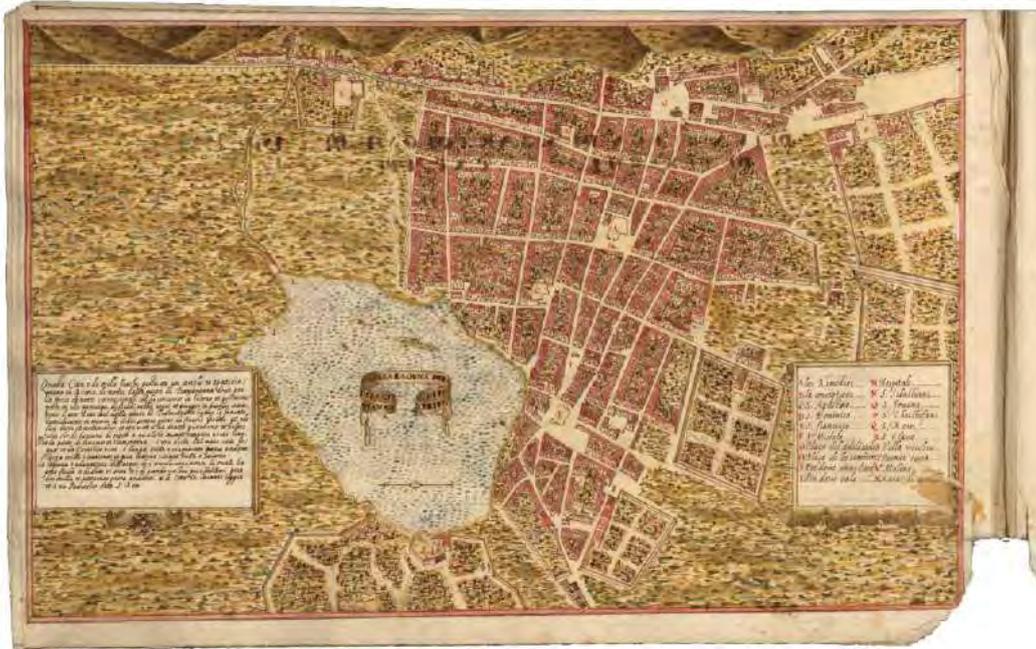
**Figure 221: 1593, depiction of San Cristóbal de La Laguna in the Torriani Atlas (top). Detail of the urban center, showing a sensibly regular grid of blocks with an open, unwalled structure (bottom). © Universidade de Coimbra.[799]**

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[799] Torriani, fol. 73 r.

In sum, as we have seen, the conquest and settlement of the Canary Islands feature most of the typical principles and tropes of its period. At this point in time, there was no institutionalized practice for the Spanish colonization of non-European territories at a great scale. The decisions and urban strategies applied by Alonso Fernández de Lugo depended mostly on his military training, his private interests, and his individual perspective on how conquest and governance should be performed.[800] There is no log of the plantation of La Laguna similar to the one used in Santa Fe in 1492 or at Sierra Sur in 1539. What it is conserved is a complete record of the island *repartimiento* or distribution, a more territorial approach similarly applied in conquered territories that were already populated, such as Seville and Granada. Still, the urban criteria applied by the Spanish adelantado in the Canary Islands shows a natural use of concepts and rules that may be considered common for most trained agents in Spanish high society. In other words, the Spanish grid in its most imperfect form such as in the plan of La Laguna -Torriani even noted that it was 'disordered'- was a product of basic level of legal and military control, motivated by the specific conditions of the Canarian conquest.

### *Some particular details of the Canarian native inhabitants.*

A final aspect worth notice in the Canary Archipelago and the Torriani Atlas is the presence of a rich and diverse native culture: The Guanches. The label "Guanches" covers all the native tribes who inhabited the Canary Islands before and after the Spanish conquest, until they were gradually assimilated. Even though they shared some common traits, their society was compartmentalized independent tribes with their own culture. Their political structure was complex and dynamic, involving alliances and conflicts inside any single island or between them. In his atlas, Torriani depicts Guanche customs, clothes, and weapons, detailing which specific islands he found them on (Figure 222). There are notices of other contacts and colonial occupations of the Islands prior to the 15th century, so Torriani's drawings and older descriptions should not be taken as probe of an isolated culture living in the archipelago for centuries. Guanche society had indeed a long history of traditions that evolved and adapted to their relationship with the neighbouring African country and other maritime visitors.

The Teide volcano on the island of Tenerife, 3718 m. high, had a central role in the Guanche system of beliefs (Figure 223). Their mythology explains that its mouth is the entrance to hell. Once upon a time, the devil captured one of their gods and trapped him in the mountain. However, the Guanche supreme deity Achamán rescued him and closed the mouth with a great white rock until this day. The mountain was a forbidden sacred place, as other mountains had been in diverse mythologies from Mount Olympus in Greece to the Colombian native cultures of Sierra Nevada, near the city of Santa Marta.

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[800] Hernández, *El repartimiento de Tenerife (1493-1569)*. As referred to in Judit Gutiérrez-de-Armas, "El repartimiento de Tenerife (1493-1569) (Reseña)," *Fronteras de la Historia* 27, no. 1 (January 1, 2022): 380–84, https://doi.org/10.22380/20274688.2251.

Guanches were also known for their stone architecture. The site named Cenobio de Valerón in the island of Gran Canaria, abandoned by the time of the Spanish conquest, was well known for its singular shape excavated in stone. It was believed to be a housing complex for reclusive priests, among other theories discussed by the Spaniards and the Guanches living at the time of the conquest. However, in the twentieth century, archaeological studies showed its real use as a collective granary, with excavated cells for protecting diverse kinds of grain.[801] There were also excavated houses in the islands whose tradition easily connected with that of the conquerors (Figure 224).[802] Torriani wrote that these were the houses of elders, kings, and nobles, excavated to protect their inhabitants of cold during the winter and heat during the summer. He even provided a full technical explanation of the excavation technique applied for their construction.

The Efequén is another example of Guanche architecture, built in stone but not excavate. It was a circular temple surrounded by two parallel walls, creating a path between each other (Figure 225). Guanche priests would walk through this passage until reaching the open center, where the statue of the temple's god was placed. There, it presided a diversity of rituals and received offerings of milk and lard. None of these is conserved today.

The inclusion of Guanche cultures in the Torriani Atlas is one of its most valuable aspects. The detailed drawings of the Italian engineer are in fact some of the oldest descriptions of this native society which is mostly lost today. In the same way than in colonial America, Spaniards did not perform a wide scale genocide of Guanche society or enforced slave labour to all natives. They mixed with them in many ways, sometimes willingly like in the case of Guanche elites integrated as lords and hidalgos of the Spanish Crown and married into its high society. Others, for sure, did not have the same luck. No Guanche reserve exists today in the Canary Islands. Guanche ethnic and cultural traits were totally integrated into Spanish society, introducing regional features such as a particular Spanish accent, a different gastronomy, the use of volcanic stone in agriculture and architecture, among others. Some particular islands conserve customs that are not shared by the rest of the archipelago such as, for example, the whistled language of La Gomera known as "Silbo."

## The settling of the Caribbean

The Caribbean is the next step towards suitable American cases of foundational acts to be compared with those in Sierra Sur. Researchers such as Frank Lestringant, Stephen Greenbalt, or Ricardo Padrón, among many others, have discussed the particularities of the first stage of Spanish conquest and

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[801] Equipo GEVIC, "Gran Enciclopedia Virtual Islas Canarias: Natura y Cultura."

[802] Excavated houses, also known as cave houses or troglodytic dwellings, are commons in certain regions in the south of Europe that were under Islamic rule at some point, including Granada, Almería, and Sicily.

urbanization.[803] In his Book of the Islands [*Le Livre des Îles*], Lestringant presented a deep view on maps and atlases of the 16th century, stablishing parallels between them and discussing how early modern European societies took decades to include a new continent in their cosmovision: "It is a fact that in the history of the great navigations the time of islands always preceded that of the continents."[804]

The idea of America being a singular landmass instead of an archipelago of islands or an extension of Asia (hence the name "Western Indies") would not become mainstream among European cosmographers until the second half of the 16th century (Figure 226).[805] This is one of the reasons that explains why the first stages in the conquest of America feature so many similarities with previous and contemporary historical processes. Columbus approach to the island of La Española was not so different from the Balearic merchants who stablished factory-colonies in the Canary Islands in the 14th century. The instructions issued to Nicolás de Ovando by King Ferdinand in 1501 for the plantation of Santo Domingo derived directly from Andalusian urban experiences and, even though they did not comprise a developed urban model, they included most urban principles already present in plantations such as Santa Fe in Granada and La Laguna in Tenerife.[806] Similarly to other seaside territories in the Spanish Empire, *adelantados* and colonizers planted a great number of settlements in the Caribbean, aiming to control and defend its access from the sea. As a result, the Caribbean ended up being dense regions in America for its number of cities, even though these wouldn't grow as much as future capitals inland. Pedro Arias Dávila, founder of the city of Panamá in 1519, also received a set of instructions from the Catholic King leading to the plantation of a sensibly regular plan, even though it is not strictly a grid. No foundational plan is conserved for any of these cities. Most early maps of the region depict these cities as group of houses in strategic positions (Figure 227). These are cartographical works meant to present the structure of the territory, with not as much interest in the urban life of colonial new towns.

The contrast between this first group of 'imperfect' Spanish plantations and those founded later in the century is one of the great topics of discussion of early modern Latin American urban history. In the 1980s, Mario Sartor distinguished several urban typologies in the Americas, separating Spanish planned cities in those complying with the "classical model" and those with the "regular model."[807]

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[803] Padrón, *The Spacious Word*; Frank Lestringant and Stephen Greenblatt, *Mapping the Renaissance World: The Geographical Imagination in the Age of Discovery*, 2014.

[804] Frank Lestringant, *Le livre des îles: Atlas et récits insulaires de la Genèse à Jules Verne* (Genève, 2002), 13. Translation by the author.

[805] Ricardo Padrón, "Del Códice Sahagún al Códice Boxer: Oportunidades y Retos de La Etnohistoria Transpacífca Temprana Moderna" (X Congreso Internacional de Etnohistoria, Quito, October 12, 2018), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KA5o1GqHUR4.

[806] According to A.E.J. Morris, there was an "unknown city planner" in Ovando's detachment. Under the light of the discussion of Siblings Overseas, it seems unlikely that the modern figure of a city planner could be present in such an early stage. Morris statement is yet another anachronism. See: Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*, 303.

[807] Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista*, 126.
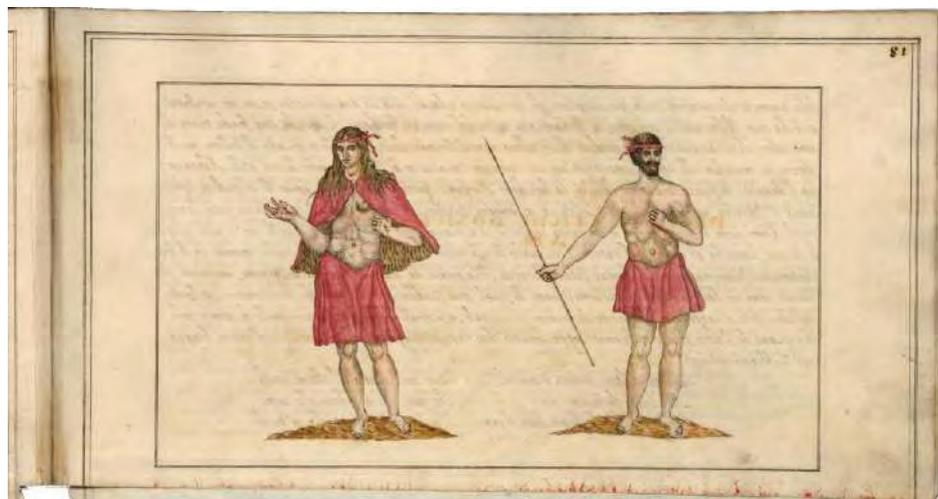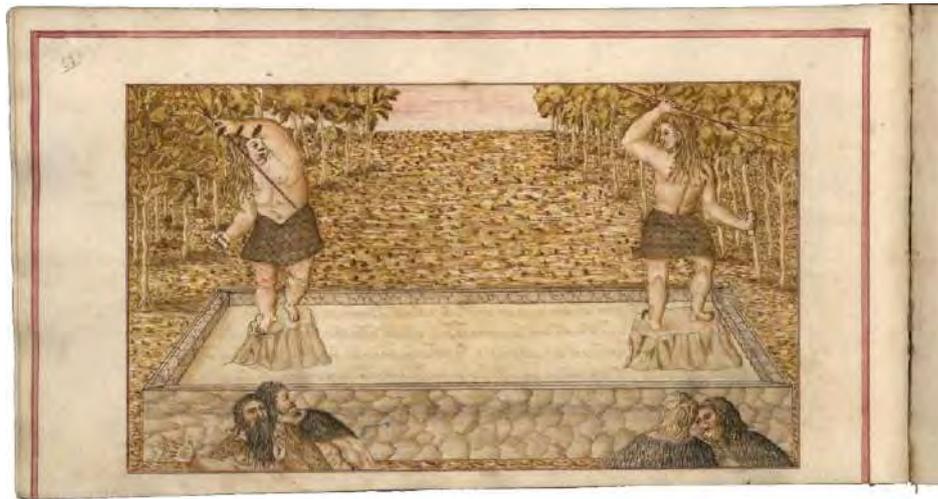
**Figure 222: 1593, dressing customs of the natives in Gran Canaria as depicted by Leonardo Torriani (top). Weapons of the Canarians as depicted by Torriani (middle). The 'ancient inhabitants' of the Gomera island as depicted by Torriani (bottom). © Universidade de Coimbra.**[808]

[808] Torriani, "Descrittione et Historia Del Regno de l'Isole Canarie Gia Dette Le Fortvnate Con Il Parere Delle Loro Fortificationi," fol. 36 r., 37 r., 81.
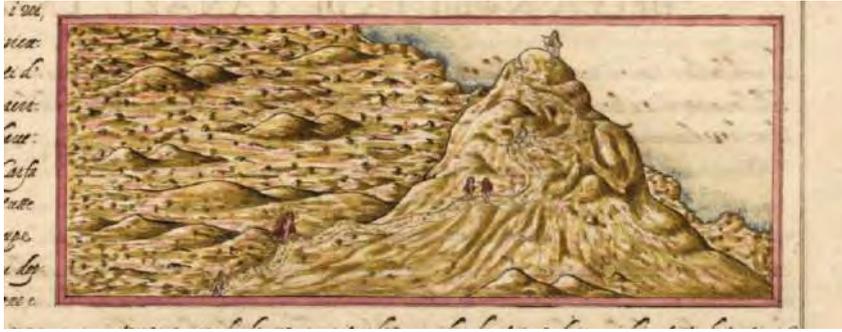
**Figure 223: 1593, ritual sacrifice on top of Mount Teide depicted in the Torriani Atlas. © Universidade de Coimbra.[809]**
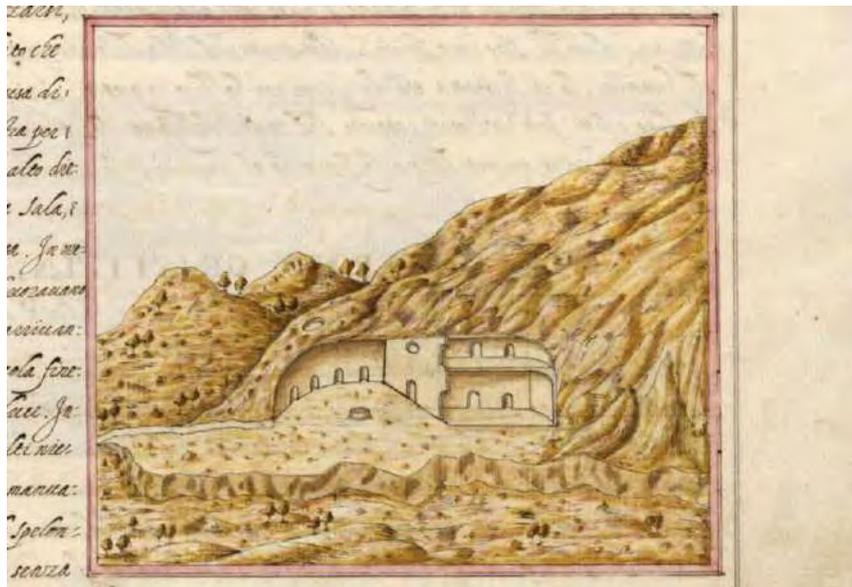


**Figure 224: 1539, excavated house as depicted in the Torriani Atlas. © Universidade de Coimbra.[810]**
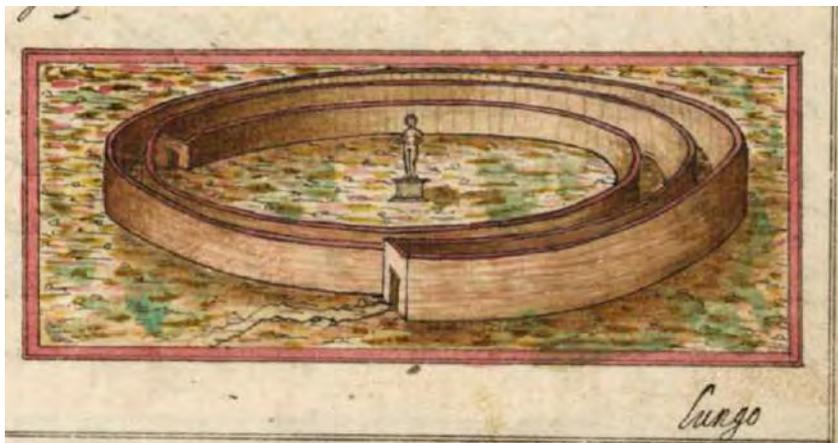


**Figure 225: 1539, Guanche temple in the island of Fuerteventura known as Efequén, as depicted by Leonardo Torriani. © Universidade de Coimbra.[811]**

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[809] Torriani, fol. 31.
[810] Torriani, fol. 35.
[811] Torriani, fol. 25.
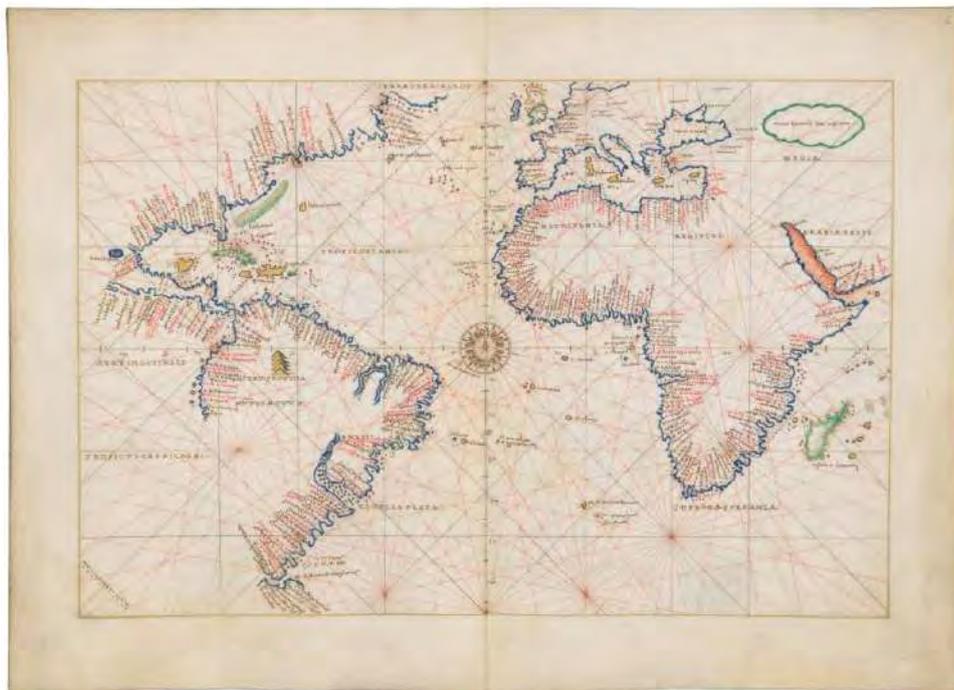
**Figure 226: 1542-1546, mapamundi by the Genoese cosmographer Battista Agnese (1514-1564), included in his atlas commissioned by Charles V. RES/310. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**[812]





**Figure 227: 1548, Map of Venezuela. MP-VENEZUELA, 4 © Archivo General de Indias.**[813]

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[812] Battista Agnese, "Atlas de Battista Agnese" (Atlas, 1546 1542), fol. 6, RES/301, Biblioteca Nacional de España, http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000258583.

[813] Consejo de Indias, *Mapa de Venezuela*, Manuscrito, a pluma (Maracaibo, Venezuela, 1548), MP-VENEZUELA,4, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos.

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The contrast between this first group of 'imperfect' Spanish plantations and those founded later in the century is one of the great topics of discussion of early modern Latin American urban history. In the 1980s, Mario Sartor distinguished several urban typologies in the Americas, separating Spanish planned cities in those complying with the "classical model" and those with the "regular model."[814] According to Sartor, cities showing a perfect regular grid of square blocks corresponded to the classical model, inspired by the culture of Renaissance authors and classic treatises. Regular cities would be those featuring all the urban elements of a planned city but whose distribution was still behind in terms of developments. In this framework, early Caribbean cities should be considered reminiscent of the French bastides and the cities planted during the Spanish Reconquista, conceptually more medieval than modern. A similar categorization can be found in the compilation of urban plans from the Archivo General de Indias published in the 1950s, referenced in most of the works that came during the following decades.[815]

Later authors would continue the discussion using similar categories. In the nineties, John E. Kicza referred to them in terms of commercial cities, mostly ports created in the early stages of the colonization, and "full settlements" which would came later with a more regular and institutionalized morphology.[816] Also in the nineties, the Colombian historian Jaime Salcedo Salcedo studied this same topic, providing abundant plans and visual hypothesis to compare different kinds of colonial grids across the American continent.[817] He maintained the same distinction between early coastal settlements (Figure 228) and later ones planted either in the Caribbean or in the Andean region (Figure 229).

Salcedo used his catalogue of maps and plans to discuss the origin of Spanish colonial urbanism and its change from what he considered a more militaristic structure or *traza castrense* in the Caribbean to the regular gridiron of later Spanish plantations. He discussed three of the main hypotheses present in literature of his time, these being: the connection between American native urbanism and the Spanish grid ("the grid born from Tenochtitlan"), the existence of a model directly inherited from continental Spain ("the grid born from the Reconquista"), and the model being a product or Renaissance law and culture ("the grid born from the Indies Laws"). According to Salcedo, the theory of the grid being "learnt" by the Spaniards during the conquest of Mexico and then transmitted across the continent was weak at its best. Neither would the "model" be a direct inheritance from the Reconquista, as the new towns planted in that period were not exactly equal to those created in the mid-sixteenth century. Finally, he argued that the urban instructions included in the Indian Laws were simultaneously a precedent and consequence of American colonial urbanization, as there are plenty of grid cities

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[814] Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista*, 126.

[815] Chueca Goitia, Torres Balbás, and González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas*.

[816] Kicza, "Patterns in Early Spanish Overseas Expansion."

[817] Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*.

planted before and after the enactment of these rules. Without going too much further into Salcedo's argument, his final conclusion pointed out to the existence of shared cultural, religious, and political layers of meaning embedded into the grid structure thanks symbolic figures and representations such as the "Heavenly Jerusalem" featured in medieval treatises, paintings, and churches across Europe.

Mentions to Jerusalem as a model are not common sight in 16ᵗʰ century documents and foundational acts of Spanish grid cities, either in the Caribbean or in other American regions. Sources show that, whatever influence could this and other urban referents have in the plantation of colonial cities, the cultural and legal background of new towns was complex enough to avoid any simple explanation. Urban archetypical components are of course part of the equation and their presence can be tracked down multiple example on both sides of the Atlantic;[818] however, the analysis of foundational documents show that protocols regarding land property and governance where also highly relevant. When foundational acts are studied in a systemic way, it becomes clear that urban phenomena in Spanish America do not fit in the frame of a static model 'travelling' across the ocean.[819] Instead, its continuous transformation and adaptation to diverse contexts, including Europe and Africa, are instead of a dynamic process of exchange and development of urban principles taking place in a more organic way.

Urban depictions that are not foundational also evidence this complexity. For example, when the Italian military engineer Battista Antonelli designed his fortification project for Cartagena de Indias around 1600, he included a quite particular detail in one of his plans: the plan of the unfortified city (Figure 230). This is a rare sight in drawings developed by military engineers, which care mostly for the fortifications, leaving the interior urban space as a blank space. In this particular plan, Antonelli presents Cartagena as group of blocks with different sizes, most of them rectangular. The engineer added a table listing "the most particular things in the city of Cartagena" [*las cosas mas particulares de la ciudad de Cartagena*], including the main church and the governor house one against the other, the main square, the butcheries, the council house, and other relevant elements such as monasteries and fountains. By this time, Cartagena was close to the 70ᵗʰ anniversary of its foundation in 1933, so its general urban structure was already stablished. In Antonelli's plan, the bay of Cartagena is drawn over a folded piece of paper with the message "the plan of the fortification is behind this paper" [*A la buelta de este papel esta la palanta de la fortificacion*]. When unfold, the paper shows the design of a wall with five pointed bastions, a wide moat, and a door facing south-east. Contrary to the plan under it, the fortification does not include any detail of the pre-existing city, as it is usual in early modern engineering plans.

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[818] I discussed this topic further in Saga, *Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana*.

[819] For an example of systemic study of foundational acts between 1520 and 1573, see: Francisco Domínguez Compañy, "Contenido Urbanistico de las Actas de Fundacion (1520-1573)," *Revista de Historia de América*, no. 91 (1981): 9–27. For a more wide study including aesthetic and cultural aspects: Lucena Giraldo, *A los cuatro vientos: las ciudades de la América hispánica*.
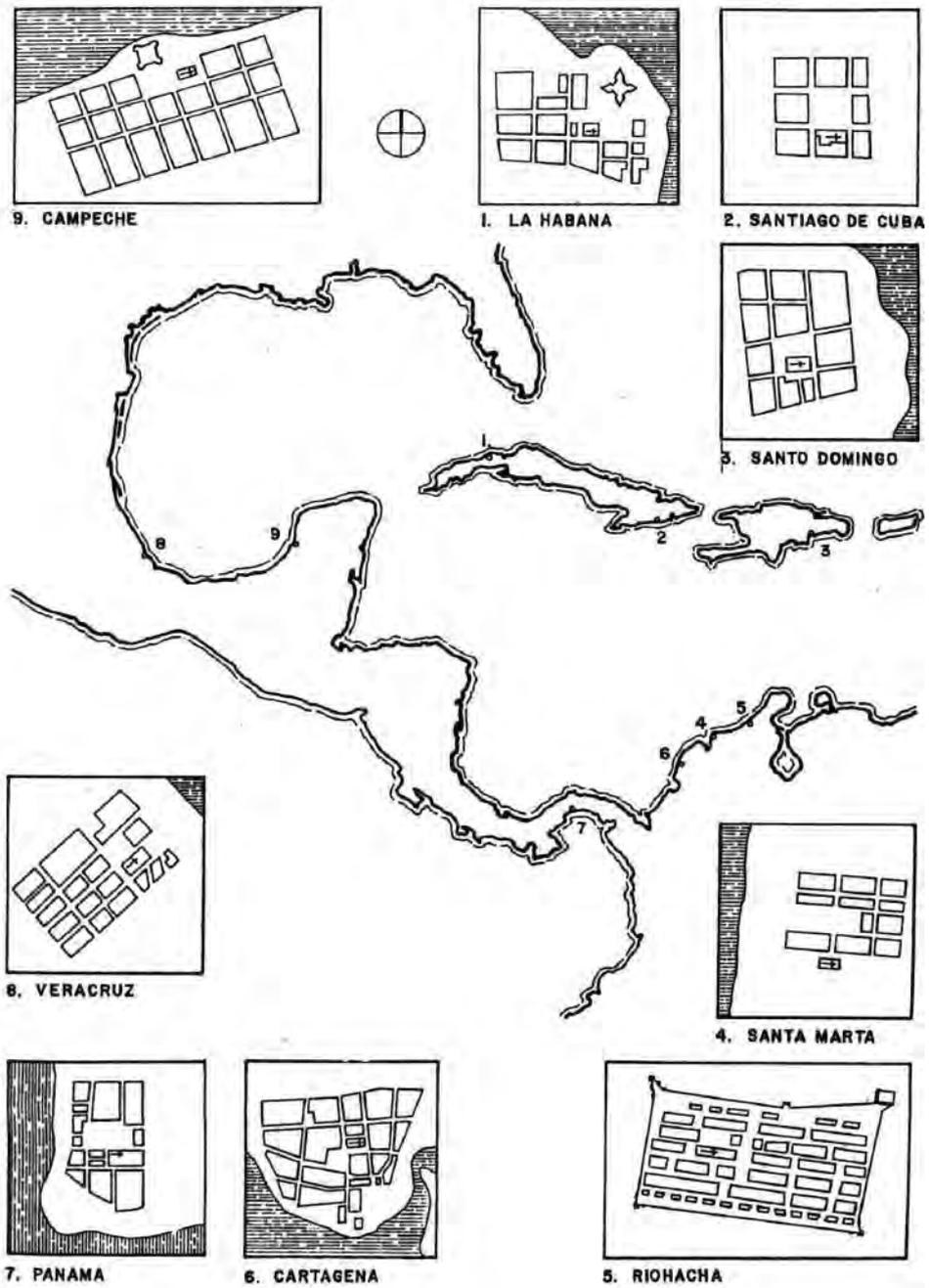
**Figure 228: 1996, foundational plans of Spanish colonial cities in the Caribbean.
© Jaime Salcedo Salcedo.[820]**

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[820] Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*, 31.
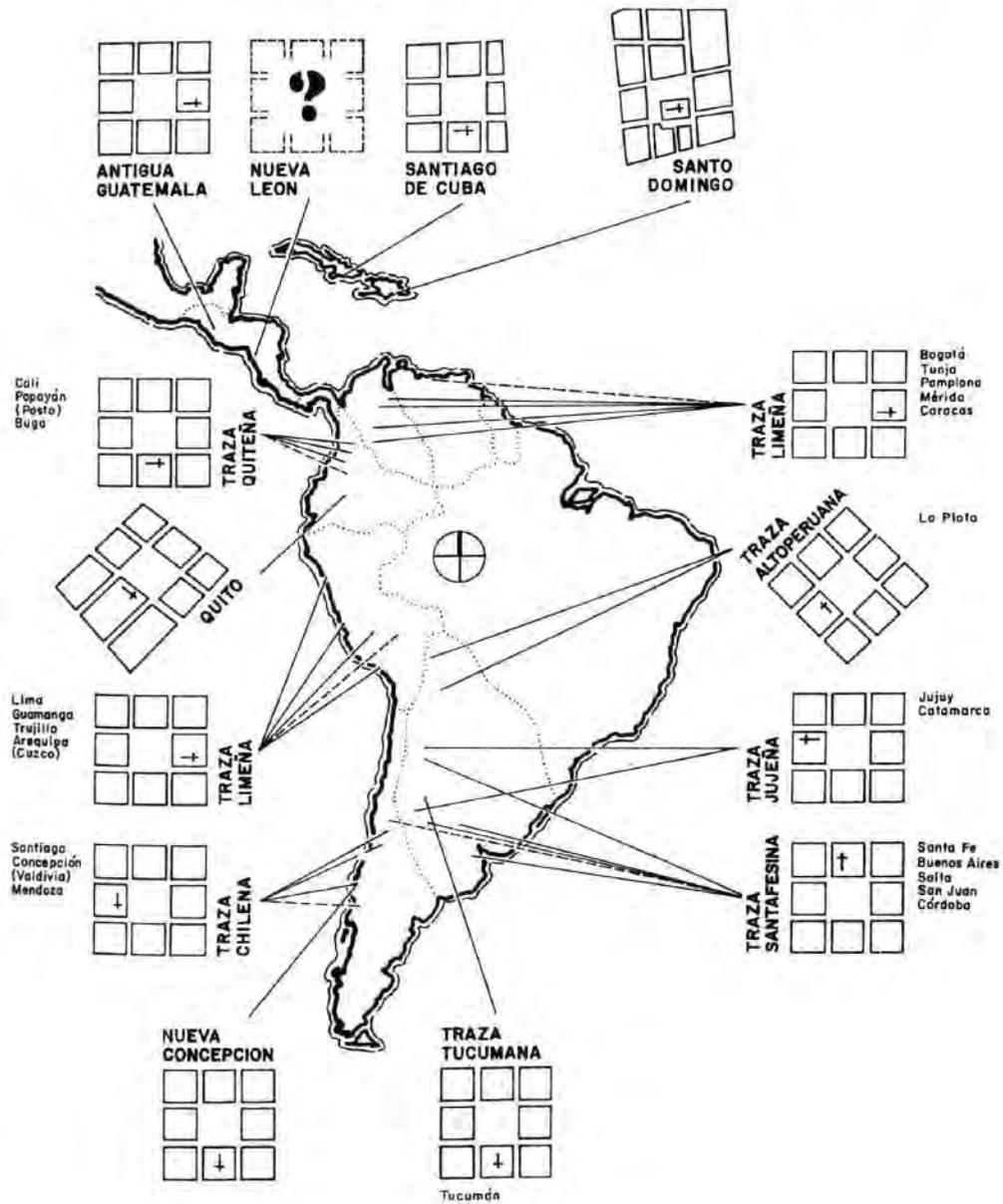
**Figure 229: 1996, foundational plans of Spanish colonial cities complying with the gridiron plan or "regular trace". © Jaime Salcedo Salcedo.**[821]

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[821] Salcedo Salcedo, 65.
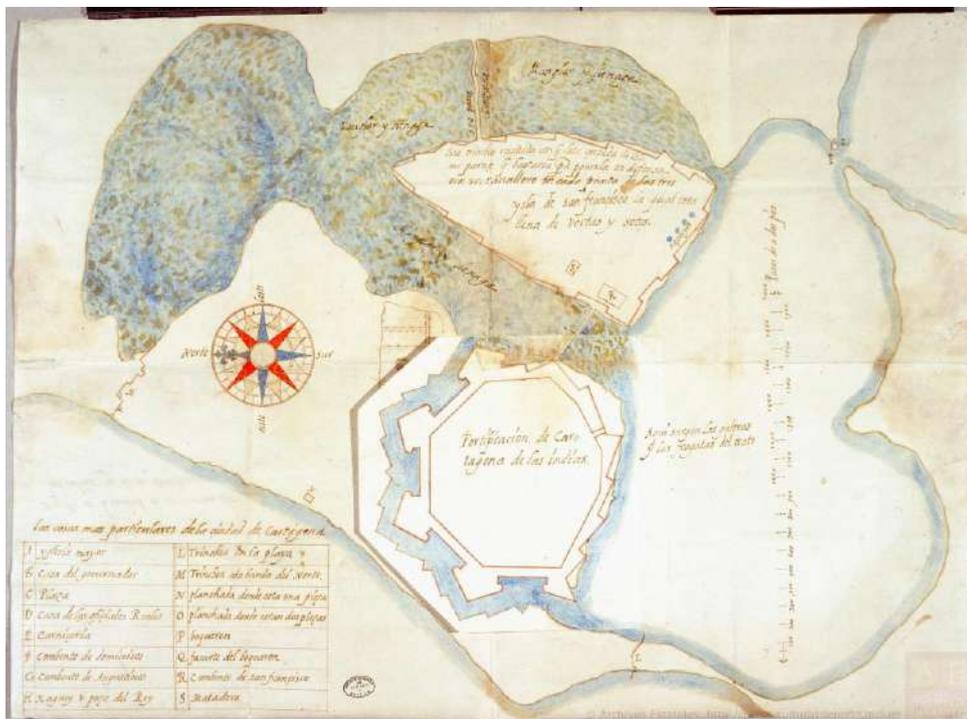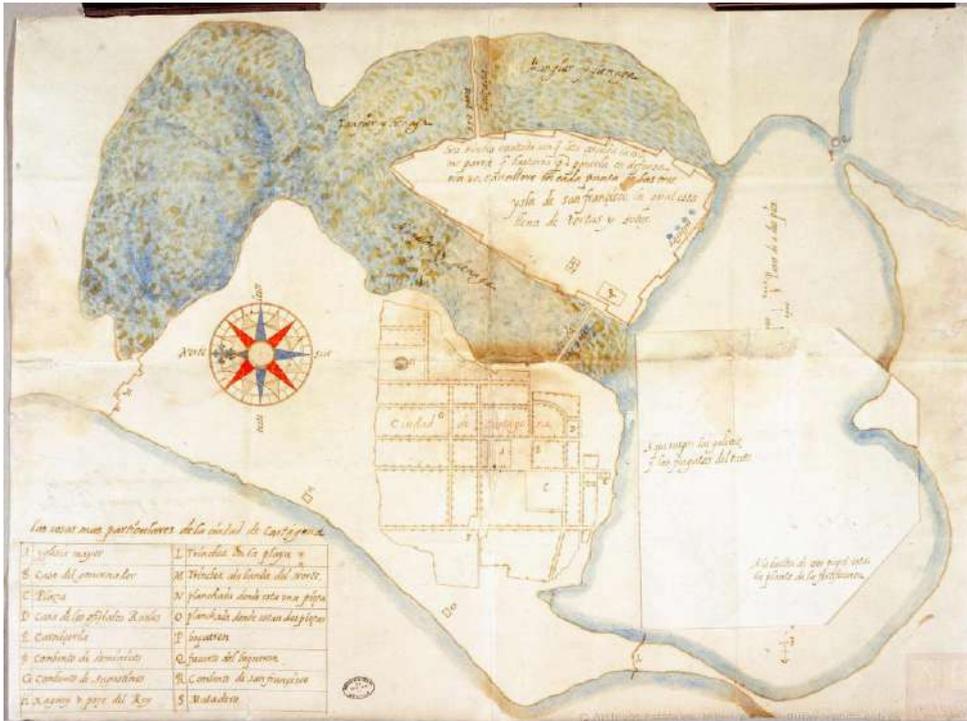
**Figure 230: C. 1600, plan of Cartagena de Indias drawn by military engineer Batista Antonelli in the late 16th century (top). The bay is covered by a piece of paper where it is written '*A la vuelta de este papel está la planta de la fortificación*' [Behind this paper there is the plan for the fortification]. Bottom: Fortification project by Batista Antonelli for Cartagena de Indias, deployed over the city's plan. Only the walls and bastions of the fortification are drawn. The inner structure of the city is blank. MP-PANAMA, 20 © Archivo General de Indias[822]**

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[822] Antonelli, "Plano de La Ciudad de Cartagena de Indias y de Sus Fortificaciones." Item number: ES.41091.AGI//MP-PANAMA, 20
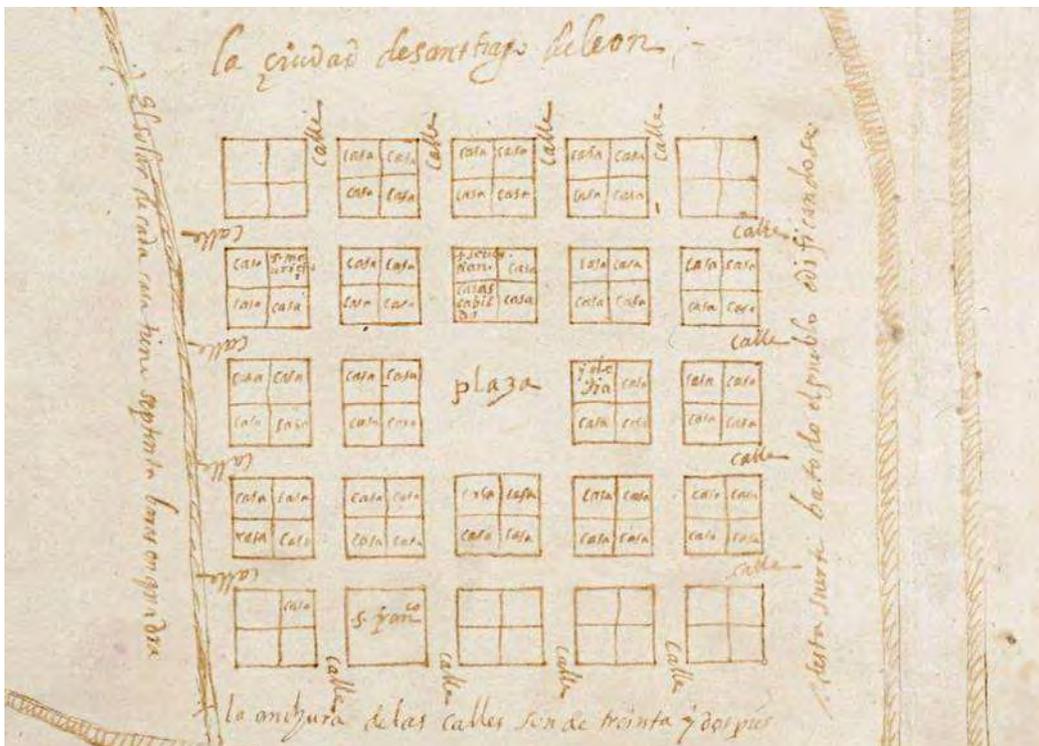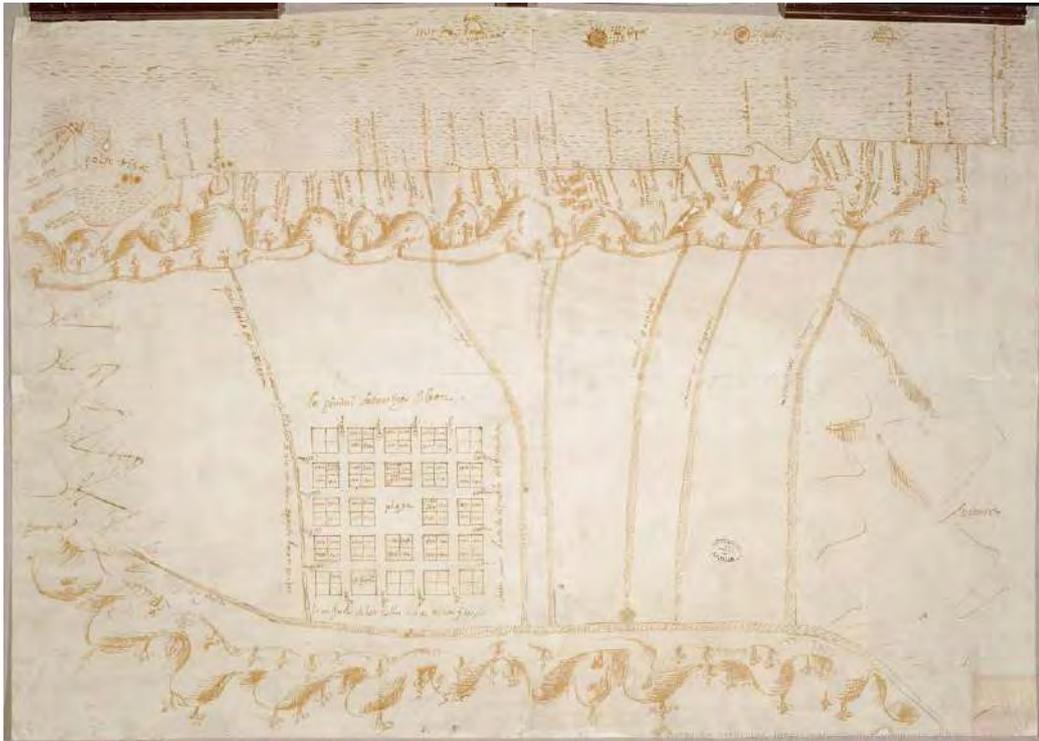
**Figure 231: 1578, plan of Santiago de León de Caracas, Venezuela, included in a report issued to the Indies General Council. The city was originally planted by Diego de Losada on July 25th, 1567. MP-VENEZUELA, 6. © Archivo General de Indias.**[823]

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[823] Diego de Henares, *Traza de La Ciudad de Santiago de León de Caracas*, Manuscrito: a pluma (Caracas, 1578), MP-VENEZUELA, 6, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos. Extracted from: Juan Pimentel, "Descripción Provincia de Caracas y Gobernación Venezuela" (Maracaibo, Venezuela, December 1578), PATRONATO,294, N.12, Archivo General de Indias.

In this way, this late 16th-century plan of Cartagena de Indias provides an excellent example of how the traditional taxonomy of colonial urbanism is not mutually exclusive. In Antonelli's depiction, the regular/civil dimension of the city and its militaristic/*castrense* future can be seen performing together.

The layer behind is the built city, physical matter, brick over brick housing institutions, public spaces, temples, and religious orders. Its logic arises from the political center and origin of the city. On the contrary, the layer over it is the imagined city, the projected future. Engineers carefully measured the surrounding and access points of cities to protect them accordingly. The logic of their urban drawings arises from the city's limit and focus on its exterior. The interior is out of the engineer's scope. Scholars such as Annalisa Dameri have used the term "city of paper" [*città di carta*] to discuss the nuances of early modern military engineering and its visual media.[824] This double-faced version of Cartagena, un-walled and fortified, was indeed a city of paper. Military paper. Its objectives and interests were different from the foundational, legal papers that *Siblings Overseas* focuses on. Plantation plans and acts were part of a highly protocolary process where the main priority was to ensure the institutionalization and distribution of lands and properties, hence their general features and documental context are quite different of what Antonelli and his fellow engineers were producing during this period, usually in cities that had been planted decades before.

Between foundational acts and military engineering plans, there is a third kind of document showing grid structures: Reports [*descripciones*] of already planted cities. One example of this is the oldest plan conserved of Santiago de León de Caracas, today capital city of Venezuela. This city was originally planted by Diego de Losada, *conquistador* charged with the subjugation of the *Caracas* natives in this region. After their violent conquest, Losada settled the region in 1563 and officially planted Santiago de León in 1567. He died in 1569. In 1575, Juan de Pimentel was appointed as new governor of the region, but it took him three years to arrive at the city. Once there, in 1578, he produced a detailed report on the conditions of Caracas and its region, issued to the General Council of Indies at Seville where it is conserved today.[825] The report included a plan of the city, reportedly traced by Diego de Henares who had been in charge of it between the death of Losada and the arrival of Pimentel (Figure 231). This document is often used as evidence of the foundational form of Caracas, and it may well be it, but it is not a foundational plan. There difference may not be clearly visible for an untrained eye, but it is quite evident: For example, while foundational plans acted as graphic confirmation for property distribution, this one depicts territorial features and natural elements. House parcels are marked with the label "casa" instead of their owners' names. Neither was this drawing an urban planning project, designed to control the future morphology of the town, as in the engineering projects

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[824] Annalisa Dameri, *Le città di carta: disegni dal Krigsarkivet di Stoccolma* (Politecnico di Torino, 2013).

[825] Pimentel, "Descripción Provincia de Caracas y Gobernación Venezuela."

that referred before. The 1578 plan of Caracas was a visual support of the report it accompanies, nothing more, nothing less. It is indeed a very valuable document, that depicts, among other things, how the Spanish colonizers of this region visualized its territorial structure, what natural elements were relevant to them, and which were not even drawn, location of native villages in the seaside, its numerous streams and beaches, etc. The study of what elements of Pimentel's written report were featured in the plan and which not, could potentially produce valuable insights and conclusions. Whatever the case, that inquiry is out of the reach of *Siblings Overseas*.

## First-wave Andean colonial settlements

### *General overview*

With the beginning of the 1920s decade, while the colonial urbanization of the Caribbean was still ongoing, new expeditions were sent towards the interior areas of South America along the mountains of Los Andes. The conquests of Pedro Arias de Ávila along the Caribbean coast between 1515 and 1520 had secured the region known as *Tierra Firme*. There, cities such as Santa Marta, planted in 1525, operated as gates for Spanish parties advancing towards the south known as *entradas* (Figure 232).[826] Each of these expeditions was led by an *adelantado*, a Spanish officer with or without military training, authorized to take new territories and plant new cities in the Crown's name.[827] Doing so without proper permission was a grave offence that could carry the death penalty.

Cities planted during this period include some of the most important national and regional capitals in the continent such as Trujillo (Honduras, 1525), Cartagena de Indias (Colombia, 1533), Quito (Ecuador, 1534), Ciudad de los Reyes/Lima (Perú, 1535) Cali (Colombia, 1536), Popayán (Colombia, 1536), Santa Fe de Bogotá (Colombia, 1539), Santiago del Nuevo Extremo (Chile, 1541), Mérida (México, 1541). The territorial, political, and social context of settlements in the inner territories of South America was quite different to that of the Caribbean. There was no need to establish a common front against European menaces coming from the sea, neither was it necessary to provide protection against artillery. Andean natives were of different tribes and traditions than those in the Caribbean, posing a new and diverse challenge for Spanish *adelantados* looking to subdue them. At the same time, travels by foot were more difficult, consuming resources and men at an alarming pace. The Spaniards did not only want to locate native settlements for domination, but also because these indicated which sites were adequate for human life and rich in crops or resources. This created a complex

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[826] For a general description of Panamá, Tierra Firme, and Nueva Granada, including cities and regions, consult the 1625 description by Iohannes de Laet, available in diverse languages and reedited several times. Iohannes de Laet, *Nuevo Mundo o Descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, Nederlands Letterenfonds-Dutch Foundation for Literature, Embajada del Reino de los Países Bajos, 2019).

[827] Kicza, "Patterns in Early Spanish Overseas Expansion," 244–46.

political situation as *conquistadores* allied themselves with native chieftains, providing them with a position in the new order, participating in their conflicts, and eventually mixing their lineage either by marriage or illegitimate descendance. Inland new cities controlled large areas and provinces, leading to a lower urban density (Figure 233).



**Figure 232: 1587, map of the coast of Tierra Firme and its cities, as depicted by Urbano Monti in his mapamundi. © David Rumsey Map Collection.[828]**



**Figure 233: 1587, map of the Panama region, Santa Marta, Castilla del Oro (Antioquía), and Popayán, as depicted by Urbano Monti in his mapamundi. The density of settlements is much higher in the coastline, especially near the Panama canal and in the Caribbean islands. Settlements in the interior regions are much scarcer. © David Rumsey Map Collection.[829]**

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[828] Urbano Monti, *Mapamundi* (Milano, 1587), 10130.002, David Rumsey Map Collection.
[829] Monti.

Another relevant aspect of these settlements is their growing need for rigorous and official institutionalization. While in the early years of the conquest cities were still scarce and quite unstable, the 1520s and 1530s brought with them a higher flux of expeditions who responded to clearer protocols. This is evidenced by the existence of written foundational acts for most of the cities mentioned above, consistent in their structure and legal formulae even though there were unsupported by plans and applied urban instructions in different ways. The legal dimension of new towns was rapidly increasing its relevance. Explorers and adelantados needed proof of their deeds to be presented to the Royal Council at their return, and foundational acts constituted evidence of accomplishing their primary mission. The official foundation also authorized local councils to exert govern over their regions, hence an official act was indispensable to legitimate them. These and other requirements of American foundations are not so different from those in Andalusia where the exploration/domination factor may not be as relevant, but the legal body of the city needed to comply with similar obligations.

The defense aspect is probably the most evident distinction between earlier and later generations of Spanish cities. Official foundations were mostly performed in already pacified areas, so they did not need any kind of walls or fortified perimeter. In provinces with active conflicts, explorers opted to build forts that operated as temporary settlements without the legal status of a proper town. These did not have a named council, judges, or any other civil institution customary of urban life. After a city was planted it may count with a military walled quarter, but its general structure was open and its focus put on agriculture, extraction of raw materials, commerce, and political rule. In this context, the distribution and control of land property was even more significant to ensure that Spanish elites and owners were physically present at the colonial frontier. Cities unconstrained by fortified boundaries could grow without other limits than those imposed by their natural setting, receiving as much colonists as needed to fulfill their economic objectives.

Summed, all these features led to a more regular kind of city, encouraging the application of the grid morphology to ease the distribution of land and maintain documental rigor towards the Spanish institutions. One aspect that often arouse curiosity even in specialized researchers is that foundational acts and records of this period include little or no mention to the specifics of urban planning.[830] Still, their urban morphology and evolution evidence a coherent use of the grid by not related Spanish agents in very diverse contexts, scattered in space and time. They followed a similar protocol, tracing the main square with the church and, from there, a grid of streets and square blocks divided in parcels to be distributed according to the hierarchy of the owner (Figure 234).

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[830] In 1981, Francisco Domínguez compared the information contained in 20 foundational acts from all across America, dated from 1520 to 1573. Only 11 make direct mention to the existence of an urban plan or trace. Most of these are from the second half of the century. See: Domínguez Compañy, "Contenido Urbanistico de las Actas de Fundacion (1520-1573)."

Trazado de una ciudad, en este caso, Popayán : 1), se delimita la plaza y se hinca el rollo; 2), se asignan los solares para la iglesia y el cabildo; 3), se adjudican los solares a los fundadores, en el marco de la plaza; 4), los solares restantes en el marco de la plaza se asignan a los capitanes más destacados; 5), se sigue la adjudicación de solares con preferencia por los que dan a las calles que entran a la plaza; 6), se asignan solares a los conventos.
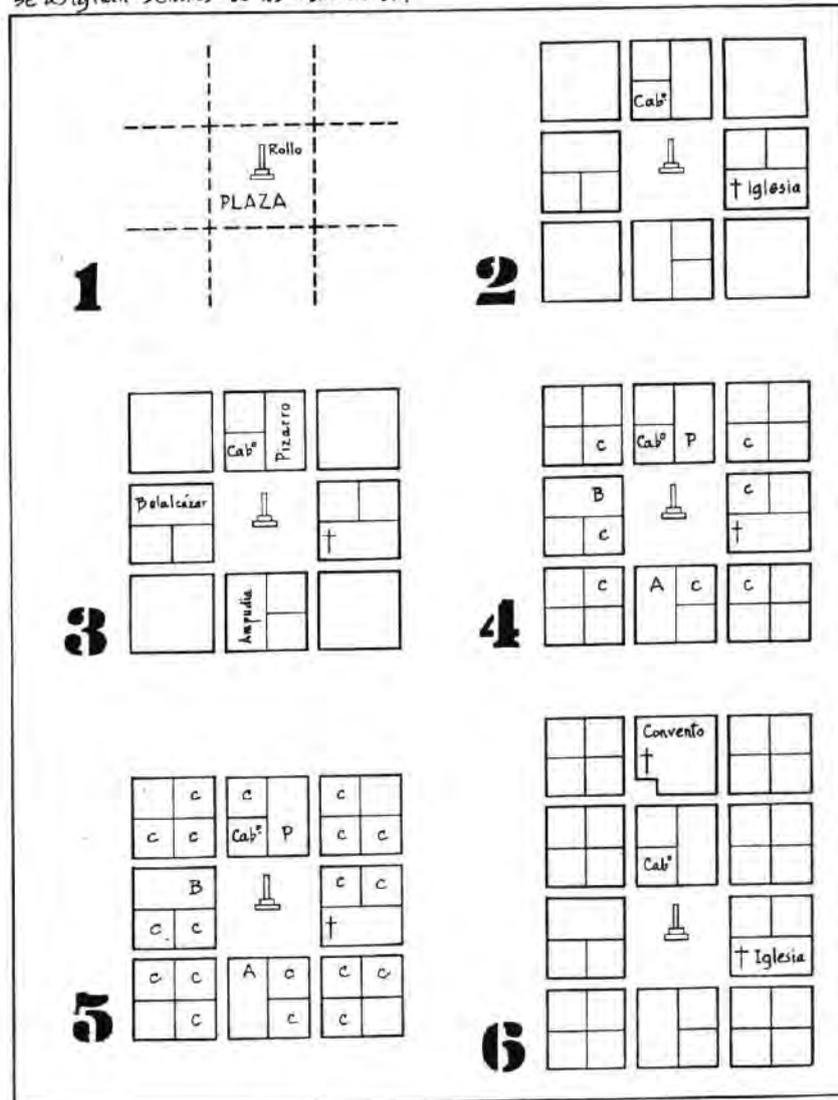


**Figure 234: General procedure to plant a grid colonial town, as depicted by Jaime Salcedo Salcedo in 1996. © Jaime Salcedo Salcedo.**[831]

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[831] Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*, 53.

### *The plantation of Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1539*

Santa Fe de Bogotá is a good example of this first generation of Andean colonial capitals. Its grid structure was only interrupted by the rivers bordering its foundational site (Figure 235). Bogotá was planted by the Granadan *adelantado* Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada on April 27th, 1539; that is, the same year as the new towns in Sierra Sur.[832] Quesada was born around 1509 in an Andalusian family established in Baeza, Jaen, near the frontier with the recently conquered Nasrid kingdom of Granada. He spent most of his early years in Granada's capital, where his father was appointed as judge of the Royal Chancery created between 1500 and 1505.[833] Then, Quesada followed his father's step and studied laws at Salamanca University[834]. Continuing that professional track, by the start of the 1530s he was back at Granada as an appointed lawyer in the Royal Chancellery. Quesada worked there until moving to America in 1535 along with the expedition of Pedro Fernández de Lugo. Most probably, Quesada had no previous military training before that travel; However, contrary to the suggestion of several historians, his inexperience in the matters of war should not be interpreted as a lack of expertise in urbanization. As a lawyer, Quesada was trained in urban legislation, including orders and principles applied in both the Iberian Peninsula and the Indies. The result is an unexpected profile for a conquistador: a legal expert coming from a family of judges and lawyers with work experience in one of Castile's two main judicial institutions. From that position, he was surely aware of most relevant processes in the region, including the royal order for creating new towns in Sierra Sur that had been the center of numerous demands and legal battles in the previous decades. This formative background can be compared to that of a judge like Juan de Ribadeneyra, although in 1535, Quesada was still in his twenties, just beginning his career.

This and other connections would have made Bogotá an excellent subject for a comparative study with Sierra Sur except for the fact that its foundational records were lost at some point in the past, namely during one of the many fires suffered by Bogotá's council archive over the years. Still, its history is well known thanks to correspondence, reports, and chronicles, informing a foundational case that serves as articulation between early colonial new towns and second-wave grid cities planted after 1560.

Like in Sierra Sur, the settling of Bogotá was highly dependent on normative and law, causing it to have two foundational moments: the first one on August 6th, 1538, and a second official one on April 27th, 1539. Historians offer diverse explanations for these two separated acts. According to Germán Mejía Pavony,

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[833] Soledad Acosta de Samper, *Biografías de hombres ilustres ó notables, relativas á la época del Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonización de la parte de América denominada actualmente EE. UU. de Colombia* (Colombia: Imprenta de La Luz, 1883); Pedro M. Ibáñez, *Ensayo Biográfico de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada* (S.l.]: [s.n.], 1892); "Biografia de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada," accessed January 16, 2019.

[834] Martínez Jiménez, *Apuntes sobre el urbanismo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*. P.108.

August 1538 marks the first Spanish mass at Plaza de las Hierbas (now Parque Santander) and the establishment of a first physical settlement over the slopes of Montserrate.[835] However, as we have seen, a religious ceremony was not enough to establish a new town. A city without a foundational act was not really a city, at least not in legal terms. The council had not been appointed, and officials or public servants were appointed that day. Lands had not been measured or distributed. In the 1620s, chronicler Pedro Simón wrote that, before 1539, the settlement of Bogotá remained as a strictly military encampment. According to his narration:

> *No nombró entonces el General Quesada justiciar ni regimiento, horca ni cuchillo.* [836]

> [At that time, General Quesada did not appoint justice or council, gallows, or knife][837]

Without a council, Bogotá was only a temporary settlement. The lack of a place for punishment and executions was the physical representation of missing judicial power. The decision to proceed with this unofficial foundation was taken by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, leader of the expedition at Bogotá and second in command to the Spanish *adelantado* Pedro Fernández de Lugo. In 1536, Fernández de Lugo had ordered Quesada to part from Santa Marta and explore the Magdalena River. Quesada was authorized to found new cities in the name of Fernández de Lugo, who would be the one to enjoy the privileges derived from them. The Granadan leader and his men travelled for two years at great expense before reaching the Valley of Cundinamarca, the homeland of a well-established Muisca native community (Figure 236). Natives tried to resist the colonizers, but they were violently reduced in a matter of weeks, even though they succeeded in enclosing the invaders in the native village of Bacatá and set it on fire with the whole Spanish regiment inside.[838] That same place was then rebuilt as a provisional encampment for the invaders until the definitive foundation of the city.

Jiménez de Quesada considered this valley suitable not only for a principal settlement but also the seat of a new Royal Audience. It had plenty of space to grow, it was well defended by the mountains, its land was fertile and had access to abundant rivers and other water sources for drinking and irrigation. Moreover, the province was well known for its emerald mines and its gold craftmanship. Creating a city in such a place would indeed bring great prestige to its official founder, in this case, Pedro Fernández de Lugo. However, Quesada would not renounce the possibility of achieving them by himself instead of ceding to his

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[835] Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*.

[836] Pedro, Fray Simón, *Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales* (Bogotá: Banco Popular, 1981), vol. 3, pp. 304–305. Referenced in Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, 61.

[837] English translation by the author.

[838] Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, 45.

superior. His plan was to establish just the minimum military regiment required to secure the region, and then travel to Spain to reports his findings and request authorization to settle a city on his own. After that he would return and fulfil an official foundational protocol with all the necessary procedures.

What the Granadan lawyer did not know is that Fernández de Lugo died in Santa Marta in 1536 shortly after Quesada's departure. In 1539, when Quesada was already established in Bogotá and organizing his return to Spain., two other conquistadors reached the site with their expeditions: Sebastián de Belalcázar and Nicolás de Féderman. They informed the Granadan *adelantado* of De Lugo's demise. Féderman, born in 1501, was a German explorer in service of the Welzer family, bankers of Charles V. In 1529 he was sent to Coro, currently in Venezuela. After several years and travels back and forth to Spain, Féderman led an expedition southward from Coro, traversing the backwater regions east of the Andes and eventually reaching Bogotá.[839] Sebastián de Belalcázar was Andalusian, born at Córdoba and nearly thirty years older than Jiménez de Quesada. He had served at the orders of Pedro Arias de Ávila in 1514, then with Francisco Hernández de Córdoba in 1524, and finally with Pizarro in the 1530s. In the process he had participated in the foundation of cities such as Panamá, León, Honduras, Quito, and Lima. In 1535 he parted to the conquest of Popayan, founding its capital and other Colombian cities such as Santiago de Cali. By the point he met Quesada and Féderman in 1539, he was way more experienced than them, expert in the instructions and protocols needed for the correct plantation of a new town.

Traditional historians have argued that the time gap between the first mass at Bogotá and its official foundation was due to the lack of Quesada expertise in urban planning. After all, he had never planted a new town before. Féderman and especially Belalcázar would have filled that gap, guiding the Granadan in the appropriate steps to complete the foundation.[840] However, this assumption does not add up with the legal expertise of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. As a trained lawyer, he must had at least a general grasp of the theoretical principles regarding the plantation of a city. Moreover, his expertise in how to properly record legal binding actions would have given him the upper hand when discussing how to manage the foundation and which protocols should be performed, so they would be recognized by the Royal Council in Europe. According to contemporary historians such as Mejía Pavony, the crucial factor in Quesada's decision was not his planning knowledge but his hierarchical position. After Fernández de Lugo demise, Quesada had, presumably, inherited the right and duty to found cities in the name of the Spanish Crown. If he were to leave the site of Bogotá, it would be considered that he had renounced to his founder privilege. Then, either Belalcázar or Féderman could take that position and go ahead with the plantation, probably Belalcázar as the most senior in the group.

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[839] Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "Nicolaus Federmann," Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico - Real Academia de Historia, 2018, https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/9235/nicolaus-federmann.

[840] Martínez Jiménez, *Apuntes sobre el urbanismo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 110–12.

**Figure 235: 1791, Plan of Santa Fe de Bogotá by Domingo Esquiaqui, Italian military engineer. This is the oldest conserved plans of Bogotá. It shows its plan, already grown over its natural limits: the rivers San Francisco on the west and San Agustín on the east. © Instituto Geográfico Nacional de España.**[841]

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[841] Domingo Esquiaqui, *Bogotá (Colombia). Planos de población.*, Indeterminada (Bogotá (Colombia): IGN, Madrid, 1990, 1990 1791), Instituto Geográfico Nacional, Cartoteca, https://www.ign.es/web/catalogo-cartoteca/resources/html/023395.html.

**Figure 236: 1572, first map of Santa Fe's province (Bogotá) traced by Diego de Torres, native Muisca chieftain of Turmequé. MP-PANAMA,8. © Archivo General de Indias.**[842]

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[842] Diego de Torres, Cacique de Turmequé, *Plano de la Provincia de Santa Fe, sus pueblos y términos*, Sin escala (Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, 1584), MP-PANAMA,8, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos.

1. House of Alonso de Olalla
2. House of Juan Céspedes/ seat of the Royal Audience until 1557, later Dominican convent.
3. Church of Santafé
4. House of Hernán Vanegas, later Town Council office and house of the royal representatives
5. Court prison
6. House
7. House
8. First cathedral 1556-1566
9. House of Antonio Maldonado de Mendoza
10. *Rollo* / Public whipping post 1539-1584
11. *Plaza de la Yerba* Market Square
12. Bridge over Vicachá river
13. *Humilladero* - Church marking in the city's *exit*
14. Dominican house/convent - 1550
15. Veracruz chapel
16. Bridge over San Francisco River
17. Franciscan church and convent
18. *Plaza Mayor* - main square

**Figure 237: Hypothesis of Santa Fe de Bogotá foundational plan between 1539 and 1557. © G. Mejía Pavony, redrawn by Eva Amate.**[843]

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[843] Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, 213. The redrawn version was published by GAHTC as part of its online teaching materials: Sánchez García and Calatrava, "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism: Spaces of Conflict and Cultural Exchange during the Reconquista and Its Aftermath."

**Figure 238: 1846, Bogotá's main square painted by Edward Mark Walhouse. © Banco de la República de Colombia.**[844]

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[844] Edward Mark Walhouse, *Plaza Mayor de Bogotá*, 1846, Acuarela sobre papel, 24,5 x 56,9 cm, 1846, Banco de la República de Colombia, https://www.banrepcultural.org/coleccion-de-arte/obra/plaza-mayor-de-bogota-ap0057.

In consequence, Quesada was forced to decide between renouncing to the foundation or performing it without certain guarantee of his privilege. He chose the second option. However, there was a small but important detail to be solved. When Fernández de Lugo died he did not leave behind any direct order issuing the plantation of Bogotá or transferring his powers to Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Because of this, Quesada would have to travel back to Spain and defend his privileges.

The foundational ceremony for Santa Fe de Bogotá was promptly performed on April 27th, 1539. That day, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada appointed the council members and all official representatives. The main square was placed at the current site of Plaza de Bolívar from where the rest of the foundational structure spreads (Figure 237). The main church was placed at its east side, a higher position from where it dominates the surrounding landscape (Figure 238). The council house was placed on the south side, not facing the church as in other Spanish new towns. It would be later moved to the west side, the lower of the four, maybe recognizing in a symbolic way the superiority of divine power. Other parcels surrounding the square were assigned for the court prison and houses of high-ranking settlers. The main street or Calle Real, today known as Carrera Séptima, crossed the main square through its higher side and traversed the whole city until its natural limits marked by San Francisco River at the south and Vicachá River at the north. The two bridges crossing these rivers acted as the effective gates of the city, controlling goods and people in their way in or out. Two churches were placed at these exits. The south one, originally managed by the Franciscan order, is now the church of San Agustín. At the north, the Veracruz chapel later grew to become the church of San Francisco. The north bridge also connected with Plaza de la Yerba, a market square outside of the urban district. This was the site where Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada officiated the first mass in 1538 and continued to perform as one of the vital spaces in the new town after 1539, even if it was not at the geometrical center of Bogotá. The city would soon grow to the west, following the natural slope of the terrain and reaching the Vicachá. There, a new market square would be established: San Vitorino. Together, the main square, Plaza de la Yerba, and San Vitorino acted as the three main points of urban life in Bogotá, containing its foundational center and connecting it with the farms [*ejidos*] and non-urban communities in the region.[845]

Bogotá would never develop any walled perimeter or permanent fortifications. Military aspects like fortified bastions and artillery strongholds would not become central issues in Spanish cities until the later decades of the 16th century, when Philip II established royal engineering schools in Madrid, Barcelona, and Antwerp.[846] Before that, the main interest was in probing legally valid foundations

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[845] Germán Mejía dedicates a full chapter of his book "La Ciudad de los Conquistadores" to this issue, titled "the three squares and the urban form" [Las tres plazas y la forma urbana]. Mejía Pavony, *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*, 202–14.

[846] Lombaerde, "Castrametatio and the Grid in the Spanish Habsburg World. Contributions from the Low Countries 1550-1750."

and ensuring that privileges for founders and settlers were attractive enough to provide a regular influx of Spanish families into the newly occupied lands.

### *Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada travels back to Spain after the plantation of Bogotá.*

On the same year of 1539, after the official foundation of Bogotá, all three adelantados considered their expeditions finished. Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, Nicolás de Féderman and Sebastián de Belalcázar travelled to Cartagena de Indias and, from there, back to Spain. Their objective was to present their individual feats and demand the privileges associated with them. However, Quesada's privilege as founder of Bogotá was called into question. Dissatisfied, he remained in Europe for the next ten years, growing his connections and litigating to achieve his demands. At that point, Quesada had spent five years in America and was still in his late twenties, probably conserving his networks and connections.

Not much has been written about this particular stage in Quesada's life, which was not exceedingly pleasant. Between 1539 and 1551 he was accused of several crimes and misconducts committed during his conquests. He spent periods of time in jail and living in exile in Portugal as a fugitive. Still, there are documents providing glimpses of his activities in Spain. In the first minutes' book of Granada University (1531-1560) we can find the graduation ceremony of Law Doctor Gaspar Sánchez on February 5th, 1542 (Figure 239).[847] In it, the name "Gonzalo Ximénez" is listed as one of the Granadan gentlemen and lawyers [*caballeros y letrados vecinos de Granada*] who attended the event. Other sources situate Quesada in Portugal at this point, so he may have travelled to Granada for the act. The person listed could also be his father, sharing his surnames and profession.

In 1545, Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada returned to Spain, sick and weakened. His cause was revised on 1547 and he was absolved of most of his charges. On May 25th of that same year, he was named marshal [*mariscal*] of the New Kingdom of Nueva Granada and appointed as representative of the Crown at Bogotá [*regidor*]. He was also assigned a coat of arms, presenting three spaces with a castle, a crowned lion with a sword, and a hill with trees and pieces of gold in reference to El Dorado; with a belt of suns and moons around them and crowned with a knight's crest, leaves and another lion (Figure 240).[848] Quesada travelled back to Bogotá in 1550 and remained at Nueva Granada until his death in 1579. He participated in just a few military campaigns, dedicating most of his life to the pursue of El Dorado and to write his memories.

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[847] Universidad de Granada, "Libro de actas del Claustro Universitario de la Universidad de Granada - 1531 - 1560" (Libro de actas, Granada, 1560 1531), ES AUG A 104 PRINCIPAL CAJA 01417 / 001, Archivo Universitario de Granada, https://archi.ugr.es:8443/jopac/registro?id=00158111. P. 132.

[848] Consejo de Indias, "Escudo de armas de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada conquistador en Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada" (1547), MP-ESCUDOS, 2, Archivo General de Indias. The version of the coat of arms finally used had no castle, only the lion on top and the hill at the bottom half.

**Figure 239: 1531-1560, page 132 of Granada University first minute book. The highlighted lines read "Doctoramiento de Gaspar Sánchez en leyes. En la nombrada e gran ciudad de Granada, a cinco días del mes de hebrero de mil e quinientos e quarenta e dos años […] estando presentes […] el licenciado Gonçalo Ximénez". ES AUG A 104 PRINCIPAL CAJA 01417 / 001 © Archivo Universidad de Granada.**[849]

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[849] Universidad de Granada, "Libro de actas del Claustro Universitario de la Universidad de Granada - 1531 - 1560."

**Figure 240: 1547, Escudo de armas de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada conquistador en Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada. Consejo de Indias. MP-ESCUDOS, 2. © Archivo General de Indias.**[850]

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[850] Consejo de Indias, "Escudo de armas de Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada conquistador en Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada."

### *Closing remark*

Quesada's experiences with the political and legal system of imperial Spain brought him to conflict with institutions on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. His life embodied a network of communities and intertwined knowledge on par with the global reach of Spanish Hasburg's urban enterprise. His actions articulated ideas and influences from several contexts and diverse agents, presenting a trans-oceanic vision on par with the concept of an "Empire without borders" as J. Escobar puts it.[851]

This flow of early modern culture was shared by other *adelantados* and colonizers, acting locally at American sites while accounting for orders and hierarchical allegiances of a much more global scale. Evidence of this connected imperial context go much further than Bogotá and Quesada and include other sources such as, for example, Hernán Cortés correspondence regarding his conception of the Central American region and his Andalusian cultural referents,[852] the adaptative approach of nomad cities all across the continent,[853] and even architectural documents regarding the reception of new compositive and stylistic principles.[854] In this patchwork of intertwined empires, as Sanjay Subrahmanyam puts it,[855] there was no unidirectional channel of absolute models coming from Europe to America or vice versa, but a much more complex, irregular, rhizomatic stream of ideas, none of them pure, all of them hybrid, *mestizas*.

The American cases and insights presented up to this point follow Subrahmanyam premise. None of them is simple. All respond to particular situations, contextual factors, and the subjective approaches of foundational agents, civil settlers, military engineers, colonial politicians, among others. However, there is still one globally known source that is used still today to present Spanish grid urbanism as an encased model, designed from the Spanish imperial center to be applied at colonial settings without regards to any particular circumstances. That is no other than the Indies Laws Compilation, invoked once and again to summarize the vast width of early modern Spanish urban culture to a couple of simplistic stereotypes.[856] However, as the colonial grid itself, the Indies Laws are not so simple when looked closely.

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[851] Escobar, "Toward an urbanismo austríaco. An Examination of Sources for Urban Planning in the Spanish Habsburg World." P. 175.

[852] Padrón, *The Spacious Word*.

[853] Musset, *Ciudades nómadas del nuevo mundo*.

[854] Juan Luis Burke, "The Reception of European Renaissance Urban Theory in New Spain," in *The Routledge Handbook on the Reception of Classical Architecture* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019), 422–34, https://www.routledge.com/The-Routledge-Handbook-on-the-Reception-of-Classical-Architecture/Temple-Piotrowski-Heredia/p/book/9781138047112.

[855] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500–1640," *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (December 1, 2007): 1359–85, https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.112.5.1359.

[856] In previous sections, we have discussed several volumes and surveys that fall in this kind of assumptions. While most of the better-known publications in this group are decades old, the

## The Indies Laws

### *Overview*

The creation of colonial cities following the grid model is irrevocably connected to the enactment of urban regulation. In Spanish imperial history, the most relevant legislative body on this regard are the so-called "Indies Laws," a complex ensemble of instructions and conditions decreed in different times and conditions. The Indies Laws were disseminated globally thanks to their compilation in 1681 by order of King Charles II under the title *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* [Compilation of the Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies].[857] It comprises 6377 laws grouped in 218 chapters and 9 books. Each book deals with a general topic, for example, the first book is titled "Of Holy Catholic Faith" [*De la Santa Fé Catolica*] and the fourth "Of the Discoveries" [*De los Descubrimientos*]. The text of every law is a synthesis of several orders and legal principles issued at the same time, in some cases more comprehensive and precise than others. Each of them is referenced to its original source, date, and ruler.[858]

The compilation features a prologue signed by Charles II, stating the objectives and motivations behind to reunite 280 years of colonial legislation in a single edition. The project aimed to provide a tool for judges, lawyers, governors, and military officers at different levels in their respective institutional hierarchies, spread all over the American continent. Even if the Council of Indies and the Royal Council kept record of all these laws, their distribution across the imperial domain was very difficult, resulting in regions applying inconsistent and outdated regulation:

> *[…] se han despachado muchas cedulas, cartas, provisiones, ordenanças, instrucciones, autos de govierno, y otros despachos, que por la dilatación, y distancia de unas Provincias a otras, no han llegado a noticia de nuestros*

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trope can still be perceived in contemporary literature, especially in works whose main focus is not on the early modern period.

[857] Paredes and Fosman y Medina, "Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias / Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II ..." It has been reedited several times since its original publication in 1681, including one in 1774 and another in 1791: Consejo de Indias, "Recopilación de las leyes de los reynos de las Indias mandadas imprimir, y publicar por la Magestad catolica del Rey Don Carlos II nuestro señor." (Madrid, 1774), Biblioteca Nacional de España; Consejo de Indias, *Recopilación de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias Mandadas Imprimir y Publicar Por La Magestad Católica Del Rey Don Carlos II*, Quarta impresion (En Madrid: por la Viuda de D. Joaquín Ibarra, 1791). For the elaboration of Siblings Overseas, we have resorted to two digitized files stored at the Spanish National Library, one of the original edition from 1681 and another of its 1841 re-edition adapted for digital text-recognition. That feature made it especially apt for data analysis and search of urban regulations.

[858] José María Ots Capdequí, *Estudios de Historia Del Derecho Español En Las Indias* (Bogotá: Minerva, 1940), 95–96; Manuel José de Ayala and Juan Manzano Manzano, *Notas a La Recopilación de Indias: Origen e Historia Ilustrada de Las Leyes de Indias* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1946).

*vasallos, con que le puede haver ocasionado grande perjuizio al buen go-*
*vierno, y derecho de las partes interesadas.*[859]

[many certificates, letters, provisions, orders, instructions, governmental acts,
and other enactments have been sent that, because of the dilatation and dis-
tance from one province to another, have not reached our vassals, which may
have cause great prejudice to the good government and legal rights of the
interested parties.][860]

The prologue refers to the laws signed by previous monarchs [*que los señores*
*Reyes nuestros progenitores mandaron*]. It dedicates particular attention to the
"Ordinances of Discovery, New Population, and Pacification of the Indies" en-
acted by in 1573 by Philip II, who occupies most entries in the compilation than
any other ruler. Every law for the Indies by Philip II, known as *ordenanzas,* was
listed in the new compilation except for those considered no longer convenient.
Others were modified to cover lacking or outdated aspects.[861] Other 16th-century
laws include those enacted by the Catholic Monarchs, Queen Juana, and Charles
V. The compilation also features later laws such as those by Philip III, Philip IV,
and Charles II in the 17th century.

Among the many urban principles reunited in the Indies Laws, some of the
most known are the recommendations in book 4th for city planning (). [862] One of
the great topics in urban historiography on this regard is the parallelism between
the instructions for the Indies and Vitruvius recommendations in his ten books of
architecture. Principles such as the healthful conditions of the foundational site,
its elevation and natural protection, its access to water, the layout of streets and
the main square, or the assignment of parcels to temples and institutions, can all
be traced from Philip II laws to Vitruvius writings and even to Aristotle's "Poli-
tics".[863] Other laws order the allocation of an ejido – a farming and livestock area-
for each urban parcel.[864]

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[859] Paredes and Fosman y Medina, "Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias /
Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II ...", prologue.

[860] Translation by the author.

[861] *"[...] quitando las que ya no convenian, y proveyendo de nuevo las que faltavan, decla-*
*rando, y concertando las dudosas, y repugnantes [...]."* Paredes and Fosman y Medina, "Recopi-
lacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias / Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad
Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II ...", prologue.

[862] Lib. IV, Tit. VII, Ley I, "Que las nuevas poblaciones se funden con las calidades de esta
ley" (1523). These principles have been referenced by several experts, including: Kagan and Ma-
rías, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*; Sartor, *La Città e La Conquista.*

[863] This connection appears in most works regarding the Spanish colonial grid, from Stani-
slawski articles in 1946 and 1947 to contemporary volumes and surveys. It has been explored
through diverse, contrasting, and even opposed approaches, nurturing a discussion still alive to-
day. See: Stanislawski, "Early Spanish Town Planning in the New World"; Luis Cervera Vera,
*Notas para un estudio sobre la influencia de Vitruvio en el Renacimiento carolingio: [Separata*
*de Academia : Boletín de la Real Academia de San Fernando]* (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas
Artes de San Fernando, 1986); Rose-Redwood, "Genealogies of the Grid"; Cámara, "Vitruvio y
el geómetra en la ciudad de la Edad Moderna."

[864] Lib. IV, Til VII, Ley XIV, "Que se señalen tierras y dehesas para propios." (1523)

# Libro IV. Titulo VII.

## Titulo Siete. De la poblacion de las Ciudades, Villas, y Pueblos.

¶ *Ley primera. Que las nuevas po-blaciones se funden con las calida-des de esta ley.*

El Empe-
rador D.
Carlos
Ord. 11.
de 1523
D. Felipe
Segundo
Ord. 39.
y 40. de
Poblacio-
nes.
D. Carlos
Segundo
y la R. G.

AVIENDOSE He-cho el descubri-miéto por Mar, ó Tierra, con-forme á las le-yes y ordenes, que dél tratan, y elegida la Provincia y Comarca, que se huviere de poblar, y el sitio de los lugares donde se han de ha-zer las nuevas poblaciones, y to-mado afsiento fobre ello, los que fueren á fu cumplimiento, guarden la forma figuiente. En la cofta del Mar fea el fitio levantado, fano, y fuerte, teniendo confideracion al abrigo, fondo y defenfa del Puerto, y fi fuere pofsible no tenga el Mar al Mediodia, ni Poniente: y en ef-tas, y las demás poblaciones la Tie-rra adentro, elijan el fitio de los que eftuvieren vacantes, y por difpofi-cion nueftra fe pueda ocupar, fin perjuizio de los Indios, y naturales, ó con fu libre confentimiento: y quando hagan la planta del Lugar, repartanlo por fus plaças, calles y folares á cordel y regla, començan-do defde la plaça mayor, y facan-do defde ella las calles á las puertas y caminos principales, y dexando tanto compás abierto, que aunque la poblacion vaya en gran creci-miento, fe pueda fiempre profe-guir y dilatar en la mifma forma. Procuren tener el agua cerca, y que fe pueda conducir al Pueblo y he-redades, derivandola, fi fuere pof-fible, para mejor aprovecharfe de ella, y los materiales neceffarios pa-ra edificios, tierras de labor, cultu-ra y pafto, con que efcufarán el mucho trabajo y coftas, que fe fi-guen de la diftancia. No elijan fi-tios para poblar en lugares muy al-tos, por la moleftia de los vientos, y dificultad del fervicio y acarreto, ni en lugares muy baxos, porque fuelen fer enfermos, fundenfe en los medianamente levantados, que gozen defcubiertos los vientos de el Norte y Mediodia: y fi huvieren de tener fierras, ó cueftas, fean por la parte de Levante y Poniente: y fi no fe pudieren efcufar de los luga-res altos, funden en parte donde no eftén fujetos á nieblas, haziédo ob-fervacion de lo que mas convenga á la falud, y accidentes, que fe pue-den ofrecer: y en cafo de edificar á la ribera de algun Rio, difpongan la poblacion de forma, que falien-do el Sol, dé primero en el Pueblo, que en el agua.

*Ley*

Figure 241: 1681, book IV, title VII, law I of the Indies Laws Compilation, stating the condi-tions and qualities of newly found cities. This section of the laws is probably the most quoted and ref-erenced in urban history. © Biblioteca Nacional de España.[865]

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[865] Paredes and Fosman y Medina, "Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias / Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II …"

A later section focuses on laws for selling and distributing lands, parcels, and water sources.[866] It includes additional orders commanding that the governor was responsible for distributing urban plots and farming lands among settlers, in the same manner than a *juez de repartimiento*.[867] Settlers had to establish their residence and remain for four years in order to fix their property over the land.[868] Philip II would insist on this condition obliging the settlers to build their houses and cultivate their lands in a reasonable lapse of time.[869] From the moment that soldiers became settlers and citizens of a new city, their primary obligation was with the land, not the army. This link was further ensured by additional rules impeding the trading of distributed land plots. They were not private goods to be sold or donated, even to the Catholic church.[870] A law of 1523 ordered that, although the governor was responsible for the foundation, the appointed local attorney had to be present for assistance and provide his signature, highlighting its figure as similar to the distribution judge and ensuring that the distribution was clearly managed as a civil procedure.[871]

Thanks to the precise notation of each law, it is possible to track which specific principles were active during plantation of certain new towns or during the formative years of colonial agents. For example, the enactment of most Charles V laws in the 1520s coincides with the formative years of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada in the University of Salamanca, one of the oldest Spanish institutions for the study of laws operating in direct contact with the Royal Chancelleries in Valladolid and Granada. It is possible to assume that, although Quesada had not any practical experience in urbanization before reaching Santa Marta in 1535, he was very well aware of these theoretical principles and legal issues regarding the foundation of new cities in America.

Many of these principles were not innovations. They had been previously applied on peninsular soil. In the foundational book of Villamartín (Seville, 1503), we can read how the settlers were obliged to build their houses sooner than two years. In the instructions to settle Sierra Sur in 1537, farming parcels and vineyards were to be gifted to every owner of an urban plot. Settlers were obliged to cultivate their lands before a given deadline. Selling lands was also forbidden in Sierra Sur, along with the condition of residing for a certain amount of time to obtain property. The order of Sierra Sur states a period of ten years for this, quite longer than the four years indicated in the Indies Laws. This may be a symptom

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[866] Libro IV, Tit XII, "De la venta, composición y repartimiento de tierras, solares y aguas."

[867] Libro IV, Tit XII, Ley I, "Que a los nuevos pobladores se les den tierras y solares, y encomienden indios; y qué es peonía y caballería. (1513, 1523, 1525).

[868] Libro IV, Til XII, Ley II, "Que da forma de hacer los repartimientos en nuevas poblaciones." (1523)

[869] Libro IV, Til XII, Ley III,"Que dentro de cierto tiempo y con la pena de esta ley, se edifiquen las casas y solares y pueblen las tierras de pasto." (1573).

[870] Libro IV, Tit XII, Ley X "Que las tierras se repartan a descubridores y pobladores, y no las puedan vender a eclesiásticos." (1535). Ley XI "Que se tome posesión de las tierras repartidas dentro de tres meses, y hagan plantíos, pena de perderlas." (1536)

[871] Libro IV, Til XII, Ley VI, "Que las tierras se repartan con asistencia del procurador del lugar." (1523, 1534)

of the higher possibility in the Iberian Peninsula of settlers not moving to their new site or returning back to their hometowns. In colonial America, it was way less likely that settlers regretted their decision and pursued the expensive and tortuous way back to old Spain, especially when they had already accomplished the foundation of a new town. Settling instructions prior to 1520 tried additional measures to retain their colonists. For example, in 1502, during the settling of the Canary Islands, colonists were forced to remain at their given lands with the explicit prohibition of moving from one island to another.[872]

### *"Que el poblador principal tome asiento." The colonial commandment to record plantation processes.*

These and other normative developments show how the early 16th century was an intense period for legislative innovation, with a great variety of laws, orders, and instructions applied through the global scene of the Spanish empire. Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada was in the middle of it: sharing institutional spaces with agents in charge of Iberian urban projects between the 1520s and early 1530s, extending the reach of Spanish urbanization between 1535 and 1539, and coming back to his homeland to incorporate his knowledge into the ongoing discussion.

However, as the king Charles II and his lawyers recognize in the 1681 compilation, the time lapse between the official establishing of a rule and its application overseas was not short and definitely not immediate. New laws needed decades to permeate the real practices at colonial territories. Laws may not reach some regions and, when they did, officials in relative isolation may not accept their authority and defy the Crown's command. Expressions such as "*se acata pero no se cumple*" [we accept it but not comply] and other signs of refusal became popular, showing the high level of independence enjoyed by viceroys and governors.[873]

This complicated context of laws being slowly developed and permeating the empire at an even slower pace, further invalidates the idea of the Spanish grid as a global model emanated from the royal authorities. Let's take as an example Philip's II ordinance number 103, compiled as law IX in title V of book IV:

> *Que el poblador principal tome asiento con cada particular que se registrare para poblar:*
> *En los asientos de nueva población, que hiciere el gobierno, ó quien tuviere facultad en las Indias, con ciudad, adelantado, alcalde mayor, ó corregidor, el que tomare el asiento, le hará tambien con cada uno de los particulares, que se registraren para poblar [...]*.[874]

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[872] López Arandia, "Colonizando La Frontera. Proyectos Repobladores En Castilla a Inicios de La Edad Moderna." P. 105

[873] Luna Féliz, *Argentina se hizo así*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: Agrupación de Diarios del Interior, 1993), 40–41.

[874] Consejo de Indias, *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias [Texto impreso]*, vol. 2, p. 103.

[That the main settler take record with each particular registered to settle:
In the newly planted towns, issued by the government o who were to be in charge in the Indies, with city, *adelantado*, major or royal representative, who took the record will also log each of the particulars registered to settle [...][875]

This specific law focuses on one of the most elemental aspects in any new town, may it be in colonial America or in other latitudes: the obligation to write down an official act recording how the city was founded, who received which pieces of land, and where were they located. Written records and plans [asientos] are also mentioned in other laws of the compilation, but it seems like the obligation to elaborate them was not specifically issued up to this ordinance. That does not mean that foundational records were unknown to urban planners prior to Philip II laws. The exact same principle was present in Charles V 1537 instructions for Sierra Sur:

*se manda quel dicho cor(r)egidor,/ en vn libro enquadernado, haga que por el esc(r)ibano/ ante quien se hiziere este repartimiento, se asiente/ por menudo todas las bezindades que dieren y a quien [...] el qual se ponga en el arca del conzejo.*[876]

[It is ordered that the royal representative, in a hardcover book, make the notary record everyone who participated in this plantation, writing in detail all the settling rights gifted and to whom [...] which (the book) is to be stored in the town's council coffer.][877]

The simultaneous presence of the same principle in both documents, a law of 1573 and a royal decree of 1537, have led historians to the assumption that the grid "model" applied in Andalusia may have been a precedent of its implementation in colonial America. However, as it has been argued in previous chapters, plantations and land distributions precede both dates. Examples such as Santa Fe in Granada, the Canary Islands, and the Balearic Archipelago show how recorded acts were essential to the creation of new towns. For that matter, when the founders of Villa de Leyva in 1582 wrote down the distribution of lands among settlers, it was not only because it was ordered by the Indies Laws. When the founders of Mendoza in 1562 did the same thing, they were not ahead of the Indies Laws, neither were they reproducing Charles V instructions. The same applies to acts conserved from earlier plantations such as Trujillo in 1925 or Natá in 1922. To write down and register the foundational process was not just a royal commandment at given time, but a practice deeply rooted in the Spanish legal tradition that

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[875] English translation by the author.
[876] "Quaderno que por extrazion y copias simples...," fol. 8 r.
[877] English translation by the author.

could be considered as jurisprudence if we may use the term for medieval and early modern plantations. This approach can be extended to other aspects of colonial new towns such as the central location of the square or the protagonist role of the main church. These were consistently applied across different colonial territories not because they pertained to any urban model, but because their role and hierarchy were a key part of the legal and military tradition of the period. It is not necessary to track down particular laws and their transmission from agent to agent to find the application of their principles in different territories, far away from one another. It is, instead, the dynamic and continuous flow of ideas and innovations what explains the dissemination of colonial practices.

The Indies Laws which performed as a unifying legislative body for baroque urban endeavours in the 17$^{th}$ and 18$^{th}$, emerged from 16th-century practices at both shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific. The ordinances and principles compiled in them are the crystallization of centuries of urban developments, technical innovations, and legal practices employed by different agents, at different times, in different locations. In the same way, after the compilation of laws in 1681, urban practices kept changing and evolving. The Indies Laws were not a blueprint but a picture: the record of a very brief moment in time, different from what it was at the time before and the future after. The Spanish grid was not a model but the consequence of hundreds of foundational acts, connected among them through written documents, related agents, and shared practices repeated time after time, in region after region, contributing to a global intellectual process.

## 3.3 Foundational acts of Mendoza and Villa de Leyva 1561-1582.

### *Approach to second generation colonial settlements as cases for comparative analysis with Jaen Sierra Sur*

All of the Atlantic and American experiences presented up to this point feature one or more points of coincidence with the foundational process at Jaen's Sierra Sur. They were all newly planted cities aspiring to consolidate a society controlled by civil institutions. It is possible to compare the backgrounds of their founding agents, the protocols applied in the foundation, the geostrategic location of the cities, their relationship with local inhabitants, among other aspects. The records of their plantation are also similar in many ways; however, there is one key aspect missing in the foundational acts of American colonial new towns before 1550: The plan. Not all written documents regarding the creation of colonial cities in that period mention the existence of a plan [*traza*] or its role in the foundational ceremonies. This group includes those planted upon pre-existent native settlements such as Cuzco and Quito (1534), but also others such as Mérida (1546)

which did not had that kind of urban base.[878] Sadly, cities of this period whose foundational act mentions the existence plan do not conserve them, may it be because of archiving inconsistencies,[879] fire in their buildings, and other circumstances. This happened at Natá (1522), Frontera de Cáceres (1526), Santiago de los Caballeros[880] (1527) and Ciudad de los Reyes[881] (1535). If the records of these plantations were complete, they would have been splendid subjects to be compared with Sierra Sur set of foundational books and Mancha Real's plan, minimizing the temporal distance between them. However, that is not the case. To find an American colonial urban plan produced during a plantation process, it is necessary to leap forward in time to the second half of the 16th century.

According to Jorge Hardoy, no American foundational plan conserved today predates 1560.[882] The earliest of them would be the first plan of Mendoza, Argentina, originally planted in 1561. The act of its plantation was conserved thanks to a report signed by its founder, Pedro del Castillo, and sent to the Indies Council in Seville shortly after the city's creation.[883] As mentioned before, founders needed to provide evidence of their deeds to receive any expected reward, so this kind of dossiers became more abundant as the Spanish colonies expanded their urban network. Thanks to this hierarchical connection between agents in America and Seville's administrative center overseas, this and other foundational acts were conserved.

There are other examples to be found in the trans-Andean region of Chile, today part of Argentina. In 1562, the city was moved and planted once more by another Spanish agent, Juan Jufré, who also founded the new town of San Juan de la Frontera[884] that same year, 170 Kms north of Mendoza. The plans made for both cities, along with their foundational acts performed under Jufré's command, were compiled in yet another a report sent to the Indies Council in 1576.[885] In 1607, Alonso de Rivera, governor of Tucumán, ordered the lieutenant Gaspar Doncel to visit the abandoned city of Londres, in the region of Catamarca, and refound it with the name of San Juan Bautista de la Ribera.[886] This was the third

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[878] Domínguez Compañy, "Contenido Urbanistico de las Actas de Fundacion (1520-1573)," 26.

[879] Plans in foundational acts and other reports were traditionally taken out of their original folders and archive separately, making them easy to be lost/misplaced/subtracted.

[880] Today known as Guatemala, capital city of the namesake country.

[881] Today known as Lima, capital city of Perú.

[882] Jorge E. Hardoy, *Cartografía urbana colonial de América Latina y el Caribe*, Estudios políticos y sociales (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1991), 43. Referenced in María Dolores Muñoz Rebolledo, "Transformaciones urbanas del siglo XVIII en el antiguo Reino de Chile" (Tesis Doctoral, Madrid, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, 2016), 376, https://oa.upm.es/40134/.

[883] Consejo de indias, "Provança de Pedro de Castillo" (Chile, jurisdicción antigua, 1562), Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos.

[884] The surname De la Frontera, meaning *in the frontier*, was commonly used of cities created in borderlands in America and Europe such as the Andalusian Banda Morisca.

[885] Consejo de Indias, "Méritos y servicios. Juan Jufré: Chile" (1576), PATRO-NATO,121,R.5, Archivo General de Indias, http://pares.mcu.es:80/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/123812.

[886] Between 600-700 kilometers north of San Juan de la Frontera.

attempt to stablish a settlement in the area, and three more would be needed until its definitive plantation in 1683. The plan of its 1607 iteration was also issued to the Indies Council, following the regular protocol to assure its legitimacy and officially receive the expected privileges for founders and settlers.[887] In this way, the trend of foundational plans conserved thanks to reports at the archive of the Indies Council becomes even more abundant as we advance further in the 17th century.

Much less common are foundational plans conserved within the folder of records from the time of the plantation, instead of dossiers issued overseas. An early case of this group is the city of Villa de Leyva, planted near the Colombian city of Tunja in 1572. However, this first plantation received immediate opposition from both native and colonial groups, delaying its definitive settling until 1582. The records of this processes have been conserved in separate folders, one at Boyaca's Historical Archive including the 1572 foundational act and its first opposing demand,[888] and a notarial copy of documents between 1572 and 1582 at Colombia's National Archive.[889] This last copy features several plans with the same characteristics as those at Argentina and the one of Mancha Real, each one with its list of settlers and protocolary registers. The style of these two plans is much less detailed than their peers. Instead of elegant reports issued to the imperial powers overseas, the records for Villa de Leyva were of a much humbler nature, intended to be stored at the notarial archives of Tunja and Bogotá.

All these new towns conserving more or less complete foundational acts and plans share one characteristic: Their creation was commanded from Spanish institutions already stablished in America. While earlier cities were planted by expeditions sent from Europe with the specific mission of exploring the land and stablishing the main nodes of the colonial urban network, these post-1650 new towns were secondary settlements dependant on those same capitals created decades ago. Mendoza and San Juan de la Frontera were part of a population project by the central power of Capitanía General de Chile at Santiago, previously planted in 1541, to incorporate the trans-Andean region of Cuyo. San Juan Bautista de la Ribera followed a similar path but at the province of Catamarca, north of Cuyo. Villa de Leyva was projected from Tunja, the regional capital at Boyacá created by order of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada in 1539 in coordination with the

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[887] Consejo de Indias, *Plano del trazado de la ciudad de San Juan Bautista de la Ribera, en la provincia de Tucumán*, Plano de poblacion, s.e. (Tucumán, May 24, 1607), MP-BUENOS_AIRES,224, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos, http://pares.mcu.es:80/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/17055.

[888] Joan Ruíz Cabeza de Vaca, "Acta de Fundación de la Villa Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyba" (1572), Leg. 8, no 19 (fols 171-173), Archivo Histórico Regional de Boyacá, Tunja, Colombia, Archivo Histórico de Tunja. Part of "Provisión de tierra y solares en la Villa de Leiva por don Andrés Díaz Venero de Leiva y su contradicción por Juan Barrera" (Tunja, Colombia, 1572), leg. 8, no. 19 (fols. 160r-239v), Archivo Histórico Regional de Boyacá, Tunja, Colombia, Archivo Histórico de Tunja. Its transcription can be found in Alberto Corradine Angulo, "Fundación de Villa de Leyva y Su Desarrollo," in *Villa de Leyva: Huella de Los Siglos* (Bogotá: Sandri, 1986), 64–100.

[889] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo."

plantation of Santa Fe de Bogotá that same year. In 1572, 33 years after, Tunja needed gifting new lands for Spanish veteran soldier and second-generation colonists, that is, those born in America from Spanish families. Villa de Leyva was the response to that need.

That dependence on already stablished and powerful Spanish capitals is the first defining feature of second-generation colonial settlements, but not the only one. Due to the existence of royal audiences and law courts by the time of the creation of second-generation new towns, any protest or demand regarding the new plantation was much easier to process and made effective. As a consequence, the legal activities surrounding these cities was more dynamic, more complex, involving a higher number of Spanish and native agents and producing more written documents in the process. The colonial courts at these regions had appointed archives and clerks in charge of managing those manuscripts, contributing to their conservation. Civil confrontation between the settlers and the elites at the provincial capital were not uncommon, contributing to the already complicated protocol needed to create a new town. Frequently, discussions and conflicts regarding the settlement stalled its effective construction for years or even decades, eventually leading to a second plantation that may be performed at the same site of the first or at a different location. Sometimes, the movement sought to improve the city's healthiness or to provide a more strategic placement, but it was also common that the re-location answered to unobserved social and political issues.

A third defining feature of second-generation colonial settlements is the lack of synchronicity between their foundational plan and their final built form. The tracing of the plan, the marking of urban parcels and their distribution did not necessary entailed the immediate construction of houses orchards, even if the Indies laws ordered so. Factors such as the proximity of settlers coming from neighbouring capitals and the aforementioned political quarrels discouraged the definitive arrival of colonist to their new lands, creating a gap of years or even decades from the enactment of the plan to its construction. Then, when the central core of the city was finally built, it was not rare to find variations from its original project. These may be caused by the presence of natural elements not accounted for in the foundational plan, which was essentially a legal document, not an engineering project. In other cases, some of the blocks and even the main square were moved or resized to make place for institutions, religious communities, or other influential agents. Whichever case motivated the delay of the new town construction or its modification, what is constant is the existence of a certain level of detachment between the plan drawn in paper and its physical consequence.

These three characteristics – the dependence on regional capitals, the complexity of legal procedures, and the autonomy of the plan – can all be found in every second-generation Spanish colonial city to at least some degree. They were also present in the new towns planted at Sierra Sur in 1539, including Mancha Real and its plan studied in the previous chapter (Figure 242).

Mancha Real
Spain
1508-1539

Mendoza/Resurrección
Argentina
1561-1562

San Juan de la Frontera
Argentina
1562

Villa de Leyva
Colombia
1572-1582

San Juan Bautista de la Rivera
Argentina
1607

**Figure 242: 1539-1607, foundational plans of grid cities in Spain, Argentina, and Colombia. © Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Archivo General de Indias, Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia.**

We have already seen how Sierra Sur settler's litigated for decades against Jaen's elites. When the settlement process was reactivated in 1537, it was necessary to appoint three different judges and manage long negotiations to reach an agreement. Even after the plantations were signed-off by Juan de Rivadeneyra and publicly announced at Jaén and Granada, settlers did not move in immediately and the construction work was extended for a long time. In cases such as Campillo de Arenas, only a small part of the original plan was built. At Los Villares and Valdepeñas de Jaén, the plan had to be adapted to the natural slopes and water streams at their location. In sum, these features lead to the theory that, if the new towns at Sierra Sur are to be compared with a colonial peer in America, the closest examples to their reality were not cities planted at the same time such as Bogotá or Tunja, but secondary frontier settlement that faced similar social and legal challenges rooted on the dynamics of regional political life. This idea is further supported by the availability of legal acts and plans regarding the plantation of second-generation settlements in America, which provides a chance for direct comparation with those records conserved at Sierra Sur. A parallel study of this kind confronts foundational act to foundational act, avoiding the inclusion of the engineering projects or post-foundational reports.

Ultimately, the proposal of *Siblings Overseas* can be reduced to the practical implementation of this comparative methodology for colonial urban history: One that focuses on brief but detailed 1:1 confrontation between documents of the same nature, aiming to better understand the complexities behind the Spanish grid and its performance around the globe. The following pages present a first experimental approach to it focusing on the cases of Mendoza and Villa de Leyva. The first of these cases was selected for its widespread impact in historiography as the oldest Spanish grid town conserving its foundational plan. Manuscript reports from the date of its plantation are available and accessible remotely, supported by transcriptions and research works developed from the late 19th century to the present time. On the other hand, Villa de Leyva conserves the oldest foundational plans in Colombia. Even though they are well-known by Colombian scholars, these have not transpired to the international scholarly community in the same way as Mendoza's. Moreover, their original manuscripts archived at Tunja and Bogotá have been only recently digitized. For these and other reasons that will arise later on, these two cases have been considered ideal to form a triad with Mancha Real and its sisters at Sierra Sur. They hold enough historical and documental similarities discuss and discern, while also featuring a number of differences and deviations. Without those two factors, the "accordion movement" of comparative history cannot be performed.[890]

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[890] John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), xix, https://doi.org/10.12987/9780300133554. These paragraphs were written on March 10th as we receive the sad notice of Prof. Elliott passing. His legacy will be forever remembered and celebrated by everyone involved in Spanish imperial history. R.I.P.

# The foundation of Mendoza, Argentina, 1561-1562. Geopolitical context, foundational act, and partition plan.

## *1552-1561: Political conflicts behind the exploration of the province of Huentata and the Valley of Cuyo.*

In the same way as other second-generation colonial cities in America, the history of Mendoza's origins began way before of its foundation and outside of its current political frontiers in Argentina. Mendoza was primarily created as the capital of the region of Cuyo, placed at the Valley of Huentata,[891] at the western side of the Andean Mountain range, at a time when the Royal Audience of Buenos Aires wasn't even established. In fact, the distance between Buenos Aires and Mendoza is vast, more than 1000 kilometres in a straight line (Figure 243). In the 1550s, the main institution interested in the exploration and colonization of Cuyo was the Capitanía General de Chile [Chile General Captaincy], seed of the later nation of Chile but dependant of Perú Viceroyalty at that time. Mendoza wouldn't be transferred to Argentina until the creation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata in 1776, 215 years after it first plantation.[892]

The first Spanish written documents regarding the Valley of Cuyo date from 1551 and were signed by Francisco de Villagra, Spanish military official under the command of Pedro de Valdivia, governor of Chile. He visited the region during his travels between Chile and Perú and reported back to Valdivia who, on November 6th of 1552, named his other subordinate Francisco de Riberos to conquest the area and annex it to the Chilean jurisdiction.[893] That day, the population project for Cuyo was born. However, in a similar fashion to Sierra Sur, political intrigues and legal procedures would delay the process for years, holding Valdivia's order and passing the role of founder along several Spanish officers.

On January 3rd of 1553, Valdivia provided additional instructions to Riberos regarding the creation of a settlement at Cuyo.[894] The name of the new town was ordered to be San Miguel el Ángel, in honour Saint Michael the Archangel. Riberos' command was to plant it in representation of Valdivia himself, institutionalizing its town council, recording the plan, marking the urban parcels, gifting lands for crops and animals. Native groups were to be distributed among Spanish colonizers under the *encomienda* regime, which combined forced work and religious indoctrination with a set of civil rights for native citizens and privileges their compliant chieftains. Riberos never accomplished his mission.

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[891] In documents appears as Güentata or Huantata.

[892] Junta de Andalucía, *Mendoza. Guía de arquitectura.* (Mendoza - Sevilla: Gobierno de Mendoza, Junta de Andalucía, Embajada de España, 2005), 26.

[893] A. Gargaro, "Fundación de Mendoza," *Revista de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba* 24, no. 1–2 (1937): 73. An earlier transcription of this document was published in Joaquín Francisco Pacheco, Francisco De Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía: sacados en su mayor parte del Archivo de Indias* (Madrid: Sobsde López Robert, 1864), vol. 17, p. 95.

[894] Transcription available at: Gargaro, "Fundación de Mendoza," 75–76.

That same year, Valdivia fell in battle against the Mapuches, also known as Aracaunians, the main native ethnicity in Chile, based at its southern regions.[895] His absence derived in a conflict for power between Francisco de Villagra, original explorer of Cuyo, and Francisco de Aguirre, appointed governor of the Tucumán valley. They shared a complicated political relationship as co-rulers of Chile's General Captaincy for three years until Perú's Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza ended it abruptly. The viceroy appointed his own son García Hurtado de Mendoza as new governor of Chile. He took possession of his charge on April 25th of 1557 and, immediately after, ordered Villagra and Aguirre to be imprisoned and taken to Perú. However, this did not end the conflict as the power balance was soon to be shifted once more.

On December 20th of 1558, the Spanish Crown appointed Francisco de Villagra as governor of Chile, overruling Andrés Hurtado who had been dismissed of his position that same year. Later on, on March 15th of 1559, Philip II ordered García Hurtado, to leave his charge, travel back to Spain, and bring his father with him. Andrés Hurtado died at Lima on September 14th of 1560 before taking the trip. García Hurtado de Mendoza was still governor of Chile, but his position was weak. On November 20th of that same year, he commanded the captain Pedro del Castillo to travel to Cuyo and settle the new town originally issued almost a decade ago.[896] His appointment was publicly announced at Santiago on December 11th of 1560, and he left during the first days of February 1561, with 44 Spanish soldiers and a detachment of native auxiliaries. Francisco Villagra arrived to Santiago later that month and recovered his former position as governor, taking García Hurtado de Mendoza out of his role. Pedro del Castillo had lost his connection with the previous governor but continued acting on his own.

Del Castillo was received peacefully by the native chieftains at Cuyo and was presumably received at one of their main settlements in the region. On February 22nd, the Spanish colonizer took possession through a protocolary act known as *requerimiento*, in which he announced the king's authority over this territory and the new condition of all its native as Spanish subjects assigned to *encomenderos*.[897] The record of this event states the participation of an official translator who communicated the newly imposed conditions to the native chieftains and confirmed their compliance. In the same way as other *requerimientos* in Latin America, the document is particularly detailed in what regards to the Spanish supposedly good intentions and the high level of protection, respect, and prosperity

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[895] Mapuche resistance was fierce during the whole 16th century and did not stop until the signing of a peace treaty in 1641, when the Mapuche nation was recognized by the Spanish Crown but placed under its custody against other European powers. That condition was respected for some years after Chile's independence but their lands were finally colonized by the Chilean army between 1860 and 1900.

[896] Gargaro, "Fundación de Mendoza," 77.

[897] The full transcription of this document is available at: Gargaro, 78–80.

promised to the natives.[898] Once this procedure was done for, Pedro del Castillo had full legitimacy to settle indigenous lands and distribute them among his fellow Spaniards as long as the term were previously discussed with the locals. Future documents regarding Mendoza would maintain an apparent level of cordiality between both parties that evidently performs in the best interest of the Europeans. No available record produced by natives in the region states the contrary.
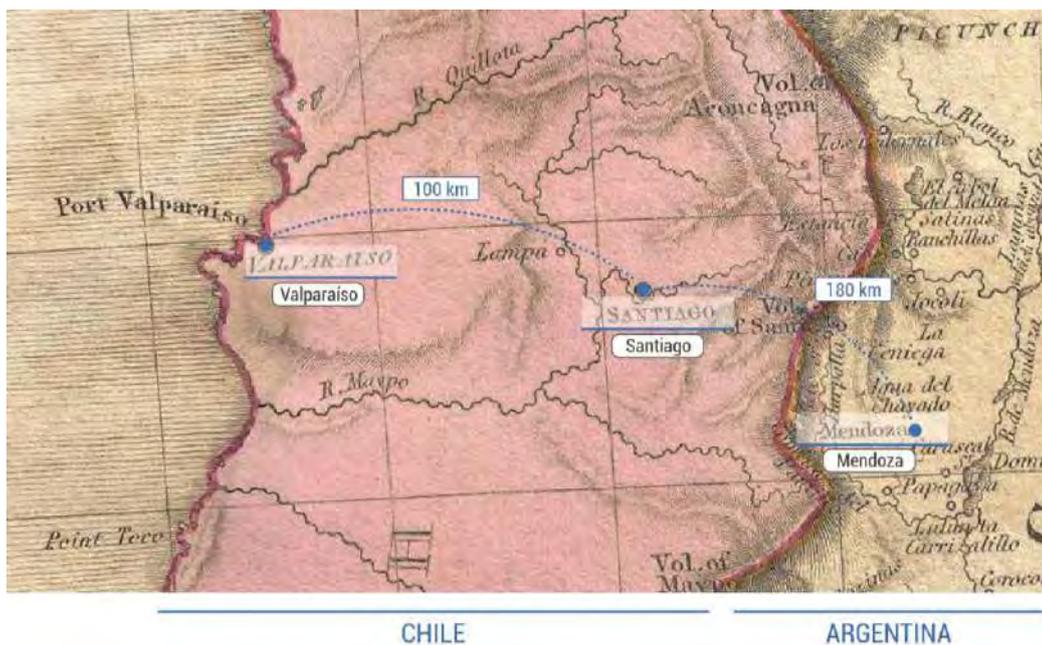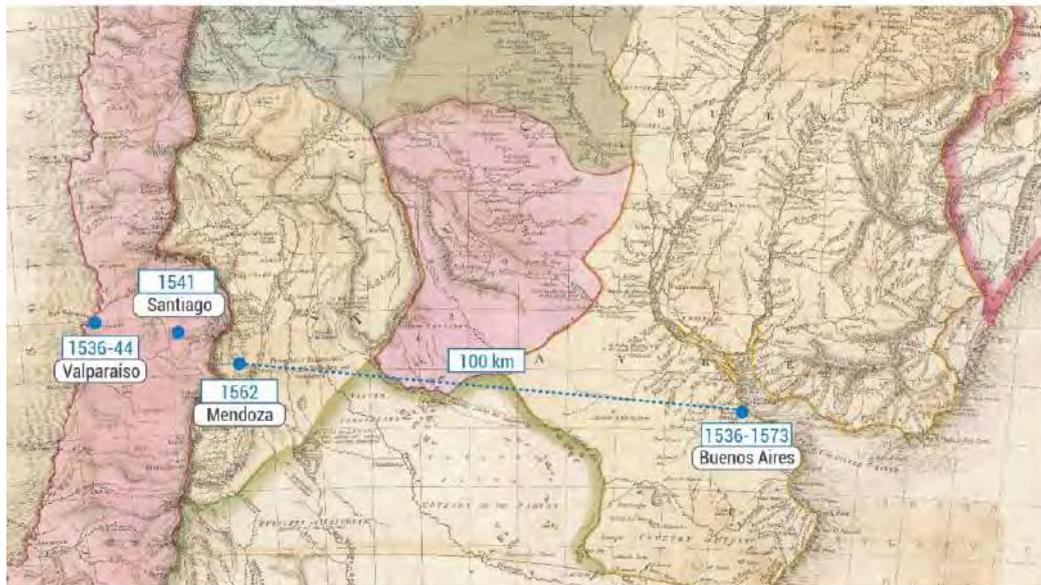


**Figure 243: Geographical location of Valparaíso, Santiago, Mendoza, and Buenos Aires, including distances between them in straight lines. Drawn over the Pinkerton Map of La Plata, 1818.[899]**

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[898] For a comprehensive study of the *requerimiento* as a legal procedure, its historical influence and its particular features in comparison with other European colonial powers, see: Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640.*

[899] Pinkerton, "Pinkerton Map of of La Plata."

### March 2ⁿᵈ, 1561: First plantation act for Mendoza[900]

The first plantation of Mendoza took place ten days after the *requerimiento*. on March 2ⁿᵈ, 1561. It was recorded in two foundational plans or trazas, following the original 1552 instruction from Pedro de Valdivia. These were then copied in 1563 and included in an evidence report [*provanças*] issued to the Indies Council to "proof" the foundation and demand the expected privileges for its founder. This documental context poses the first relevant difference with the foundational books at Sierra Sur and Villa de Leyva. Instead of having the full record of the foundation with logs for each day and action, the plantation acts of Mendoza are brief and use a much more synthetic language. The first of these documents contains the main foundational act and the plan of the new villa, while the second focuses on the marking and distribution of farming lands and pastures outside of the urban center. Both of them are well conserved and clearly readable, allowing a detailed analysis of their structure and wording (Figure 244):

> *En el nombre de Dios, en el asiento y valle de Huantata, provincia de Cuyo, desta otra parte de la gran Cordillera Nevada, en dos dias del mes de marzo, año del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu-Cristo, de mil y quinientos y sesenta y un años, el muy magnífico señor Pedro del Castillo, capitan, teniente general de las dichas provincias y sus comarcanas por el ilustrísimo señor D. García Hurtado de Mendoza, gobernador y capitan general en las provincias de Chile, por S. M. é ante mi Francisco de Horbina, escribano de juzgado en las dichas provincias, dijo:*

> [In the name of God, at the site of the Valley of Huantata, province of Cuyo, at the other side of the great Cordillera Nevada, on the second day of the month of March of the year of the birth of our Savior Jesus-Christ of one thousand five hundred sixty-one, the very magnificent lord Pedro del Castillo, captain, general lieutenant of the said provinces and their county by the most illustrious D. García Hurtado de Mendoza, governor and general captain of the provinces of Chile, by his Magesty, and before me Francisco de Horbina, notary of the courthouse in the said provinces, he said:][901]

This first section of the act is already filled with meaning, pointing to many of the features and fact described in the previous section. It provides loose indications about the location of Huentata saying that it is "at the other side" of the Andes Mountains, since Pedro del Castillo was coming from Santiago. This simple consideration puts Mendoza in the role of a Chilean advance next to lands unexplored by the Spanish conquerors.

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[900] Full transcription available at Appendix A.3. Originally published in: Chueca Goitia, Torres Balbás, and González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas*, vol. II, 12–15.

[901] English translation by the author.
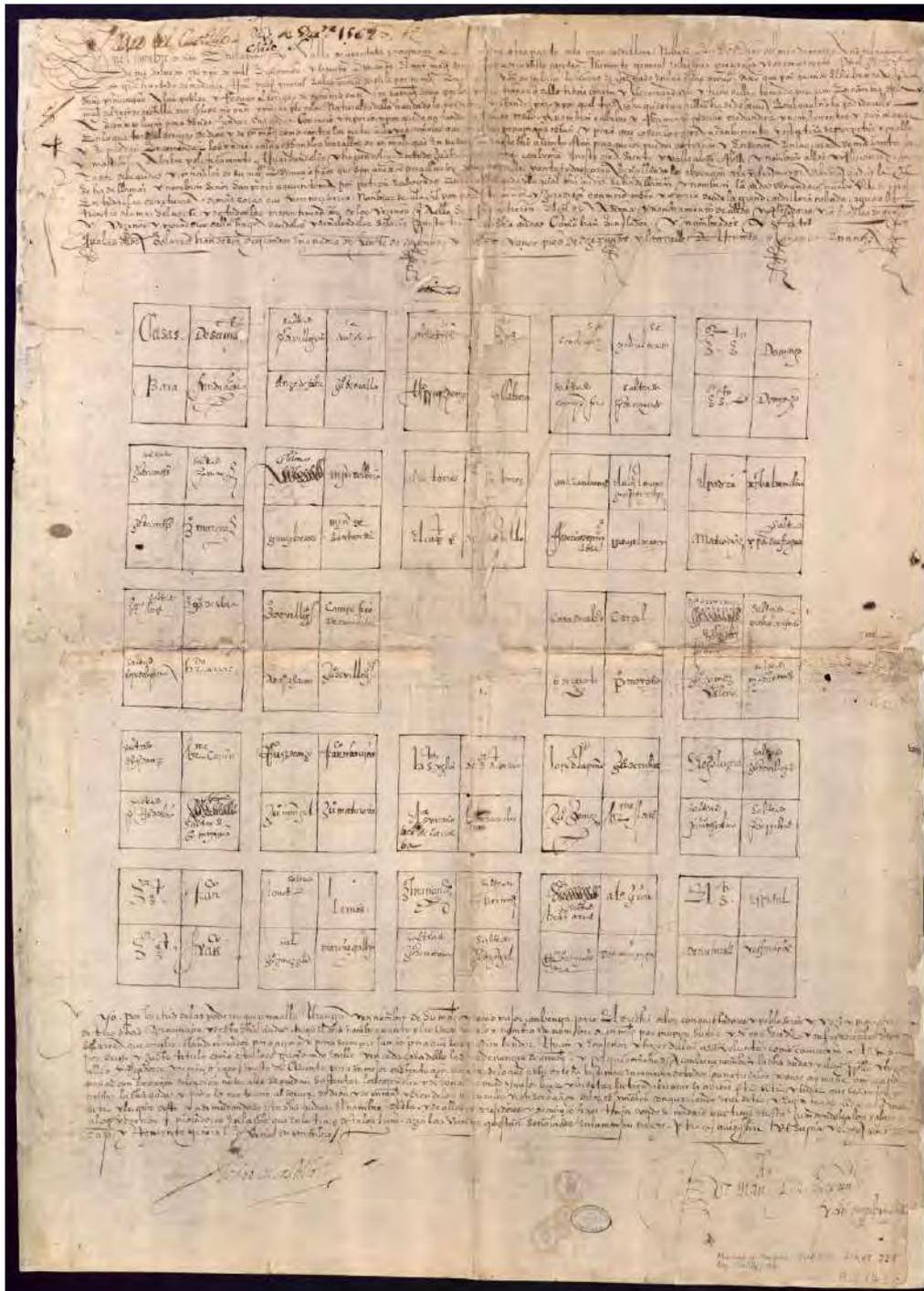
**Figure 244: 1562, first plan of Mendoza for its plantation led by Pedro del Castillo. Part of "Provança de Pedro de Castillo" (1561-1563). AGI, CHILE, 30. Pages 137 and following. © Archivo General de Indias.**[902]

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[902] Pedro del Castillo, *Plano del trazado fundacional de Mendoza*, Repartimiento (Mendoza, Argentina, September 8, 1561), MP-BUENOS_AIRES,221, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos.

The act refers to García Hurtado de Mendoza as the superior official in charge of the foundation, transmitting the authorization to plant cities from the king to Pedro del Castillo. Even though Francisco de Villagra was already at Santiago, he would not officially occupy Mendoza's position until weeks later. Both Mendoza and Castillo were therefore facing their imminent replacement. Castillo's strategy was to rush the foundation of the new town, hoping for the future recognition of his accomplishment. The fact he developed a report to the Indies council in 1562 even though Mendoza had already been re-planted and moved to a different site, points out to the second possibility.

A final feature in this introductory paragraph is the presence of Francisco de Horbina, which was "the notary of the courthouse of these provinces." The presence of this agent does not only refer to the requirement of providing a legally binding written record for the plantation, but also to the existence of a structure of judges, lawyers, and institutional clerks already stablished at Chile. This expedition did not report directly to the Crown like that of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada or the Andalusian commission led by Juan de Rivadeneyra. Instead, Castillo, ought allegiance to a power much closer in space and hierarchy. After the introduction, the act follows with:

> *que, por cuanto él ha venido á estas dichas provincias á las poblar y reducir al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de S. M. como por las provisiones que de ello tiene consta, y le es mandado, y tiene de ellas tomada posesion en nombre de la magestad del Rey de Castilla D. Felipe, nuestro señor, y mucha parte de los naturales de ella han dado la ovediencia y estan de paz;*

> [that, because he (Castillo) has come to these said provinces to settle them and reduce (the natives) to the service of God our Lord and His Majesty following the instructions that he (Castillo) has, which were ordered to him, and of which (the provinces) he has taken possession in the name of the majesty of the King of Castile D. Felipe, our lord, and a wide part of the natives of it have sworn obedience and are in peace;][903]

This section refers to the *requerimiento* performed a few days prior to the plantation. Its inclusion in the foundational act confirms that it was conducted appropriately, following the correct protocols, and issuing the native population to abide with the colonizers in peace. If an armed conflict would have arisen, it would have been logged both here and in the original record of the *requerimiento*, as the pacification of resisting groups was considered an achievement. In any case, that did not happen at Mendoza, and the plantation went on without immediate response.

> *...y por que el tempo que ha que está en ellas ha sido breve, en el cual no ha podido hallar asiento ni lugar para donde fundar una ciudad con mero*

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[903] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

*imperio; y porque de no fundarla y alzar rollo y nombrar cabildo y regimiento, podrían resultar inconvenientes y daños, ansí en lo que toca al servicio de Dios y de S. M. como contra los naturales y españoles que en esta provincia están; y para que cesen los dichos inconvenientes y está tierra se perpetue y pueble y puedan encomendar los indios en los españoles vasallos de S. M. que en su servicio en este dicho asiento estan, para que los puedan doctrinar y enseñar en las cosas de Nuestra Santa Fé y mostrarles á vivir políticamente guardándoles y haciéndoles en todo justicia, me pareció convenia en este dicho asiento y valle...*

[...and because the time he has spent in them (the provinces) have been brief, in which he (Castillo) has not been able to find site or place to plant a city according to law; and because if it wasn't planted and the mast[904] not raised and the council and royal representative not appointed, inconveniences and damages could result, in which regards to the service to God and His Majesty and to the natives and Spaniards in this provinces; and to these inconveniences to cease and this land to be perpetuated and settled and the natives assigned (*se encomienden*) to the Spaniards vassals of His Majesty and at his service in this site, to indoctrinate and teach them in the affairs of Our Holy Faith and show them how to live politically guarding them and making them justice in everything, this site and valley seemed convenient (to me, Castillo)...][905]

This long section is essential to understand the meaning of Mendoza's first foundational act and its objectives. In it, Pedro del Castillo states his lack of knowledge about the province of Cuyo and its territory. He confesses to have been there only for a short time, just a few days, insufficient to survey the land and decide on an appropriate location for the new town. However, even if a site had not been found and agreed, the city needed to be officially founded in order to ensure the legitimacy of its institutions, the privileges of its settlers and, more importantly, the assignment of natives in *encomienda* to each of the Spanish citizens. The physical location and construction of the new town was by all means secondary: what ensured the prized sought by Castillo's expedition was the legal existence of the city, the appointment of its majors and officials, and the rising of its *rollo* or mast representing Castillo's right to settle.

But, why the rush? In the act, Castillo mentions the risk "inconveniences and damages" impeding the "perpetuity" of the new town. Castillo, well-aware of Villagra's imminent arrival, aimed to complete his mission in the shortest possible time so his rights and those of this settling party wouldn't be denied by the new governor. This behaviour is not much different from that of Gonzalo Jiménez de

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[904] The *rollo* was a marker built in wood or stone under which the founding privilege was buried. It signalled the legitimacy of the plantation and the power of its newly founded institutions. Eventually, it would also perform as a whipping post for public punishment and executions.

[905] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

Quesada, who officially planted Santa Fe de Bogotá as soon as he knew that he had the possibility to do so and that he could lose it in case of inaction.

> *alzar rollo y nombrar alcaldes y regidores y procurador de la ciudad y oficiales de S. M. é demas oficios que son anexos para el mejor gobierno de ella, y ante todas cosas, señalando la advocacion de la Iglesia Mayor de la dicha ciudad, la cual se ha de llamar y nombrar Señor San Pedro, á quien tomo por patron y abogado en esta dicha ciudad, y por mayordomo de ella á Juan de Maturana, la cual dicha ciudad se ha de llamar y nombrar la ciudad de Mendoza, nuevo valle de Rioja, en todas las escrituras y demas cosas que fuere necesario nombrarse;*

> [...(Castillo decided) to raise the mast and name majors and royal representatives and attorney of the city and officials of His Majesty and all other offices that are linked to its best government and, before all of these, signalling the dedication of the main church of the said city, which must be named as the Lord Saint Peter, whom I take as patron and advocate of this city, and as its butler I name Juan de Maturama, and the said city must be called and named the city of Mendoza, new Valley of Rioja, in all the scriptures and other things in which it will be necessary to name it...][906]

Hence, without having a definitive site for the new town, Castillo performed all the necessary procedures for the plantation of the city. One particular feature of this act that differs from Sierra Sur is that, as the discussion about the site was cancelled, the foundational act begins with the appointing of officials and the advocation of the church even though Mendoza's church was an abstract entity at this point, disconnected from any specific building location. It was the church of Saint Peter at Mendoza in the Valley of Rioja, and that was enough. As long as that title was official, its physical construction would eventually be dealt with.

The other relevant piece of information in these lines is the name of the city: Instead of San Miguel el Ángel, the name and dedication issued by Valdivia in 1552, Pedro del Castillo chose to name the new town as his superior, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and his father the viceroy of Perú. This was an action of strong political meaning. With it, Castillo was connecting the legitimacy of the new town even further to position of García Hurtado de Mendoza and that of his father, in an effort to shield it against Villagra and his associates. Only after naming the city is that the act follows with the territorial limits of Mendoza and its jurisdiction:

> *...á la cual doy por términos y jurisdiccion, con mero misto imperio, desde la gran Cordillera Nevada aguas vertientes á la mar del Norte, y de todos los repartimientos de los vecinos que á ella se repartieren;*

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[906] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

[...to which (Mendoza) I give as limits and jurisdiction under its authority, from the great Cordillera Nevada (the Andes) to the northern sea, and of all the distributions (lands) of the citizens whom in her were gifted;][907]

The province of Cuyo is defined here in a most vague way, only establishing the Andes Mountain as its west limit. The only specific information provided here is that Mendoza is where the Andes waters run towards the Atlantic Ocean whose exact distance to Mendoza was unknown by the settlers. This lack of clear referents insists in the character of Mendoza as an advanced position towards an unknown frontier. If it were a new town planted in an already populated region, the foundational act would have included a detailed report of boundary stones around the city with their location and the names of other cities and private owners sharing its borders.

*...el cual dicho asiento y nombramiento de alcaldes y regidores y oficiales de S. M. y vecinos y moradores de ella hago dándoles y señalándoles solares en esta tierra de la dicha ciudad, como van señalados y nombrados y ciertos; los cuales dichos solares han de ser de grandor de cuadra de frente de doscientos y veinte y cinco piés de doce puntos y las calles de treinta y cinco piés de ancho.*

[...to which plantation and appointing of majors and royal representatives and officials of His Majesty and neighbours and settlers of it I make them by giving them and marking them parcels of this land of the said city, as they are signalled and named and true; which said parcels must be the size of a square of 225 feet of twelve points and the streets of 35 feet wide.][908]

Finally, the act follows with the appointing of officials and settlers which is made effective by gifting pieces of land to each of them. The parcels are said to be "signalled and named," which clearly are in the drafted plan, but it is unclear if these were also marked in a provisional site or just traced as an abstract, unplaced plan. The blocks are squares of 225 feet in each side, divided in quarters of 112,5 feet per size. It differs from the official size enacted in the Indies Laws, by which *caballerías* or parcels for lords and officials were 100x200 feet and *peonías* or parcels for regular settler, 50x100 feet.[909] However, that rule wouldn't be official until 1572. Castillo opted for an intermediate size, double than the

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[907] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

[908] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

[909] Paredes and Fosman y Medina, "Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos de Las Indias / Mandadas Imprimir, y Publicar Por La Magestad Catolica Del Rey Don Carlos II ..." Book IV, Title XII, First Law. Although the obligation to distribute equal parcels to settlers was first established by King Ferdinan the Catholic in 1513, the exact measure for *caballerías* and *peonías* was not established until Philip II ordinances in 1573. Previous plantations may have been instructed to use a particular size -such is the case of Sierra Sur- or may have applied a standard measure taken from other urban experiences.

*peonía* but half the *caballería*, and filled the gap by providing the most privileged settlers with two or more parcels. All streets were of the same size, without distinction between main and secondary axes. The resulting grid was of course perfectly regular and control, an ideal grid that had no business with the natural conditions and the real layout of its foundational site and, instead, gave priority to the abstract hierarchies and legal bindings imported by the Spanish settlers (Figure 245). The only references it makes to natural phenomena are two partially conserved figures at the sides resembling bearded men heads blowing towards the new city, most probably signalling the necessity of healthful conditions at the future site of Mendoza. The foundational act continues below the plan, confirming the actions listed up to this point:

> *Y yo por virtud de los poderes que para ello tengo i y en nombre de S. M. y como mejor convenga para el derecho de los conquistadores y pobladores y vecinos y moradores de estas dichas provincias y de esta dicha ciudad, hago el dicho nombramiento y les doy, señalo y nombro, en nombre de S. M. por propios suyos y de sus herederos y sucesores, los dichos solares que arriba estan declarados,*

> [And I by virtue of the powers that I have for it and in the name of His Majesty and for the best interest of the rights of the conquerors and settlers and neighbours and dwellers of these said provinces and of this said city, I make the said appointment and give them (the parcels), mark them, and name them, in the name of His Majesty for their (the settler's) own (rights) and their heirs and successors, the said parcels that are signalled above,] [910]

This segment is where the plan and its assignment of parcels is made official. From the formula used and the wording of these lines, it can be inferred that no possession taking act was performed for the parcels at Mendoza during its first plantation. There are no references to the founder taking the settlers by the hand, walking the parcels by foot, or transmitting any "bodily" property rights [*en forma corpórea*]. The powers and agents cited are either the source of Castillo's privilege to plant a city - God, the King - or the recipients of it - the settlers and their heirs -. The lack of spatial markers such relevant lines is a further symptom of Mendoza's weak connection with its physical foundational site. What was important is that the settler's received and conserved their right to receive a certain quantity of land, independently of which exact lands were they given.

> *...para agora y para siempre jamas, para que los puedan vender, trocar y enagenar y hacer dellos á su voluntad, como cosa habida y tenida por derecho y justo título como este lo es, guardando en ello y en cada cosa díllo las ordenanzas de S. M.;*

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[910] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

**Figure 245: Vectorization of Mendoza's first foundational plan from 1562. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

[...for now and forever after, so they can sell them, trade them, mortgage them, and do with them as they please, as it is known and recognized as a right and lawful entitlement as this one is, respecting in this and each things what its said in the ordinances of His Majesty;] [911]

After stating the recipients of the settling rights, the act provides additional details on what those rights entailed. It mentions privileges such as owning the lands, selling them, trading with them and even "do with them as they please". However, the act does not detail the duties related to the act of settling such as the obligation to build a house and cultivate the land before a given deadline. The act declares to be compliant with the "ordinances of His Majesty" [*las ordenanzas de S.M.*] but these should not be mistaken with the body of laws and orders enacted by Philip II in 1573 and published in 1576. This is, instead, a much fainter reference to the wide and complex normative available at the time. Neither the original instruction to settle Cuyo in 1552 included any indication in this sense, as it was mostly focused on the pacification of the land and the grouping of the natives in *encomiendas*. It is a quite unusual absence since, even if the body of laws for the foundation of colonial cities was not unified at this time, there were general principles widespread enough for a captain and his superiors to be conscious of them. As we have seen, the requirements and duties for settlers were quite consistent across the colonial territories of Spain, and even in Andalusia they appear in the subsequent instruction to settle Sierra Sur, always with a similar wording. Details such as the ban to sell properties to the church or monastic orders were highly sensitive as they could quickly destabilize the new town and promote real state speculation. Most probably, Castillo's tight timeline to plant the city before any interruption was not favourable to allocate time and resources to these matters. The foundational act he produced was a synthetic document, the minimum viable action to secure his interests and those of his collaborators.

*...y porque como he dicho, conviene nombrar la dicha ciudad y alzar rollo y hacer alcaldes y regidores y demas oficios en este dicho asiento para su mejor sustentacion, por estar, de lo que hasta hoy se ha visto, mas en comarca de todos los naturales y donde hay mas comidas, para que menos en vejacion de los dichos naturales se puedan sustentar los españoles y de donde se pueda mejor ver y visitar la tierra,*

[...and because as I have said, it is convenient to name the said city and raise its mast and appoint majors and royal representatives and other officials in this said site for its better sustainment, for it is, as it has been seen until now, in the region of all the naturals (natives) and where there is more food, so with

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[911] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

less damage to the said naturals the Spaniards can be sustained and where they can better see and visit the land,] [912]

After confirming the settlers' rights, the act continues with the confirmation of its name, its officials, etc. Its mention of "the said site for its better sustainment" is quite intriguing as it allows for several interpretations. It most probably alluded to the general site of the Valley of Huentata, were there was plenty of land for the colonizers to settle and produce without taking farms or pastures already established by the natives. However, it may also be a reference to the "site" of the native town where Castillo had performed the *requerimiento* a few days before, planting a banner, riding in circles at its central square, and giving Spanish surnames to the native chieftains present at the ceremony. Even though this second option could explain the lack of physical consequences of Mendoza's first plantation, it would be highly irregular that a foundational act explicitly ordered settlers to live at a native village during the construction of the new town. It was considered a bad practice that endangered the privileged position of the colonizers and challenged their dominion over the natives. Philip II 1572 ordinances would eventually forbid it, stating that "while the new settlement is being finished, the settlers must, as far as they can, avoid all communication and dealings with the natives, must not go to their towns, must not get divided, or get fun (*se diviertan*) across the land."[913] For these reasons, it is unlikely that Castillo and his notary recorded a decision for the settlers to stay at the native village even if, as later document state, that is what they ended up doing.

*...y buscar si hubiere otro sitio y lugar que sea mejor para poblar la dicha ciudad, y para lo que tocare al servicio de Dios y de S. M. y bien de los naturales y conservacion de los españoles, concurriendo en el sitio y lugar mas calidades que en el sitio y lugar deste, y así mudándose esta ciudad, el nombre desla y alcaldes y regidores y demas oficios, tenga donde se mudare que tiene en esta, guardándoles los solares á los vecinos y moradores en la parte que en la traza desta los tiene, hacia los vientos que están señalados en la márgen de la dicha traza; que es fecha ut supra. Y el dicho señor capitan y teniente general lo firmó de su nombre—Pedro Del Castillo—*
*Por mandado de su merced -Francisco de Horbina- escribano.*

[...and if there were a different site and place that happens to be better to settle the said city, and in which is needed for the service to God and His Majesty and the good of the naturals and conservation of the Spaniards, concurring in that site and place more qualities than in this site and place, and in this way moving this town, the name of it and its majors and royal representatives and

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[912] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.
[913] Libro IV, Titulo VII, Ley XXIV (ordenanza 137): "*Que durante la obra se escuse la comunicación con los naturales.*"

other offices, it (the city) will have wherever it moves what it has here, conserving the parcels for the neighbours and dwellers in the part of the plan were they are now, (oriented) towards the winds that are signaled in the margin of the said plan; which is on the date *ut supra* (the same as above). Ante the said lord captain and general lieutenant signed it with his name -Pedro del Castillo- By mandate of his grace - Francisco de Horbina – notary.] [914]

This is the final section of the act, where Castillo explicitly orders the settlers to move the city if a better site is found for it. The real situation was that the first site of Mendoza was most probably not a specific location but a general area, thus no new city was expected to be built at this point and the whole construction process remained on hold until a definitive decision was taken on this regard. The vagueness of both the settlers' duties and the location of Mendoza, summed to the order to transfer the city "if a better location was found", point to this conclusion. However, this does not undermine the fact that Mendoza was, from this point on, a legally established city. It had "all the necessary things" for a city to be settled: appointed majors and officials, a general location, a name, a dedicated church, a list of settlers, a settling order protecting their privileges, a plan distributing their lands, and a foundational act signed by the captain in charge and the official notary of the regional courthouse. It was an unbodied city, yes, but it had all the mandatory paperwork to probe its existence.

### *October 6th: Confirmation of the plantation in Mendoza's council minute book.*

This fact was confirmed in a later record from Mendoza's Council minute book, dated on October 6th, 1561, confirming the foundation of the city.[915] This document, written when the foundation was about 6 months old, was issued to the General Captain of Chile at Santiago, Francisco Villagra, who had taken the position on April.[916] In it, Pedro del Castillo and the city's councillors state that all mandatory protocols were applied for the plantation of the new town. According to them, the original observation regarding the relocation of Mendoza was there so when Villagra would see the land personally and weigh its features, the new town could be moved without modifying its original name or its political structure. They further argue the requirements of fertility and space for native *encomiendas* were not met at the site "where the city is currently traced and where the mast and the whipping post are placed in the middle of the square" [*no ha sido ni es con las condiciones de que al presente se hallan y tienen en el asiento en que*

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[914] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

[915] Transcription available at: José Toribio Medina, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile: desde el viaje de Magallanes hasta la Batalla de Maipo, 1518-1818* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Ercilla, 1888), vol. 23, 151. Included in: Gargaro, "Fundación de Mendoza," 84–86.

[916] Adolfo Omar Cueto, "La Fundación de La Ciudad de Mendoza y Sus Primeros Doscientos Años (1561-1761)," in *La Ciudad de Mendoza. Su Historia a Través de Cinco Temas* (Mendoza: Fundación Banco de Boston, 1991), 12.

*al presente esta trazada la dicha cinbad e puesto rollo y picota en mitad de dicha plaza*]. According to these lines, the city had been indeed marked at a physical space, probably during the weeks after the official foundation on March 2ⁿᵈ. After this remark, Castillo and the councilmen confirmed their agreement for the plantation of Mendoza "where it is currently founded, marked, and traced, and placed, and named its parcels" [*donde al presente está fundada, amojonada y trazada y puestos y nombrados los solares*] as well as their commitment to defend and support it, taking and official oath and collectively signing the act.

The motivations behind such a document were, once more, of political nature. By that García Hurtado de Mendoza was totally established as governor of Chile. Pedro del Castillo, knowing of how unstable his position was, wrote him a letter at some point in September stating petitioning for a hearing and accepting the procedure to appoint a new governor at Cuyo. On August 30ᵗʰ, Castillo asked for an official notary to come from Santiago to Cuyo and develop the official report on his deeds that would later be sent to the Indies Council at Seville on 1562. The person in charge would be the notary Juan de Contreras, who began his report on September and finished it in October, that is, at the same time the confirmation was recorded in the city council minute book. Under the light of these events, the decision to reaffirm the foundational act provided an additional layer of consistency to Mendoza's institutional structure before Castillo's replacement, correcting documental inconsistencies that could shed doubts over the legitimacy of their settling rights.

### *October 9th: Plan of farming lands at Mendoza (ejidos)* [917]

Three days after Castillo and the councilmen signed the confirmation act, an additional plan was traced for Mendoza to further validate the plantation (Figure 246). It was included in Contreras' report along with the others documents of the city, ratifying that the objective of these decisions was to shield the privileges of Mendoza's founders. It features the original square grid of five blocks in each side, surrounded by a larger structure of rectangular plots and roads (Figure 247). Contrary to the first plan in which all the parcels were assigned, in this one there are abundant blank parcels and pieces of land reserved for future settlers. Some of them include references to those around like, creating a chain of connected possessions: "Bartolomé Copín at the back of Martín Elbira", "Martín Elbira at the back of the Priest Hernando", etc. Each marked parcel states the measure of 3x2 blocks, taking as reference the urban block of 225 feet per side. This document does not feature any reference to natural elements or other features in the site, not even the winds represented in the older plan.

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[917] Full transcription available at Appendix A.3. Originally published in: Chueca Goitia, Torres Balbás, and González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas*, vol. II, 12–15.
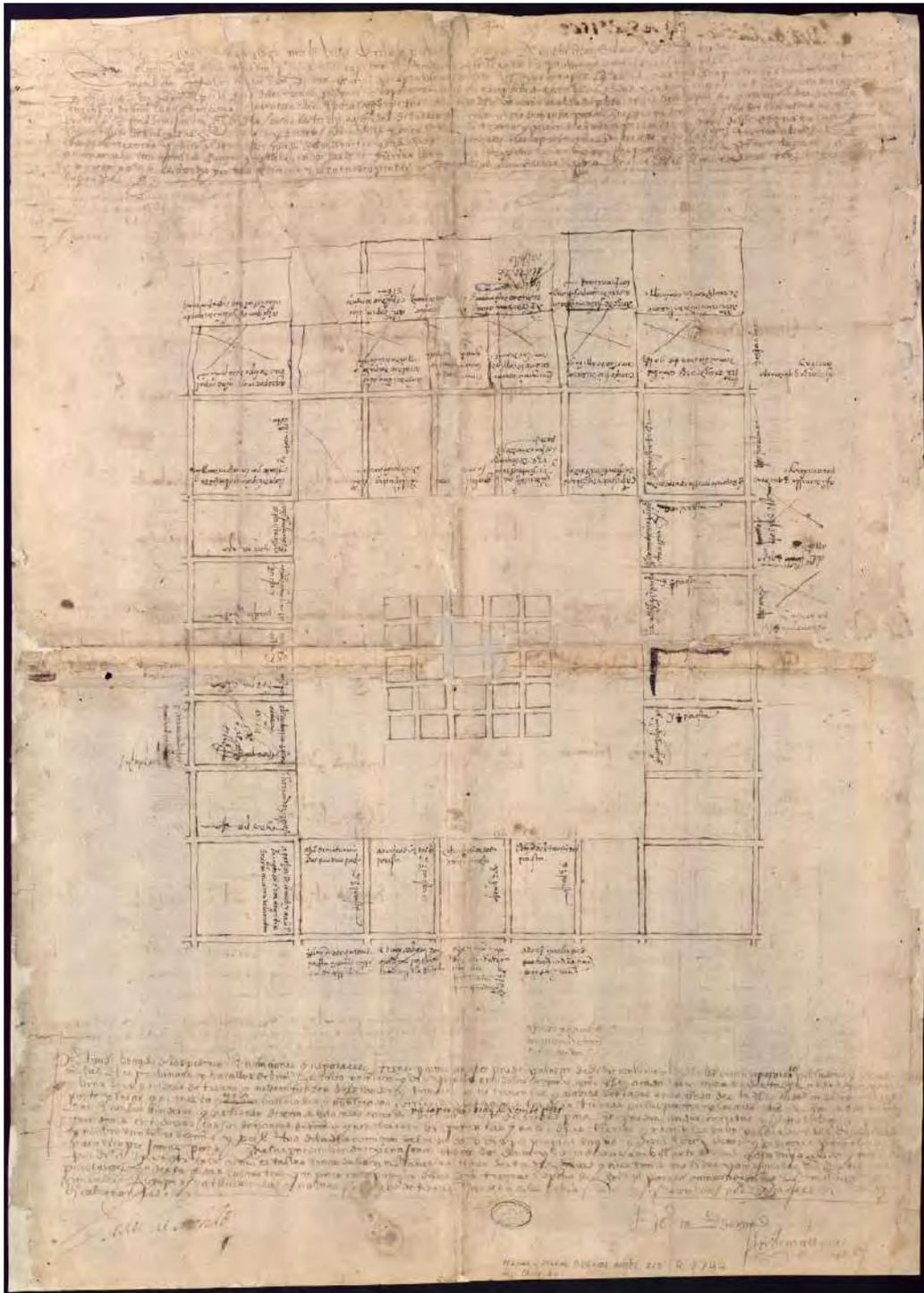
**Figure 246: 1562, plan of farming lands distributed for the settlers of Mendoza. The smaller squares in the centre represent the urban lots featured in the previous two figures. © Archivo General de Indias.**[918]

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[918] Consejo de indias and Pedro del Castillo, "Plano de las tierras repartidas a los primeros pobladores de la ciudad de Mendoza."
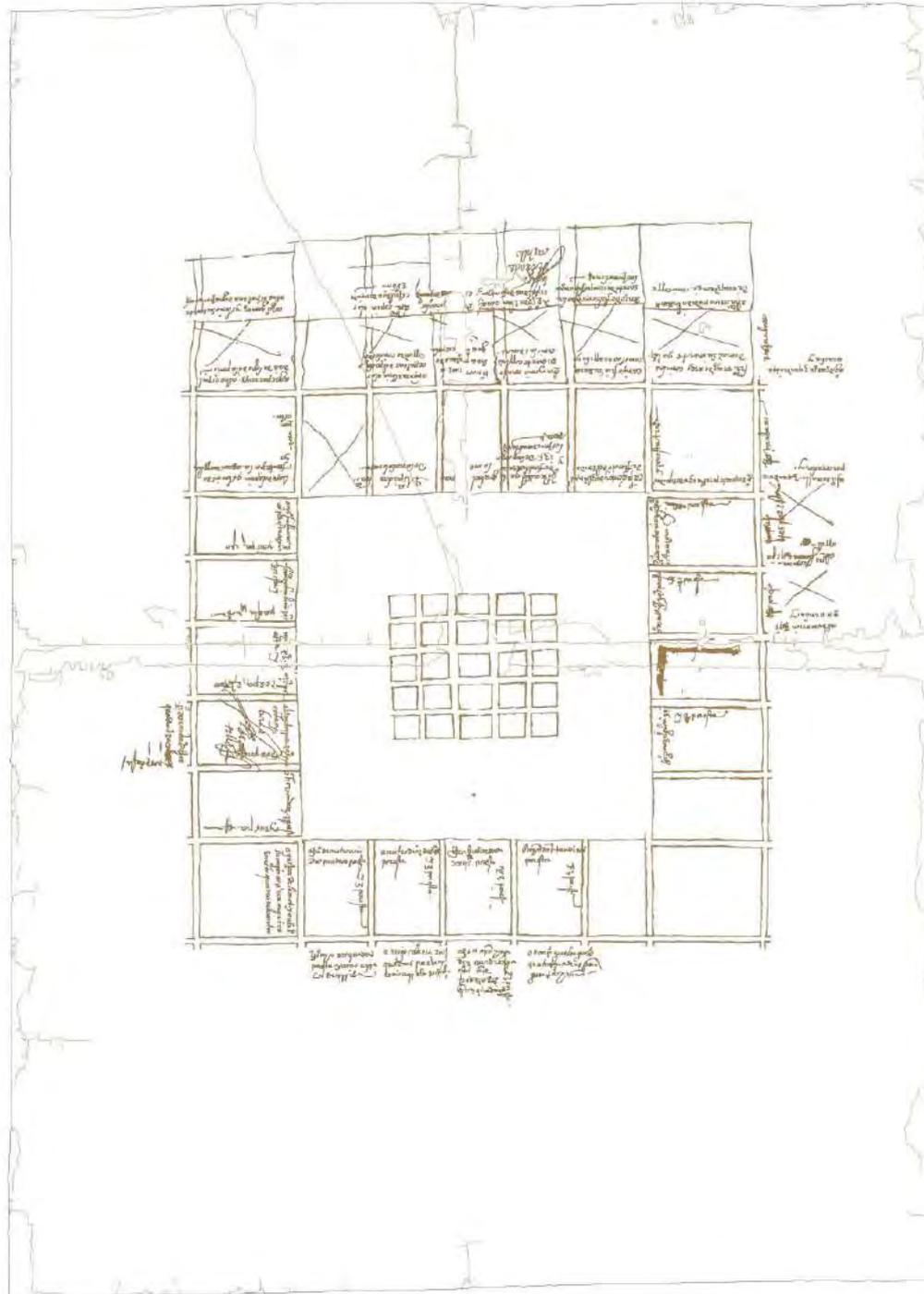
**Figure 247: Vectorization of Mendoza's farming land distribution plan, 1562. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

The text accompanying this second plan begins by confirming once more the foundational actions coordinated by Pedro del Castillo six months prior. Its main section reads:

*...para la perpetuidad de los dichos vecinos como se a usado y usa en las demás partes que en nombre de su magestad se an poblado otras semejantes çibdades como ésta ay neçesidad de dalles tierras y heredamientos para que puedan senbrar y plantar las cossas neçesarias para su sustento de sus casas y familias y por su merced abiendo visto y mirado toda la tierra y buscado el menor perjuizio y daño de los dichos naturales para dar las dichas tierras y abiéndose ynformado de los señores y caçiques de este balle si en la parte que quiere dar y da las dichas tierras a los dichos vecinos y moradores que en ella están reçiben daño y agrabio en dar las dichas tierras los quales respondieron y an respondido que las dichas tierras que ansí se les quiere dar y a dado están desyertas e bacas y ellos no se aprovechan ni aprovecharon dellas...*

[...for the perpetuity of the said settlers as it has been usual and is used in the other lands that in the name of his majesty have been settled other cities similar to this one there is need of giving lands and heritage (to the settlers) for them to seed and plant the things necessary for their sustenance of their houses and their families and by his mercy, having seen and watched all the land and sought the lesser prejudice and harm to the natives for gifting the said lands and having been informed by the lords and chieftains of this valley if at the site where we want to gift the lands to the said lands to the said settlers and dwellers that are there they receive harm and grievance because of gifting those lands they answered and have answered that the said lands that in this way are to be gifted are empty and vacant and they do not take profit or have taken profit of them...][919]

This paragraph fills most of the gaps of the previous plan, strengthening the coherence of the foundational act as a whole. In the first place, it compares Mendoza with other cities settled "in the name of his majesty" and states to have applied the exact same protocols and procedures [*como se a usado y se usa*]. Then, it recognizes the necessity of providing farming lands to the settlers, as they need them to sustain themselves. This was one of the weakest points of the previous plantation act since, as we have seen in other American and Andalusian cities, the tracing of the urban plan was always associated with the productive tissue of the new town. To provide these lands, Castillo declared to have "seen and watched all the land" [*visto y mirado toda la tierra*] implying a protocolary survey much similar to how judge Rivadeneyra visited each foundational site at Sierra Sur. The formula *"seen and watched"* is quite similar how the valleys at Sierra Sur were

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[919] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

"seen with eyes sight" [*vistos con vista de ojos*] by the judge, his committee, and the local agents they consulted. Castillo acted parallelly in that regard, consulting with the native leaders if the land chosen for the farming lands were good enough and if their cultivation by the Spaniards were of any inconvenience to them. Of course, the natives are said to comply with the proposal and affirm that these lands had never been used by them or their ancestors. Today there is no way to corroborate if this acceptance was sincere or the product of coercion. What matters here is that, by certifying officially that all local leaders had been consulted, Castillo was closest to the correct application of the Spanish laws for the plantation of new cities, covering earlier mistakes.

The second section of the act, written under the plan, details the size of the farming lots and how they were distributed among the settlers. It also designates a width of 20 feet[920] for the roads between each plot, sufficient for "carts, service, and livestock" [*para que puedan andar carretas y otro serbiçio y ganado*]. That is the same measure used for secondary roads at Sierra Sur.

Finally, the document confirms the rights given to the settlers "accordingly to the ordinances of his majesty" [*guardando en todo ello las hordenanças de su magestad*] and state the same privileges to sell them, trade them, donate them, etc. These lines run parallel to the act made in March but, in the very last line, Castillo added something new:

> *...e mandaba y mandó a las justicias desta dicha çibdad que estando metidas y amojonadas las dichas tierras por el alarife desta çibdad los metan y amparen en la poseçión de las dichas tierras so pena de quinientos pesos para la cámara de su magestad, e firmólo aquí de su nombre.*

> [...and he ordered and orders to the deputies of the said city (Mendoza) that having been walked and marked the said lands by the alarife of this city they walk them (the settlers) and guard them in the possession of the said lands under penalty (if the deputies do not comply) of five hundred pesos for the treasure of his majesty, and he (Pedro del Castillo) signed it here with his name] [921]

This is the first and only time that Castillo mentions the *alarife* or the possession taking acts to be performed by Mendoza's deputies. As we have seen in the documents from Sierra Sur, this was a most essential part of the foundational process. Possession taking acts were to be recorded in detail and safeguarded with the rest of the documents of the plantation, as they provided the only official register of the settler's real state property apart from the foundational plan. With this final addition, signed by Pedro del Castillo and Juan de Contreras, the founder accomplished a comprehensive record of the plantation with all the mandatory

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[920] 8,20 meters approximately.

[921] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

features. Those missing in the first act of March 2nd, were completed in October with a high level of precision, including the minimum actions and details necessary to certify them. For example, instead of featuring a complete survey report with all the valleys and locations visited, Castillo's second act only declares that the land was "seen and watched" by the founder. That action, certified by the notary's signature, could be accepted in court as evidence of the full survey, even if it was not further detailed. The same applies to the possession taking acts. Castillo, in the same way as Rivadeneyra, was not obliged to conduct the ceremonies for possession taking by himself. What he needed to proof is that he had put all the mechanism in place for those acts to be performed even if he was not present.

These legal acts, confirmations, and commandments from Pedro del Castillo operated as a cohesive foundational procedure. Armed with the report signed by the notary Juan de Contreras, he was free to leave the town, meeting with the governor Juan de Villagra as he had agreed to and pursue the recognition of his privileges as founder of Mendoza, litigating against his political adversaries if necessary. Pedro del Castillo left his new town shortly after, leaving his men behind. At some point in 1562 he got reunited with his protector García Hurtado de Mendoza at Lima and. In 1563, he travelled to Spain and got a place at the court probably granted for his actions in America. In 1569 Castillo moved back to his hometown of Villalba de Rioja. Castillo lived there until his decease in 1587 and never returned to Mendoza.[922]

In sum, the *requerimiento* of February 22nd the plan of March 2nd, the confirmation of October 6th, and the second plan of October 9th form a set of complementary documents. Despite both plans being often published together as a cohesive set, there is a gap of six months between their production. They do not work parallelly as documents, instead, the confirmation at the council house and the plan of farming lots were produced to correct the mistakes and omissions committed in the original plantation act performed by Pedro del Castillo only ten days after his arrival to the Valley of Huentata. While the *requerimiento* and the first plantation were performed as quick as possible, probably fearing the interruption of the operation by Villagra's men, the second group of documents were developed in a much slower fashion, taking as much time needed for each procedure. Why this change? What made Castillo change his *modus operandi*? The participation of a new agent may provide an explanation to this shift. During the early actions of Castillo, the man in charge of their certification was Francisco de Horbina, appointed notary from Santiago's courthouse. However, during the second stage, Castillo was supported by Juan de Contreras who was one of the official notaries at Santiago's city council. He had been contacted two months before by Juan Martín Gil, Castillo's person of trust at Santiago, and requested to travel to Mendoza and provide a report of Castillo's actions. In other words, Juan de

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[922] José María San Martín Pérez, "Pedro Ruiz del Castillo," Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico - Real Academia de Historia, 2018, https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/14651/pedro-ruiz-del-castillo.

Contreras was a man of law and written culture specifically sought by Pedro del Castillo and his collaborators to fulfil the remaining requirements for a solid plantation from the legal point of view, even if not a single brick was placed. Juan de Contreras stayed at Mendoza for weeks, produced a detailed report, and even signed the second plan for the plantation of the city. Even if Mendoza was later transferred and re-planted at a different location as we will see in the following section, Contreras' dossier was solid enough to grant Castillo a place in the Royal Court and a comfortable position at his hometown later on. Given the number of valuable additions implemented in the second set of official acts for Mendoza and their parallelism with other notarial records as those of Sierra Sur's, it is logical to conclude that the new man of law in town was at least partially responsible for the improvement. Since Juan de Contreras had been brought to Mendoza by Castillo's close contact and not by a third-party, it is probable that Contreras was instructed to provide counsel to Castillo at the same time he produced an official legally binding assessment of his deeds. Thanks to Contreras advice, Castillo would be able to make the most of his accomplishments and find an elegant exit from his difficult political situation. Moreover, thanks to Contreras' intervention, the institutional body of Mendoza became solid enough to deserve recognition by Villagra's agents and even conserving the name of his adversary, regardless of the actions taken against it.

### September 19th – December 1st: Appointment of Juan Jufré as governor of Cuyo and Pedro de Mesa as acting substitute until his arrival

While Pedro del Castillo was finishing these procedures at Mendoza, things were also moving at Santiago. On September 19th, Villagra met with the members of Santiago's city council to discuss the letter sent to him by Castillo.[923] In it, Castillo offered his total collaboration and will to accept Villagra's decisions, denying any allegations of him declaring otherwise.[924] Villagra presented this letter to the council and named the captain Juan Jufré as Castillo's replacement, appointing the official Pedro de Mesa as temporary governor until Jufré's arrival.

The official appointment and instructions to Juan Jufré were enacted by Villagra on September 27th, with an order that shed doubts over the legitimacy of the city founded by Castillo. In it, Villagra entitled Jufré as:

*Gobernador y Capitán General de la Provincia de Cuyo y Carigasta, que por otro nombre se llama Tucuma, y de Nolongasta, y Famatina, y de todo lo*

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[923] Included in Santiago's city council minute book. Transcription available at: Gargaro, "Fundación de Mendoza," 88–90.

[924] The exact words are: *"he rescribido pena del credito que han dado a cosas que dicen ahber escrito que a mi no me pasan por pensamiento."*

*demás que cayere **en los términos de la ciudad que está poblada o se poblar en el dicho valle de Cuyo**...*[925]

[Governor and General Captain of the Province of Cuyo and Carigasta, also named Tucuma and of Nolongasta, and Famatina, and all other (lands) inside the jurisdiction of the city that is settled or to be settled in the said valley of Cuyo...] [926]

In this way, Jufre's commission included the verification of Mendoza's plantation from the very first moment, authorizing its correction if considered necessary. These powers were later on December 1st by an additional order from Villagra. Jufré arrived at Santiago sometime between those acts. Meanwhile, Juan del Castillo had already left Mendoza. Jufré's left Santiago with 40 soldiers in January of 1562, following the same route that Castillo had travelled the year before, and reaching Mendoza at some point in the beginning of March.

### March 28th, 1562: Second foundation of Mendoza by Juan Jufré[927]

When Juan Jufré arrived at the site of Mendoza, he found the Spanish settlers living at a fort near one of the principal native villages in the Valley of Cuyo, probably the same where Castillo performed his *requerimiento*. On March 28th, 1562, Jufré proceed to plant once more the city of Mendoza and even tried to change its name. The act of this ceremony and its foundational plan where later copied in 1573 as part of a report of "merits and services" [*meritos y servicios*] issued to the Indies Counsil at Seville, in a similar fashion to Castillo ten years before (Figure 248).[928]

At a first glance, the plan looks much alike Castillo's, traced with a higher level of precision and finesse with conserving the same general structure of a 5x5 grid of squared blocks divided in quarters, with a public open space in the center of the grid. The most prominent additions are the cardinal directions and the whipping post in the central plaza. In this new version of the plantation, the church is clearly oriented towards the west, facing the square with its main façade. The central element of the plan and the only one with a different colour is the whipping post, coronated with a catholic cross. It signalled the right of the new town to have its own courthouse and exert justice on its own, a privilege granted to most regional capitals in the Americas but withheld from minor settlements such as for example, Mancha Real in Jaen's Sierra Sur.[929]

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[925] Transcription originally published in: José B. De San Martín, *Mendoza de ayer, Mendoza de montaña* (Mendoza, 1940), 120. Taken from: Cueto, "La Fundación de La Ciudad de Mendoza y Sus Primeros Doscientos Años (1561-1761)," 12. Text highlighted by the author.

[926] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

[927] Its full transcription is available at Appendix A.4. Taken from: Chueca Goitia, Torres Balbás, and González, *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas*, 15–17.

[928] Consejo de Indias, "PATRONATO,121,R.5 - Méritos y servicios."

[929] Mancha Real would eventually buy the privilege to become a Royal Villa in 1557 and, with it, to have its own body of judges and a post for public punishment in the plaza.
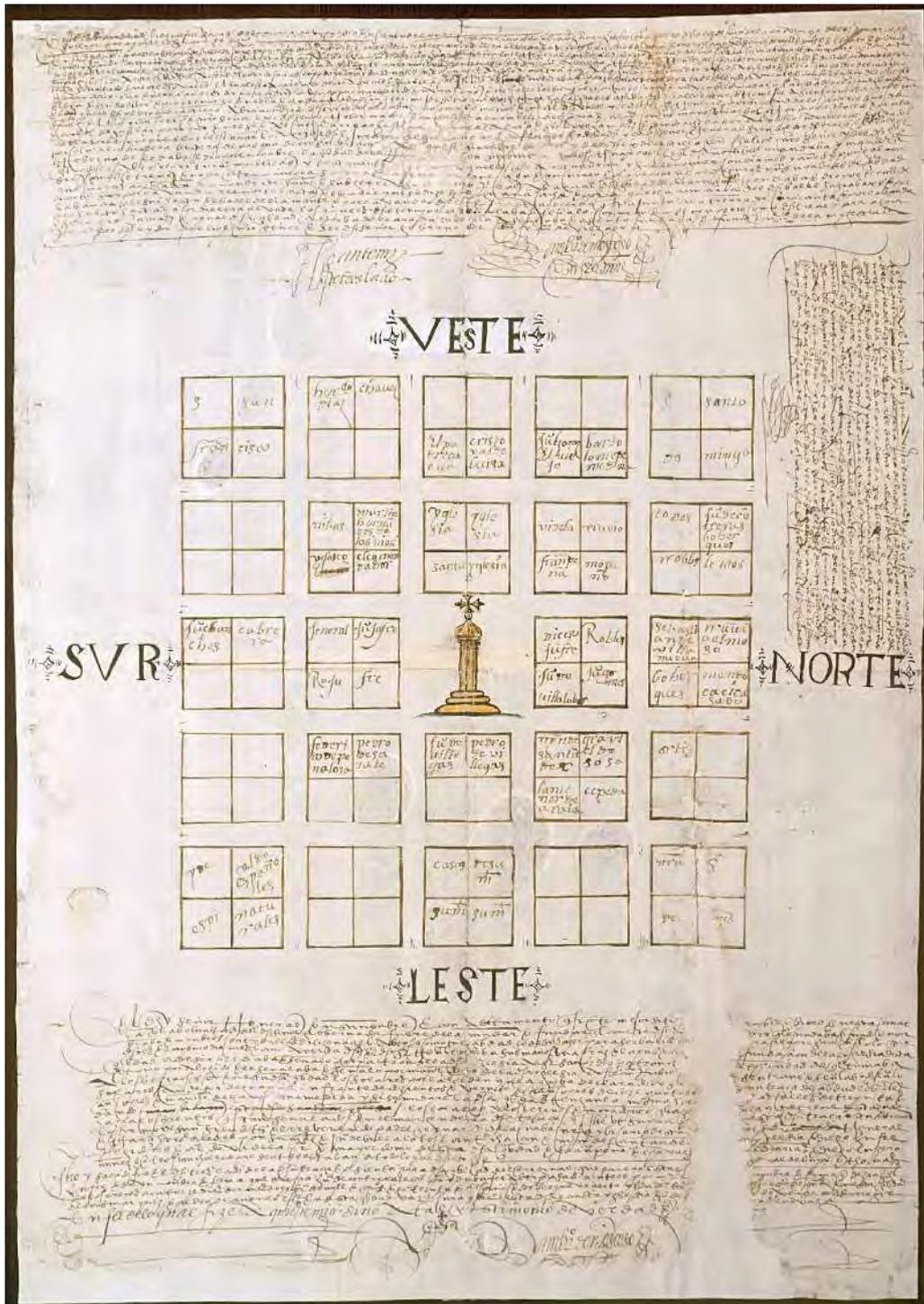
**Figure 248: 1563, Second plantation plan of Mendoza by Juan Jufré. According to A. Gargaro, this plan was first published in 1880 and its first photography dates from 1915. © Archivo General de Indias.[930]**

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[930] Juan Jufré de Loaysa Montesa, "Plano de la ciudad de Resurrección (Mendoza), en la región de Cuyo."

The plan is surrounded by the written record of the foundational act, arranged in three sections above it, at its right side, and under it. Each of these paragraphs focuses on a different aspect of the plantation: the top one presents the foundation, the bottom one describes the plan and the distribution of parcels, while the right one is dedicated to the *farming lands* around the new town. Unlike Castillo, Jufré did not produced a separate plan of ejidos, just a general description of them. The general flow of these acts follows a similar structure than other foundational records analysed in previous section, however, in some sections there are additions and details worth noticing. For example, the act begins by presenting the agents involved and their position in the Spanish hierarchy, including a familiar face from Castillo's plantation:

> *...en este asiento de balle de Cuyo, provincia de los Guarpes, ques desta otra parte de la gran cordillera Nevada, en veinte e ocho días del mes de março, año del Señor de mill e quinientos e sesenta e dos años, ante mí Joan de Contreras, escrivano público y del cabildo desta dicha provincia, el muy magnífico señor Capitán Joan Jofre, Teniente General en estas dichas provincias de Cuyo, Caria, Famatina, Tucumán e Nolongasta, desde las vertientes de la gran cordillera Nevada hasta el mar del Norte por el muy yllustre señor mariscal don Francisco de Villagrá...*

> [...at the site of the valley of Cuyo, province of the Guarpes,[931] which is at this other part of the great snowy mountain range (Los Andes), on twenty eight days of the month of March, year of our Lord of one thousand and five hundred and sixty-two years, before me Joan de Contreras, public notary of the council house of this said province, the most magnificent lord Captain Joan Jofre, General Lieutenant in these said provinces of Cuyo, Caria, Famatina, Tucumán and Nolongasta, from the slopes of the great Snowy mountain range up to the North sea (the Atlantic) by the most illustrious lord marshall don Francisco de Villagra...] [932]

Indeed, the man in charge of recording the second plantation of Mendoza none other than Juan de Contreras, the notary brought from Santiago to report on Castillo's original foundation. Although he got involved in this process as public notary from Santiago, in this document he introduces himself as "public notary of the council house of this said province", that is, the province of Cuyo. He had stablished himself at Mendoza after his actions under Castillo's command. In fact, the plan of Ejidos from 1561 features one lot of 3x2 blocks[933] gifted to Juan Contreras, which most probably was accompanied with a parcel in the urban center. That urban parcel gifted to Contreras does appear in Jufré's plan (Figure 249).

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[931] Huarpes, native ethnic group originary from the valley of Cuyo.
[932] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.
[933] 675x450 feet, approximately 282,8x188,5 meters, 5,3 Hect.
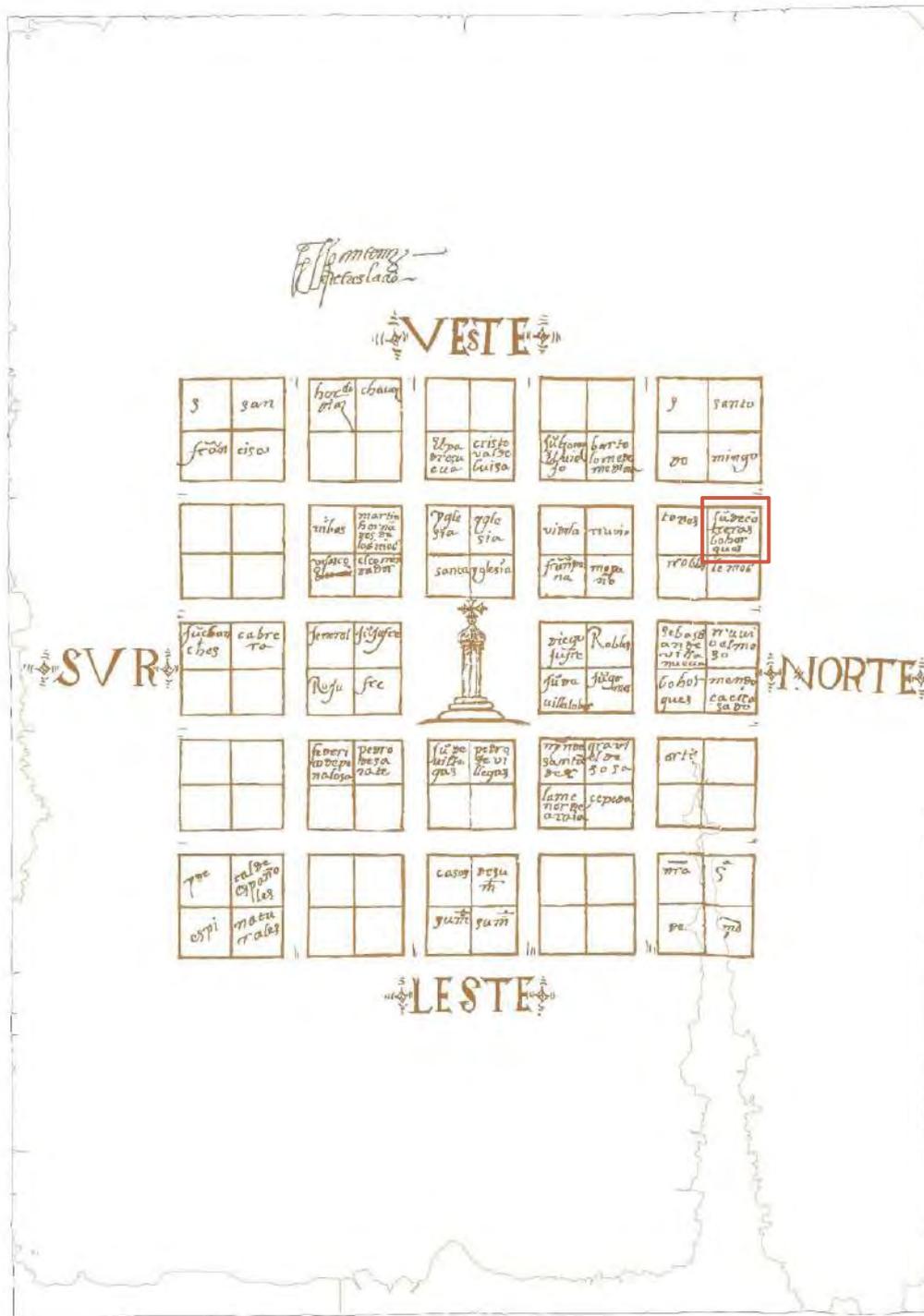
**Figure 249: Vectorization of Mendoza's second foundational plan from 1563. The parcel gifted to Juan de Contreras appears highlighted with a red square. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

In this way, Juan de Contreras appears as a connective between the processes lead by Castillo and Jufré. Being the official notary of both founders put him in an advantageous position. From that role, he could influence the process, mitigating any potential loss of privileges for the previous group of settlers, including Contreras himself. Another peculiar addition in this paragraph is the first mention to the specific name of the native group stablished at this valley: the huarpes, different from the Mapuches at the south of Chile. The valley of Cuyo is also referred with more specific names, detailing the diverse regions in such as Caria, Famatina, etc. The act them follow with one crucial action performed by Jufré:

*...dixo que él viene a estas dichas provincias con poderes muy bastantes de los quales a hecho demostración a la justicia e regimiento desde dicho asiento e sitio que Pedro del Castillo tenía señalado en este dicho valle...*

[... (Jufré) said that he comes to these said provinces with abundant powers of which he has provided evidence to the justice and regiment of this said settlement and site (Mendoza) that Pedro del Castillo had marked in this said valley...] [934]

Before taking any actions, Jufré provided proof of his appointment and instructions signed by the General Captain Francisco de Villagra. Jufré presented this evidence to Mendoza's council, recognizing its authority at the "said settlement" planted by Pedro del Castillo. In consequence, Jufré was not undoing the official foundational actions performed before his arrival but developing them further over the already existent institutional basis. In other words: Jufré recognized that the council of Mendoza had been created according to law, firm, and not modifiable in case of a new plantation. The only weak point that Jufré could cling for his new project was the site of the city, considered inappropriate since the very first moment and open to change:

*...por quanto el dicho asiento no estaba e parte competente e para el bien e aumento e conservación de los bezinos e moradores que en ella and estar e residir convenía por estar metido en una hoya e no dalle los vientos que son necesarios e convenibles para la sanidad de los que en ella biben e an de vivir e perpetuarse en ella, e andando a buscar otro mejor sitio que sea y tenga las calidades arriba dichas halló estar otro mejor asiento y más ayroso que el quel dicho Pedro del Castillo abía nombrado dos tiros de arcabuz poco más o menos...*

[...since the said settlement was not at an appropriate site for the good and growth and conservation of the settlers and dwellers that are in it and it (Mendoza) being and reside inside a pot (a round valley close from all sides) and

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[934] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

the necessary winds do not reach it which are convenient for the health of those who live in it and will live and perpetuate in it, and in walking to search for another better site that is and has the qualities said above (Jufré) found another site better ventilated from the one that the said Pedro del Castillo had named (distanced) two shots of arquebus more or less...] [935]

Jufré argued a specific reason for the inadequacy of Mendoza's site: it was located at the lower part of a rounded valley, enclosed by hills on all directions. This kind of locations are protected from the winds and are potentially floodable, both critical defects according to the classic principles for healthful city planning. To avoid this, Jufré "walked" (by feet?) seeking for a better location and found it at a distance of two arquebus shots. The features of the new site are not detailed anywhere in the act. From Jufré's words we know why Castillo's chosen location was not appropriate, but he does not why the new placement was better, which elements provided a better ventilation, access to water, etc. He only states that it "has the qualities said above." This vague description has been at the core of abundant discussions between urban historians at Chile in an attempt to find the precise location of Mendoza's subsequent foundational sites.[936] According to the Spanish Royal Academy, the "shot of arquebus" was a highly inaccurate measure of distance commonly used in early modern Spain, varying from 50 to 250 meters per shot.[937] Even if we account for the maximum length for each shot or even slowly higher, half a kilometre is not a distance long enough to justify the existence of diametrically opposed conditions, from the inviable site of Castillo to the "fully abiding" site located by Jufré. While some historians have taken this measure as a fact and argued that both sites were basically the same, others interpretate it as a political statement. The real distance would be much longer, thus, indeterminate, and open to multiple theoretical locations for the new town. We will come back to this issue later. Whatever the case, the relevant consequence in Jufré's narrative is that he differentiated both sites, issuing the translocation of the settlement planted by Castillo. The act then follows:

> ...*dicho gobernador en su real nombre alçava e alçó con sus manos un árbol gordo por rollo e picota e árbol de justiçia para que en él se execute la real justiçia para agora e siempre jamás e dando a entender a todos los cavalleros soldados pobladores que presentes estaban lo arriba dicho e juraron de sustentar e defender todo lo dicho y el dicho señor general siendo este dicho día que el dicho rollo e picota alço bíspera bíspera (sic) de Pasqua de Resurrecçión dixo que en nombre de Dios y del rey de Castilla don Phelipe nuestro señor y del dicho señor governador le daba e dió por nonbre la çibdad de la*

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[935] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

[936] Adolfo Omar Cueto provides a synthesis of the main arguments in Cueto, "La Fundación de La Ciudad de Mendoza y Sus Primeros Doscientos Años (1561-1761)," 22–28.

[937] RAE, "arcabuz | Diccionario histórico de la lengua española," «Diccionario histórico de la lengua española», accessed March 19, 2022, https://www.rae.es/dhle/arcabuz.

*Resurrecçión, probinçia de los Guarcos, el qual dicho nombre mandaba y mandó que en todos los abtos y escrituras públicas...*

[...the said governor (Jufré) in his royal name (the king) would raise and raised with his hands a thick tree as mast and whipping post and tree of justice for it to be the place of execution of royal justice for now and forever after and stating to all those gentlement soldiers settlers that were present what said above (they) swore to sustain and defend all what was said and the said lord general (Jufré) being this said day in which the mast and whipping post was raised the eve of the *Resurrección* (Christ resurrection, Easter) (Jufré) said that in the name of God and the king of Castile Don Felipe our lord the said lord governor (Jufré) would give and gave as name the city of *Resurrección*, province of the Guarcos, which name he would order and ordered to be used in all documents and public scriptures...] [938]

At the new designated site, Jufré performed the raising of the whipping post in a similar fashion to how Castillo did it one year before. In this occasion, it was not necessary to appoint majors or officials because these had been already named. To all means, the city planted by Jufré was not a new town. It was the same town, in a different place. However, Jufré tried a symbolic stratagem to consolidate his political power and erase the actions of his predecessor: He changed the name of *Mendoza* by *Resurrección*, arguing that the new plantation had been performed one day before Easter. This action had a double intention: to stablish a new denomination put in place by Jufré, and to eliminate any reference to García Hurtado de Mendoza and his father, political adversaries of Francisco de Villagra. Parallelly to how Juan de Rivadeneyra changed the name of Los Osarios to Valdepeñas, Jufré also ordered the name of Resurrección to be perpetuated in all official documents, under threat of economic fines and other punishments. However, contrary to Rivadeneyra's action, Jufré's proposed name did not stick and was eventually relegated and is currently unused.

After this action, the foundational act details the territorial limits of the city with much more precision than in previous documents, mentioning the valley of Guanache, the valley of Diamante, the region of Cuyo and the limit of Los Andes. The perimeter was said to be marked according to law [*con mero impero*], indicating that a set of stone markers have been placed and listed by the city's *alarifes*.

The act continues under the plan, confirming the foundational ceremony and adding some more details on the establishment of its main church. The advocation of Mendoza's church remained being Saint Peter, this being one of the decisions that carried on from Castillo's plantation to Jufré's. Finally, the document details how the plan was traced and its parcels distributed:

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[938] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

*...señalaba e señaló solares a los bezinos que son en esta dicha çibdad los solares por la horden que aquí ba declarado y seña[lado] según traça de la çibdad, los quales solares an de ser de grandor en frente de dozientos e veynte e cinco pies de doze puntos ca[da pi]e las calles de treynta e çinco pies de ancho de la misma medida y si se mudare la dicha çibdad tengan la misma hord[en e t]raça que tiene ésta,*

[...(Jufré) would mark and marked parcels for the settlers that are in this said city the parcels by the order that here appears declared and marked according to the plan of the city, which parcels must be in size up front of two hundred and twenty five feet of twelve points each foot the streets of thirty-five feet wide of the same measure and if the city would be moved (the parcels) will have the same order in the plan than this one,] [939]

Jufré used the exact same grid, sizes, and proportions as Castillo: 225 feet for blocks and 35 for streets, without distinction between main and secondary axes, dividing all blocks in four parcels. He also respected Castillo's assignation of the blocks in the four corners of the plan, reserved for the monastic orders of San Francisco and Santo Domingo, the hospital "of natives and Spaniards" [*de naturales y españoles*], and the Spanish Crown. Most of Jufre's modifications were introduced in the center of the plan, redistributing parcels to his associates, moving the council house, and granting a whole block for the church, among other changes. Some institutions like the prison seem to be missing. Blank parcels may have kept the same owner as in Castillo's distribution. Another possibility is that their original settlers had fled back to Santiago given the delay of the whole foundational process.

Finally, this section features a clause opening the possibility to move the new town once more if deemed necessary, conserving the measures of the plan and its distribution. It is the same basic formula applied by Castillo. This detail, summed to the vague distance between both plantations and the lack of a description of the new site, further supports the idea that this second foundational act was mainly a political action to ascertain Jufré's authority. The site of the new city of "Resurrección" may have been virtually the same as Mendoza. What really mattered for Jufré and his collaborators was not the location of the town but the re-arrangement of its real state and the modification of its power balance.

### *June 5th: annotation regarding the marking of ejidos*

In the same way as Castillo, Jufré did not distribute farming land at the moment of the plantation. Those were marked later on June 5th, as it was recorded in a paragraph on the right side of Mendoza's plan:

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[939] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

*Otrosi dixo el señor general que a visto las tierras vacas que junto a esta çibdad ay y que atento (sic) a que para pro de la dicha çibdad dixo que daba e dió de la parte de leste y de la parte del sur y a la parte del ueste y a la parte del norte, e le daba e dió todo a la redonda seys leguas para términos desta çiudad y baldíos y pueda dar y señalar el cabildo desta çibdad, asientos y estançias para ganados y otras cosas con tal que no sea en perjuyzio de los naturales y no teniéndolos y poseyéndolos los dichos yndios y naturales a quien perteneçieren y fueren suyas, y ansí lo mandava y mandó.*

*Ques fecho a çinco días del mes de junio de mill e quinientos e sesenta y dos años,*

[Additionally said the lord general (Jufré) that he has seen the empty lands that are besides this city (Mendoza) and that in attention to the benefit of the said city (he) said that he would give and gave from the area at its east and the area at its south and the area at its west and the area at its north, and he would give and gave all around (the city) six leagues (of land) for the lands of this city and barrens so that the council of this city can give and mark sites (for crops) and pastures for livestock and other things provided that they are not in prejudice of the natives and that the said indians and native do not have them or possess them or belong to them or were their own, and in this way he (Jufré) would order and ordered.

Done on five days of the month of June of one thousand and five hundred and sixty-two years,] [940]

Jufré's indications for the distribution of farming lands and pastures was not much different from Castillo's: a grid of parcels all around the urban grid, marked and divided by the council in representation of the founder, with total freedom as long as they respected the areas used by the natives. The addition of this paragraph at a later date shows once more how the tracing of rural areas was not considered as politically powerful as the plan of the city and its central square. In fact, Jufré didn't bothered to produce a plan of *ejidos*. This side note would suffice to assure his privileges as founder of Mendoza, remaining on site as its major and royal representative until 1570. Would have been the case for Castillo? May have received the same treatment at Spain if he had not provided a second plan detailing the distribution of *ejidos* and other foundational actions? Most probably not. Pedro del Castillo was acting against an unfavourable political atmosphere, full of adversaries that would gladly send him back to Spain in shackles and not with his protector García Hurtado de Mendoza. In contrast, Jufré enjoyed Villagra's protection for a long period. He enjoyed a position solid enough, providing ample time and stability to act slowly but surely. It is proven by, among other things, the

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[940] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

fact that he waited 14 years to produce official copies of his foundational plan and issue them to the Indies Council.

### Mendoza as it was finally built

The first documents presenting Mendoza's urban morphology after the foundation are of a much later date. Territorial maps of Cuyo such as the one traced in 1761 feature the city as an abstract grid, without showing any buildings or roads of any kind (Figure 250). Such is the weight of the foundational abstraction. The earlier visual testimony of Mednoza's real distribution is the plan known as "of the Bethlemites," the religious order that built a monastery besides the foundational district, next to the corner block reserved for the hospital (Figure 251). Regardless of the widespread of Mendoza's foundational plan in urban historiography, the real form of this city was not that of a perfect grid but a much more pragmatical structure, adapted to the natural features of the site where it was settled. The main square was moved one block west, modifying the positioning of the council, the church, and other institutions. Most religious orders left their assigned blocks at the corners of the grid and built their churches and monasteries elsewhere. The course of the river Mendoza and its seasonal floods required the construction of a channel known as Zanjón to the east, as well as the adaptation of some of the streets, ruining the regular network of equally sized roads envisioned by both Castillo and Jufré.[941]

According to Adolfo Omar Cueto, this deviation from the planned city of Mendoza to its built form is due to the dense political and protocolary meanings embedded in its foundational acts.[942] The decisions taken by founding agents such as Pedro del Castillo, Juan Jufré or their parallels in Sierra Sur, where framed by the legal dimension of the town, the macro-management of the borderland, and the game of power being played across it. However, in both cases, it was the city council who ended being in charge of the construction of the town, a slow process that would take generations before producing a stable morphology. In all the cases of new towns analysed up to this point, the plantation plan acted more as a general urban rule, a collective property title, and a foundational constitution for the new town as its settlers than as an urban project in the contemporary sense. Then, it was the council alone who faced the challenges of urban life, such as the absence of the expected quantity of settlers, unexpected floods and illnesses, or political pressures emanated from provincial capitals. All these had direct effect into the form of the city.

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[941] J. Roberto Bárcena, "Arqueología e historia urbana: investigaciones en la ciudad y el conurbano mendocino," *Chungará (Arica)* 36 (September 2004): 187–96, https://doi.org/10.4067/S0717-73562004000300021.

[942] Cueto, "La Fundación de La Ciudad de Mendoza y Sus Primeros Doscientos Años (1561-1761)," 30.
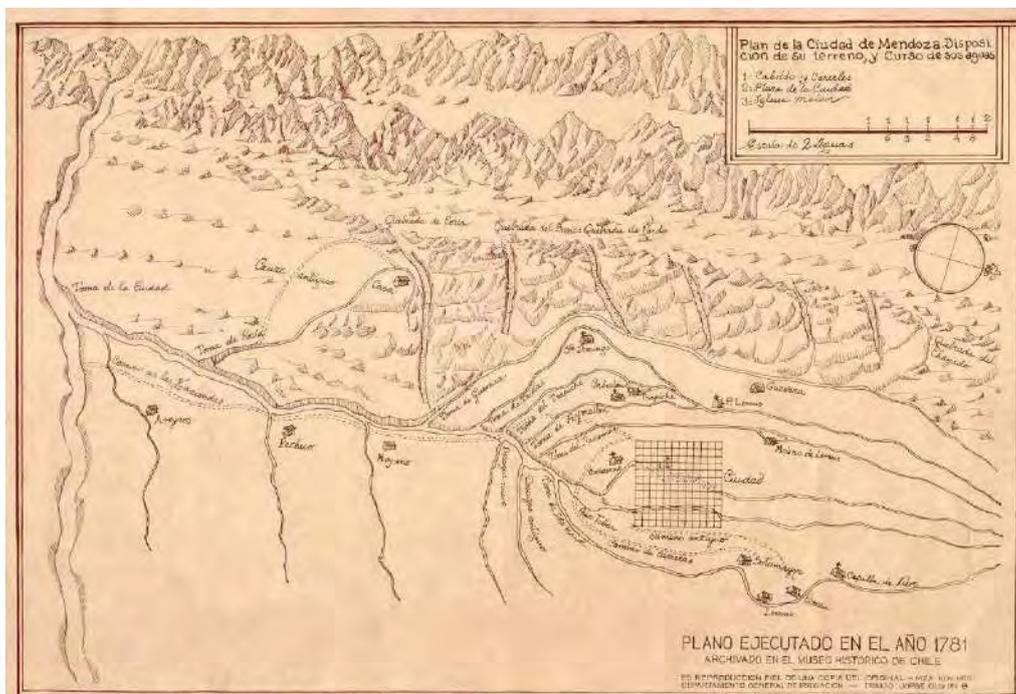
**Figure 250: 1761, "*Plano de la Ciudad de Mendoza. Disposición de su terreno y curso de sus aguas*", copied in 1920. © Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza. [943]**

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[943] *Plano de la Ciudad de Mendoza. Disposición de su terreno y curso de sus aguas* (Mendoza, Argentina, 1761), Archivo General de la Provincia de Mendoza.
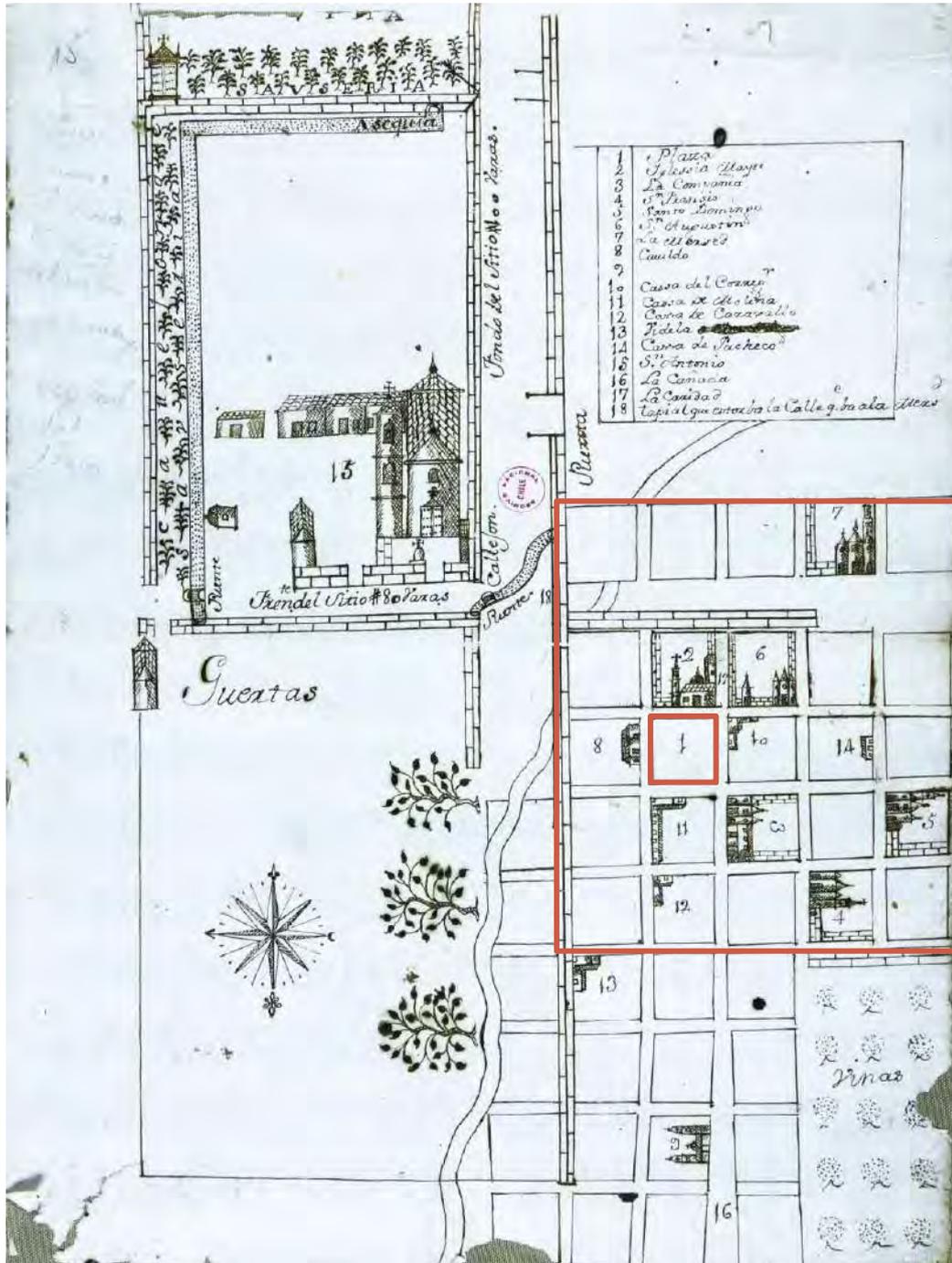
**Figure 251: 1764, Plano de Mendoza y tierras del convento de Betlehemitas. © Archivo Nacional de Chile.**[944]

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[944] Capitanía General Fondo, *Plano de Mendoza y Tierras Del Convento de Betlehemitas* (Argentina, Mendoza, 1764), ARNMA Archivo Nacional Histórico MAP N°347, Archivo Nacional de Chile - Fondo Capitanía General.

According to Adolfo Omar Cueto, this deviation from the planned city of Mendoza to its built form is due to the dense political and protocolary meanings embedded in its foundational acts.[945] The decisions taken by founding agents such as Pedro del Castillo, Juan Jufré or their parallels in Sierra Sur, where framed by the legal dimension of the town, the macro-management of the borderland, and the game of power being played across it. However, in both cases, it was the city council who ended being in charge of the construction of the town, a slow process that would take generations before producing a stable morphology. In all the cases of new towns analysed up to this point, the plantation plan acted more as a general urban rule, a collective property title, and a foundational constitution for the new town as its settlers than as an urban project in the contemporary sense. Then, it was the council alone who faced the challenges of urban life, such as the absence of the expected quantity of settlers, unexpected floods and illnesses, or political pressures emanated from provincial capitals. All these had direct effect into the form of the city.

If its basic compositive rules were respected and conserved it was not because of the power of the plan as a technical document followed by literate builders, but because it had a direct impact on the settler's properties and their obligations to maintain them. In this way, the general rule of the grid was flexible enough for the councils in each town to adapt their grid to the natural disposition of their assigned sites. The modification of the grid should not be considered as a failing of the foundational plan, but as a success in stablishing a set of civil institutions with enough independence to take their own decisions and act in consequence.

## The foundation of Villa de Leyva, Colombia, 1572-1582. Geopolitical context, foundational act, and partition plan.

### Tunja and the region of Boyacá in the kingdom of Nueva Granada

The origins of Villa de Leyva as a second-generation colonial settlement share a series of features with Mendoza and other cities of this kind. It was projected as a secondary town dependant on a provincial capital, with limited access to self-governance policies, born from a complex political context, and subjected to movements and translocations. In this case, the city to which Villa de Leyva was tied is Tunja, capital hub of Boyacá province located 150 Kms. north of Bogotá (Figure 252). Tunja was created as a sister-settlement to Santa Fe de Bogotá and planted only a few months after it. The first entrance in the minute book of Tunja's council dates its foundation on August 6th, 1539, when the Captain Gonzalo Suárez Rendón traced the square, planted the mast and the whipping post. [946]

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[945] Cueto, "La Fundación de La Ciudad de Mendoza y Sus Primeros Doscientos Años (1561-1761)," 30.

[946] Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, ed., *Libro de Cabildos de La Cibdad de Tunja 1539-1542*, vol. I (Tunja: Ediciones del Concejo, 1941), 3–12.

**Figure 252: 1889, map of the colonial territories in Colombia, 1538-9, as traced by Agustín Codazzi and Manuel María Paz in their Geographical and Historical Atlas of the Colombian Republic.[947] Santa Fe de Bogotá and Tunja are highlighted. They are 150 Kms. away from each other.**
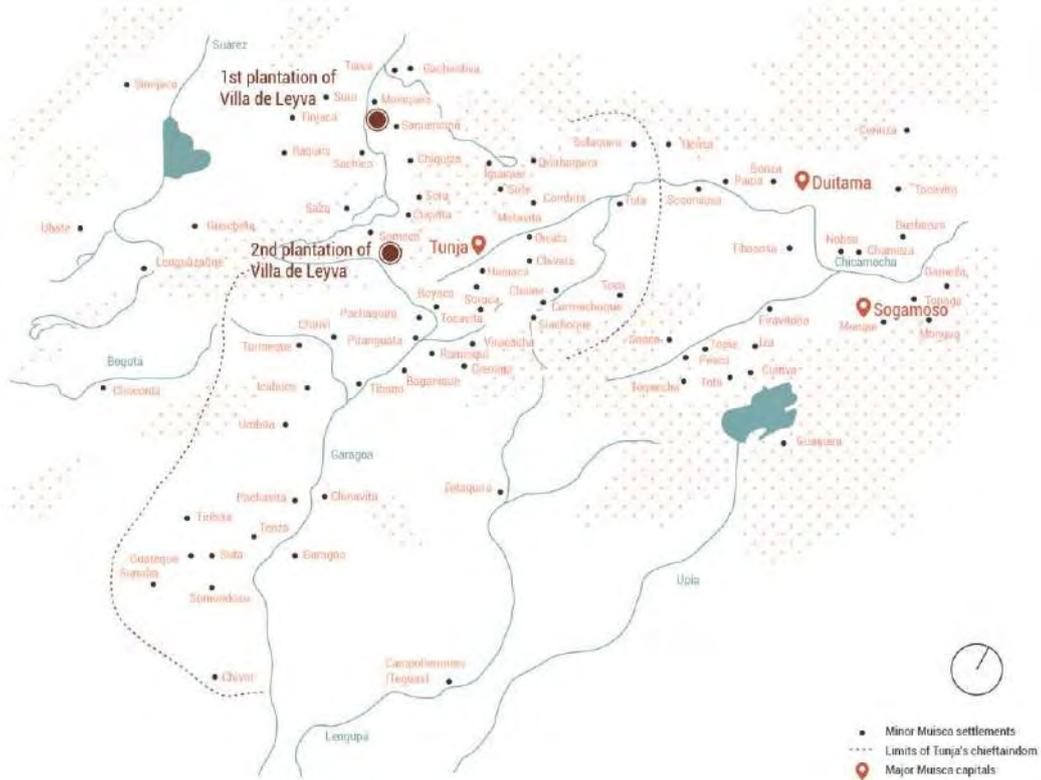


**Figure 253: Native settlements and Muisca centers of power at Boyacá at the time of the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. Adapted from the original by Eduardo Londoño.[948]**

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[947] Agustín Codazzi and Manuel María Paz, *Primeras divisiones coloniales de Colombia, Ecuador y Venezuela, 1538*, Atlas Geográfico e Histórico de la República de Colombia (Antigua Nueva Granada) (París: Imprenta A. Lahure, 1889).

[948] Eduardo Londoño Laverde, "Guerras y fronteras: los límites territoriales del dominio prehispánico de Tunja," *Boletín Museo del oro* 32–33 (1992): 4.

Suárez Rendon took possession of the site by walking across it and cutting some branches, asking those present during the ceremony, and taking them as witnesses. The act also includes the appointing of majors and officials, as well as the usual clause allowing for the relocation of the city if deemed necessary. During this act, Rendón was acting under direct authorization of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada who ordered the plantation of Tunja "before he parted to render account to His Majesty" [*antes de que de esta ciudad (Bogotá) y reinos partiese a dar cuenta a Su Majestad*].[949] Bogotá and Tunja controlled the provinces of Cundinamarca and Boyocá, the main seats of the Muisca native culture, known together as the *Altiplano Cundiboyacense*. This region operated as the main colonial hub in the Kingdom of New Granada, with also included the regions of Santander, Arauca, and Casanare. Later on, it would rise as the capital of the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, including territories of Ecuador, Venezuela, and Panamá.

Before the arrival of Quesada's expedition, Boyacá was one of the most populated Muisca provinces in the region with at least three major settlements or *cacicazgos*: Tunja, Duitama, and Sogamoso (Figure 253).[950] Tunja would become the main colonial plantation of the region, while Duitama and Sogamoso were kept as native reserves or *reductos*, under the rule of Spanish *encomenderos*. Tunja's council minute book features some early records on the exclusion of the original native population settled at that site, taking their lands and annexing them to the Spanish colonial grid.[951] For example, on August 22nd, 1539, the council recorded the authorization to Juan Izquierdo to take possession of native lands around the city and a petition from the major Juan de Pineda to take possession of a "fenced parcel" [*cercado*]. On August 29th, Juan de Salcedo was granted possession of a group of "old native houses" [*bohíos viejos*] next to his property. Most probably, those native houses were not so old and certainly not unoccupied.

Still, the main objective of Tunja was not to eliminate native population but to control it, concentrate it in certain areas and manage their force labour in benefit of the colonist. Areas such as the Lake of Fuquene and the Valley of Leyva, abundantly populated during the pre-Hispanic period, maintained remained relatively free of colonial plantations during the first decades after Tunja's foundation, even though they were subjected to its political control.[952]

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[949] Ortega Ricaurte, *Libro de Cabildos de La Cibdad de Tunja 1539-1542*, I:7.

[950] Carl Henrik Langebaek Rueda, *Los herederos del pasado: indígenas y pensamiento criollo en Colombia y Venezuela*, 2 vols. (Bogotá: Universidad de Los Andes: Ediciones Uniandes, 2009).

[951] Ortega Ricaurte, *Libro de Cabildos de La Cibdad de Tunja 1539-1542*, I:25–27. For a more contemporary take on the foundation of Tunja and the development of its urban life, see: Luis Eduardo Wiesner Gracia, *Tunja, ciudad y poder en el siglo XVII*, Colección Educación UPTC 70 años. (Tunja: Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, 2008); Luis Eduardo Wiesner Gracia, "Ciudad y poder en la provincia de Tunja en los siglos XVI y XVII" (Tesis Doctoral, Sevilla, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2012); Leonardo Santamaría Delgado, "El urbanismo colonial en la ciudad de Tunja," *Designia* 4, no. 2 (October 24, 2017): 61–81, https://doi.org/10.24267/22564004.230.

[952] On Muisca archaeological studies at Fuquene and Leyva, see: Carl Henrik Langebaek, "Antecedentes indígenas del urbanismo colonial en dos regiones de Colombia: los Andes

Tunja - provincial capital - 1539
Villa de Leyva - farming settlement and hub of native forced labour - 1562-72
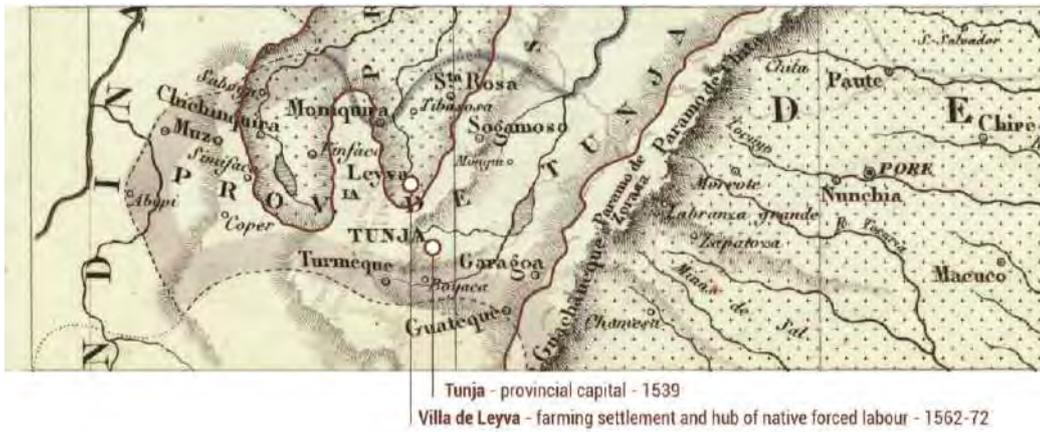
**Figure 254: 1827, map of Boyacá by José Manuel Restrepo. Tunja and Villa de Leyva appear highlighted, as well as the mountain ranges that separate them. © David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.**



**Figure 255: 2014, Muisca sacred site currently known as "El Infiernito" at the Valley of Saquencipá, five kilometres away from Villa de Leyva. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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orientales y el Valle de Aburrá. Una visión desde la Arqueología," *Revista de Estudios Sociales*, no. 11 (2002): 47–55.

### June 12th, 1572: First act of possession of the Valley of Saquencipá and foundation of Villa de Leyva[953]

By the beginning of the 1570s Tunja was already a densely populated colonial city with more than 200 houses built with whitewashed brick walls.[954] It housed the families and descendants of its first settlers, but also later generations of Spanish explorers newly arrived from Spain. Some of these included frustrated expeditions such as the ones led by Pedro Malaver de Silva and Diego Fernández de Serpa. Their failure in creating any new settlements meant that their soldiers have been granted no lands or properties, leaving them in a quite uncomfortable situation. This fact, summed to the presence of criollos in search of their own ambitions, lead Tunja's council to seek authorization for the creation of a new town. Such a project would strengthen the Spanish presence in the region and their control of the native population, while also satisfying the urges of colonial soldiers and agents who, if left unattended, could potentially provoke a political turmoil.

The new plantation would be led by Hernán Suárez de Villalobos, provincial governor of Tunja, and Miguel Sánchez, major of Tunja. They had been previously authorized by the first governor and general captain of Nueva Granada Andrés Díaz Venero de Leyva, whose surname was passed on to the new town as a tribute. Villa de Leyva was always meant to be located at the opposing site of the Iguaque mountain, providing a strategic separation close to Tunja but separated by a natural wall (Figure 254). However, the site of its first plantation was further west at the Valley of Saquencipá, known for its abundant native population and sacred places (Figure 255). In this way, the colonizers were following the same strategy as three decades before, placing themselves in sites that were already known for their capacity to sustain large communities.

The original act for the foundation of Villa de Leyva is conserved at Tunja's regional historical archive along with other documents dating from the early days of the new town (Figure 256). Its lines, recorded on June 12th of 1572 by the public notary at Tunja's council Joan Ruiz Cabeza de Baca, follow the actions performed by the founding agents in a similar fashion to Sierra Sur and Mendoza. It begins with the administrative background of the plantation, including the petition presented for a new town and the discussions regarding its placement:

*...declaro que el pedimento se presento por parte de las personas que pidieron la dicha villeta y otros más términos de la dicha ciudad de Tunja que ha convenido para mejor acertarse la fundación de esta dicha villa y que menos inconveniente y perjuicio se pueda seguir a ninguno de los naturales de la*

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[953] Transcription available at Appendix 5. Originally published in: Pedro Gustavo Huertas Ramírez, "Transcripción: Acta de Fundación de la Villa Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyba," *Repertorio Boyacense de Historia*, no. 337 (2001): 143–46.

[954] Wiesner Gracia, "Ciudad y poder en la provincia de Tunja en los siglos XVI y XVII," 100. Based on several reports and *visitas* transcribed and published in: Hermes Tovar Pinzón, *Relaciones y Visitas a Los Andes, S. XVI*, 4 vols. (Santa Fe de Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura Hispánica, 1993).
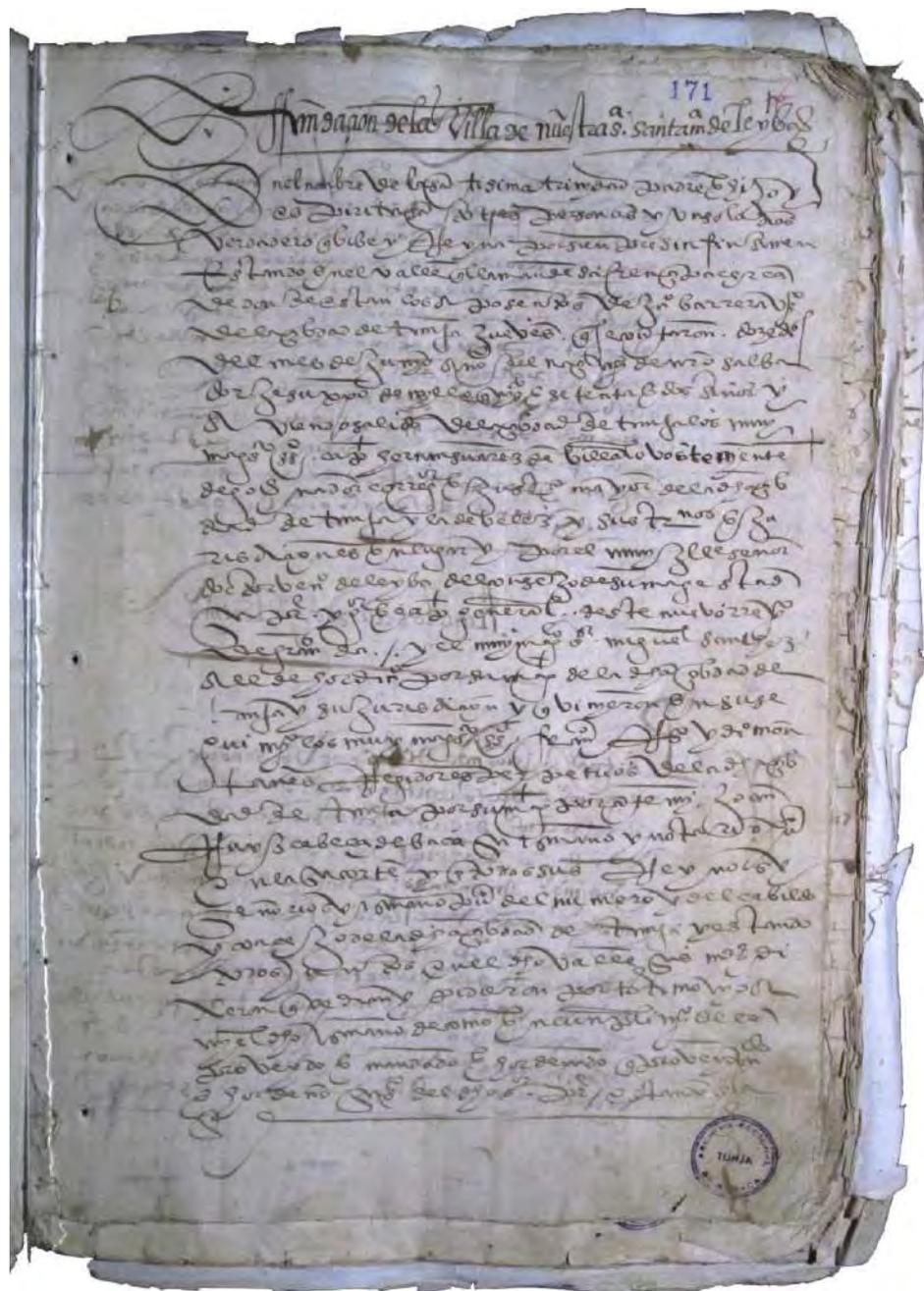
**Figure 256: June 12th, 1572, first page of the act for the foundation of Villa de Leyva, recorded by Joan Ruiz Cabeza de Vaca, public notary of Tunja's council. © Archivo Histórico Regional de Boyacá, Archivo Histórico de Tunja.[955]**

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[955] Ruíz Cabeza de Vaca, "Acta de Fundación de la Villa Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyba" Archivo Histórico Regional de Boyacá, Archivo Histórico de Tunja, Leg. 8, no 19 (fols 171-173).

*dicha comarca ni a otras ningunas personas particulares y que mejor se pueda servir a Dios Nuestro Señor y a su majestad y después de haber visto y esaminado los dichos sitios y lugares más convenientes y cómodos por el dicho efecto después de haberse juntado sus mercedes dos veces y hechos dos cabildos y ayuntamientos para tratar e platicar sobre lo suso dicho de unanimes y conformes y ninguno de sus mercedes discrepante, dixeron que hallavan y hallaron y declaraban y declararon que el mejor sitio y lugar mas comodo y conbiniente y mas acertado y de mejor sitio y lugar y de las partes y calidades que se requieren para semejante fundación era y es el dicho valle de "Sacrezipa"...*

[... I (Hernán Suárez de Villalobos) declare that regarding the petition presented by the people who demanded the said small town (*villeta*) and lands in of the said city of Tunja it has been decided that for the better success of the foundation of this said villa and with less inconvenient and prejudice for any of the naturals of this said region or to any other particular people and to best serve God Our Lord and his majesty and after **having seen and examined** the said sites and places more convenient and comfortable for the said effect after having met your graces two times and having done two council meetings to discuss and talk about the aforementioned unanimously and conforming and none of your graces discrepant, they said that they would find and found and would declare and declared that the best site and place more comfortable and convenient and right and of best site and place and with the features and qualities required for such a foundation would be and is the said valley of "Sacrezipa"...] [956]

In this introductory section, after having presented all the agents involved in the plantation, Hernán Suárez de Villalobos discusses how a decision was made for the location of the new town. Although the founder does not provide much detail on what specific features makes the site appropriate for a new town, he delves into the conversations leading to the election of this specific site. Firstly, he mentions that the plantation was due to a petition from the people of Tunja, not a royal commandment. This puts Villa de Leyva on a separate category to other new towns, presenting a game of politics framed in the local sphere, unrelated to the Royal Council. Then, Suárez reports to have visited, seen, and examined – similar to "see with eyes sight"- the locations available for a new town, and having discussed them during two meetings and two city councils. The councilmen reached a unanimous decision, choosing the Valley of Saquencipá as the most appropriate place. Among its supposed advantages there was, of course, its "less inconvenience" to the naturals. We have already shed doubt over statements such as this in documents analyzed previously. In this particular case, the native disconformity with this decision would be immediate, strong, and long-lasting, as

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[956] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets and highlight added by the author.

we will see further on. After this discussion, the notary provides some details on the site's location:

> ...*juntamente conmigo el dicho escribano fueron a un sitio y lugar donde estan unos cardones y cerca de una sierra de lo mas bajo de lo alto de ella que hace dos quebradas en la falda de la dicha sierra que bajan hacia lo llano de la dicha sierra y cerca de un arroyo de agua que viene por cerca de los aposentos del dicho Juan Barrera...*

> [... (the commission of founders) along with me the said notary (they) went to a site and place where there are some big thistles (*cardones*) and near a mountain at the lower are of its higher part where the slope is divided in two falling to the lower valley of this mountain and near of a water stream that comes close of the quarters of the said Juan Barrera...] [957]

The information provided in this section matches with the general area of Saquencipá: an elevated position at one of the lower hills in the valley, dominating its surroundings. This position, along with the access to running water, complied with the principles for the plantation of healthy towns of which the notary and the other founders were perfectly aware. There is also a mention to Juan Barrera, a Spanish citizen of Tunja who had some lands in property at this site. This connection is highly relevant, as their lands would be respected by the trace of the new town, contributing to their consolidation and connection with the colonial road network. Was the foundation influenced by Barrera in his benefit? May his "quarters" be the place where the natives under his charge lived or worked? Whatever the case, he received privileged parcels in the newly traced city, including urban lots at the main square and a farming area adjacent to his quarters. After this description, the record goes on with the naming of the city and the confirmation of its dependence to Tunja:

> ...*en el dicho sitio y lugar donde estan los dichos cardones y unas matas altas del suelo y arbolillos pequeños tomaban e tomaron la posesión de la dicha villa de Nuestra Señora de Leiba en el cual dicho sitio y lugar con las dichas espadas que tenían en las manos desenvainadas en señal de la dicha posesión y fundación de la dicha villa sujeta a la dicha ciudad de Tunja, cortaron de las dichas ramas y se pasearon en el dicho sitio en nombre de su majestad declarandola por villa y aldea sujeta a la dicha ciudad de Tunja.*

> [...at the said site and place where there are the said big thistles (*cardones*) and some high bushes and small trees (the founders) would take and took the possession of the said *villa* of Our Lady of Leiba at the said site and place with the said sword that they had drawn in signal of the said possession and

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[957] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

foundation of the said *villa* subjected to the said city of Tunja, (the founders) cut from the said branches and walked across the said site in the name of his majesty declaring it as *villa* and town subjected to the said city of Tunja.] [958]

This section follows the traditional formula for possession taking, much similar to the protocol applied by Juan de Rivadeneyra and his associates at Sierra Sur. Walking the land and cutting branches from trees and bushes was way of signalling possession that any settle could use, from the humblest farmer to governors and officials such as those present at Villa de Leyva. The detail of taking out the swords and using them at part of the performance is new. It was most probably inspired by the early modern Spanish narrative during the American conquest, imbuing a civil foundational act such as Villa de Leyva's with military symbols and images that do not really match with this kind of open plantation. It may also be used as a symbol of the governor's authority and his colonial power towards both Muiscas and Spaniards in an attempt to intimidate any potential protestors. Through this act, the new town was named as "*Villa de Nuestra Señora de Leyb*a", later shortened as Villa de Leyva.

Another relevant detail in this section is the insistent use of the term *villa* (town) instead of *pueblo* or *ciudad*. In a previous line of the record, the notary even used the diminutive term *villeta*. According to the Spanish territorial hierarchies of the time, a villa was a minor town that only had a minimum number of majors and appointed officials, depending on the provincial capital for most institutional and legal procedures. Villa de Leyva was as dependant of Tunja as Valdepeñas and the other towns in Sierra Sur were of Jaén. Political tensions would soon arise, and Villa de Leyva would soon try to achieve its independence. The council at Villa de Leyva would petition it to the Royal Council in several occasions, even offering to pay a sum of 10.000 ducados in a similar way to how the towns of Sierra Sur and many others in Spain bought their privileges of royal villa.[959] However, Villa de Leyva did not have the same luck as its Europeans siblings. It did not cut its ties with Tunja until late the late 18th century.

The act goes on with the procedure to appoint majors, officials, and deputies in the new villa, following the same procedures used in other towns of the region. The founders insisted on the lower rank of Villa de Leyva, stating that it should state "without being attributed to the said villa more jurisdiction that the one with which it was ordered and gifted and commanded by the lords in justice and regiment" [*sin que sin que se le atribuya a la dicha villa mas jurisdicción de aquella que fuere ordenado y se ordenare y proveyere y mandare por los dichos señores justicia e regimiento*]. It seems as the founders were well aware of how popular it was for small towns in privileged locations such as this to seek independence from the province's head. The reiterative mention to its prohibition was a way to ensure

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[958] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.
[959] Wiesner Gracia, "Ciudad y poder en la provincia de Tunja en los siglos XVI y XVII," 178.

that Villa de Leyva would remain under control for as long as possible. They also performed physical actions to assert it:

> *...añadiendo fuerzas a fuerzas y firmeza de la posesión que de la dicha villa y fundación de ella tomaron los dichos señores corregidores e alcaldes y en señal de la dicha posesión y de otros autos, que corporal y justicia y "velcasimente" hicieron mandaron hacer e se hizo luego un mojón de raíces de cardones y piedras y se puso y mandó ponerse luego una cruz alta en señal de la dicha posesión...*

> [...adding forces over forces and firmness of their possession that of the said villa and foundation over it (the authority) they took the said lords and royal representatives and majors and in signal of the said possession and of many other decrees, that in body and justice and law the ordered to make and it was done a marker of roots of big thistles (*cardones*) and rocks and it was placed and it was ordered to put later a high cross in signal of the said possession...]
> 960

The founders, all powerful appointed governors and official from Tunja, took possession over Villa de Leyva's government and marked it with a physical representation of their authority. In this way, there are two ceremonies for possession taking in the act of Villa de Leyva, one for taking the possession over its land, and another to reaffirm the possession over its government and jurisdiction. Both were performed by actions involving the bodies of the founders and the soil under their rule. After this act, they added the usual clause regarding the eventual movement of the city to a new site:

> *...tomaban e fundaban con cargo de cada y cuando y en cualquier tiempo que conviniere mas al servicio de su Majestad mudar la dicha villa del dicho sitio y lugar lo puedan hacer sus mercedes o otro cualquier justicia y regimiento que es o fuere de la dicha ciudad de Tunja...*

> [...(they) would take and took for as long as it were convenient to the service of his Majesty to move the said villa from the said site and place and this can be done by your graces (the founders) or any other justice and regiment who is or will be from the said city of Tunja...] 961

The formula is conventional for the most part, except for the nuance that only the appointed officials of civil institutions (justice) or the military (regiment) at Tunja had the power to move the plantation. The council at Villa de Leyva was not authorized to move its own town in case of need.

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960 English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.
961 English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

In the next section, the act estates the acceptance of the "many people" who was present at the ceremony, all of them remaining in peace and without protest [*quedaron en ella pacíficamente sin contradicción*]. The notary went even further and wrote down that every one of them said that the foundation was right and convenient [*todos dixeron ser cosa muy acertada y conveniente*]. It is not stated to what extent did this "every one" included the Muisca people. Finally, the foundational ceremony ended with a pending order to trace its plan, distribute properties among settlers, and appoint officials:

> *...se fundó y tomó la posesión de la dicha villa y reservaron sus mercedes en sí de proveer luego y cada que bien visto les sea lo demás que convenga al servicio de su majestad en la dicha villa y vecinos que de ella fueren y señalar la plaza y solares y sitios que en ella se hubieren de dar y proveer y los demas oficios de justicia e regimiento e ordenanzas de ella y se tomó por nombre y patron y debocion de la dicha villa al bien aventurado San Antonio de Padua cuya víspera fue y es hoy...*

> [...it was founded and taken the possession of the said villa and your graces reserved for themselves the right of further ordering whatever they see fit and convenient to the service of his majesty in the said villa and the settlers of it to mark the square and the parcels and sites of it to be gifted and distributed and the other appointments of justice and regiment and ordinances (deputies) of it and it took for name and patron and devotion of the said villa to the blessed San Antonio de Padua whose eve was and is today...] [962]

In sum, the foundational act for Villa de Leyva on June 12th, 1572, included the visit and election of its site, the taking of its possession, its naming, the imposition of Tunja's authority over it, the announcement of how officials should be elected and appointed, and the dedication of its church. The church would be in charge of Fray Sebastian de Ocando, head of the Franciscan monastery at Tunja, adding one more hierarchical tie towards the capital. However, the foundation was not complete. It was missing the election and appointment of officials, the tracing of the plan, its distribution, and the taking of possession by each one of the settlers. Still, the founders ordered for the foundation to be announced as a success at Tunja that same day. The announcement was made by voice of Antón, black slave of Mata Gualteros, citizen of Tunja. The official notary Joan Ruiz Cabeza de Vaca was there. He wrote it down and certified it with his sign.

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[962] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.

**Figure 257: 1572, first plan of Villa de Leyva included in the foundational book (top). © Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia.[963] Vectorization of Villa de Leyva's first plan (Bottom). © Manuel Sánchez García.**

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[963] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo," fol. 22.

### December 12th – 21st, 1572: First plans and distribution of parcels at Villa de Leyva.

The plan of the city and its distribution were coordinated by Juan de Otálora, royal accountant at Tunja. According to the records conserved the Colombian National Archive, Otálora was appointed for the task on December 12th of 1572.[964] The first urban plan for Villa de Leyva was traced and signed on December 14th as a document of notarial nature, and as such it was included with the rest of acts of that date, including the list of settlers, the assignment of parcels, the taking of possession, and all other procedures that remained on hold since June (Figure 257). This is the oldest foundational plan for any Spanish city in Colombia. Other early modern representations prior to this point were not developed in the moment of the plantation but later on. The plan features a core of 24 square blocks divided in four quarters in the same fashion as Mendoza, with two additional blocks at the left side and three at the top, divided in halves. There is no indication of the plan's orientation. Vertical streets appear to be wider than horizontal ones, but this may well be produced by the tracer's lack of precision as some blocks feature mistakes and crossed words. The parcels for the church, the council and the king are all located around the main square, accompanied by higher ranking settlers. Among them there is also Joan Barrera at the lower block, besides another complete block reserved for his quarters or *aposentos*. A number of parcels were left blank, probably waiting for future settlers. The completion of this procedure was announced at that same site by *Juan Diego*, Muisca native translator [*yndio ladino*] at the service of Juan Barrera who read the act with a "high and intelligible voice" [*en altas e ynteligibles bozes*].[965]

A later record from December 15th included in this same folder features the first plan of ejidos for Villa de Leyva (Figure 258). Its distribution is quite unorthodox, making it seem more like a quick sketch or diagram than a plan with direct legal consequences (Figure 259). The urban center is featured in its center as big square labelled as "pueblo" (*town*). Next to it we find once more the *aposentos* of Joan Barrera, most probably an area of farms and pastures associated to the urban parcels he owned. Barrera was also granted the right to manage the mill of Villa de Leyva, of which he took possession that same day.

Two major roads go out of the town, the "road to the mountain" [*camino del monte*] at the left and the "road to the water" [*camino que da al agua*] towards the bottom area. A column of parcels have been traced to the left of the town and a small grid at the bottom, occupying the space between these roads while leaving a blank space between them and the urban center. Most of the lots are numbered from 1 to 49, although only 40 were distributed among the settlers. Their size is inconsistent but most probably it was not due to a real difference in their measures but a result of the low technical quality of the plan. The 30th parcel seems to have double the area of the ones around it. The parcels between 46 and 49 are on a

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[964] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, fol. 11.
[965] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, fol. 24 r.

separate line of plots, traced with an oblique orientation in respect to the town and the rest of the plots. The lands at top area of the plan were assigned to the town's council and its institutions [*propios de la villa*]. Two minor roads exit the town towards the right, one labelled as *camino de sachica* and the other as *camino chanvita*. Sáchica and Gachanvitá were two native settlements located at the southwest and the north of Saquencipá, indicating that the "road to the mountain" would lead to Iguaque, hence the plan would be oriented towards the south-west. The distribution of the plan matches with the elevated position of the site, with most of the farming lots located close to the nearest water source.

The record follows with the distribution of farming lands and the acts of possession taking for each settler, applying the usual formula. The notary also recorded actions such as the placement of a whipping post at the main square to perform public punishments at Villa de Leyva, adding the mandatory note about its judicial dependence on Tunja. On regards of the foundational site, Otálora added that it was the most convenient place for the health of its inhabitants, due to the equilibrate temperature, the abundance of fruit, water, wood, and other materials, as well as the presence of silver mines. Otálora was acting by all means as the person in charge of the distribution and the plan, combining the roles that Juan de Reolid and a number of Jaen's deputies had at Sierra Sur. In fact, from the record it seems that Otálora was quite pleased with the result accomplished in this plantation. According to him, the land of Villa de Leyva was "the best in all these parts of the Indies and in the realms of Spain" [*es la mejor que hay en todas estas partes de las Indias y en los reinos de España*].[966]

Despite the quality of Villa de Leyva's site and lands, was not advancing smoothly. The first sign of it is the time period between the naming of the town and the tracing of its plan. In Mendoza, the first distribution of lands was simultaneous to its first foundation, even though the plan of *ejidos* was not traced until six months later. At Sierra Sur, none of the new towns was named and officially founded until the trace was already prepared and the parcels marked at the site. However, in Villa de Leyva, the naming of the city was disconnected from any real distribution of properties for half a year. Even after the assigning of parcels and the taking of their possession, the new town remained vacant. On January 29th, 1573, Juan de Otalora met with the settlers of Villa de Leyva and reminded them of the obligation to build their houses and work their lands within 3 months [*edifiquen sus casas y començen a labrar sus guertas y tierras dentro de otros tres meses*].[967] He also ordered the newly appointed council to meet for the first time in open discussion with the rest of the settlers [*se junten en su cabildo a concejo abierto*] and organize the construction of the church, which was considered one of the most essential symbols of a stablished city.

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[966] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo." This particular line appears transcribed in: Arango, "Reflexiones Históricas Sobre La Fundación de Villa de Leyva."

[967] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo," fol. 86.
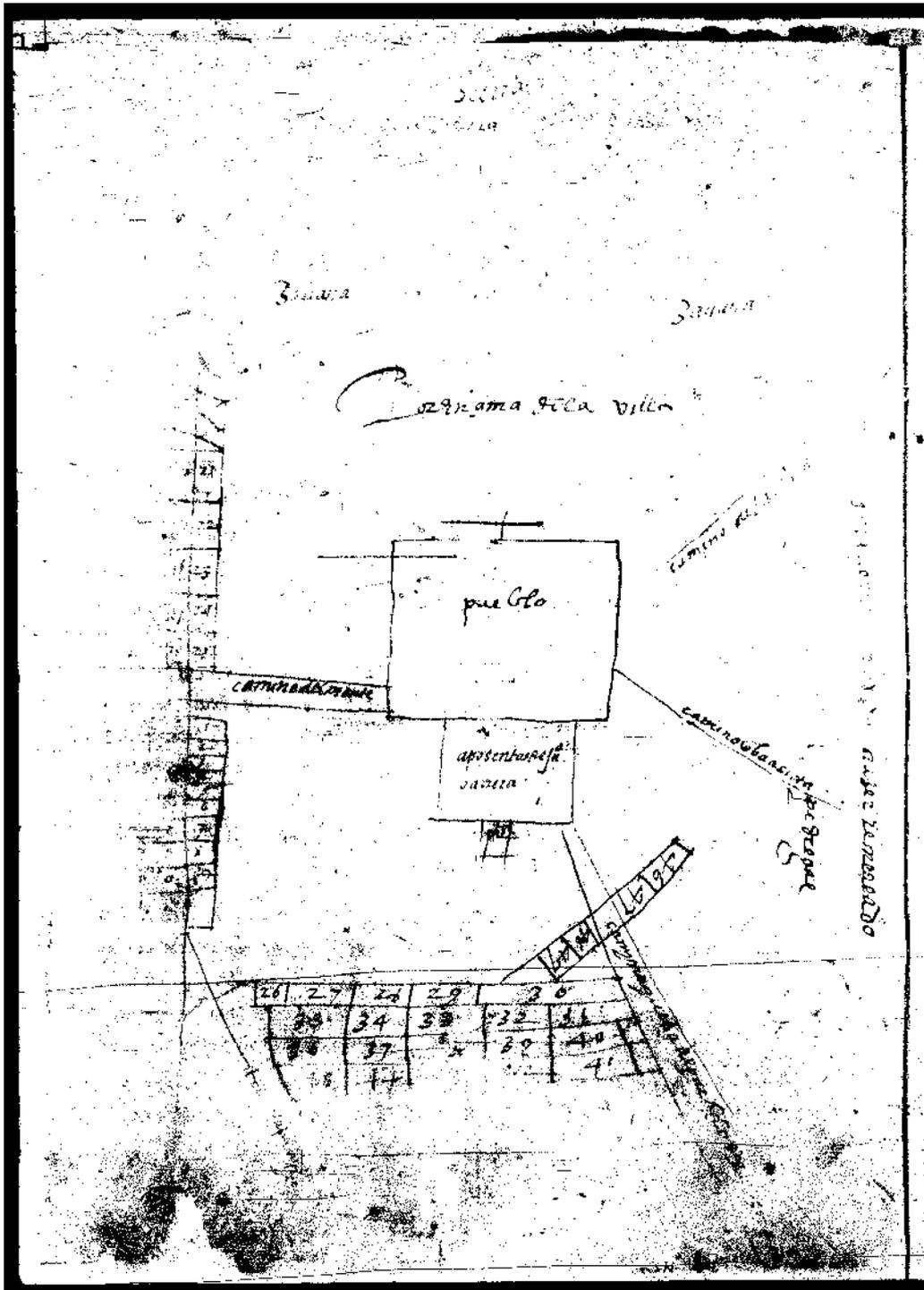
**Figure 258: 1572, first plan of Ejidos for Villa de Leyva, including 49 farming parcels around the urban core of the plantation, the residence of Juan Barrera, and the roads coming out of the city towards diverse locations. © Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia.**[968]

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[968] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, fol. 25 r.
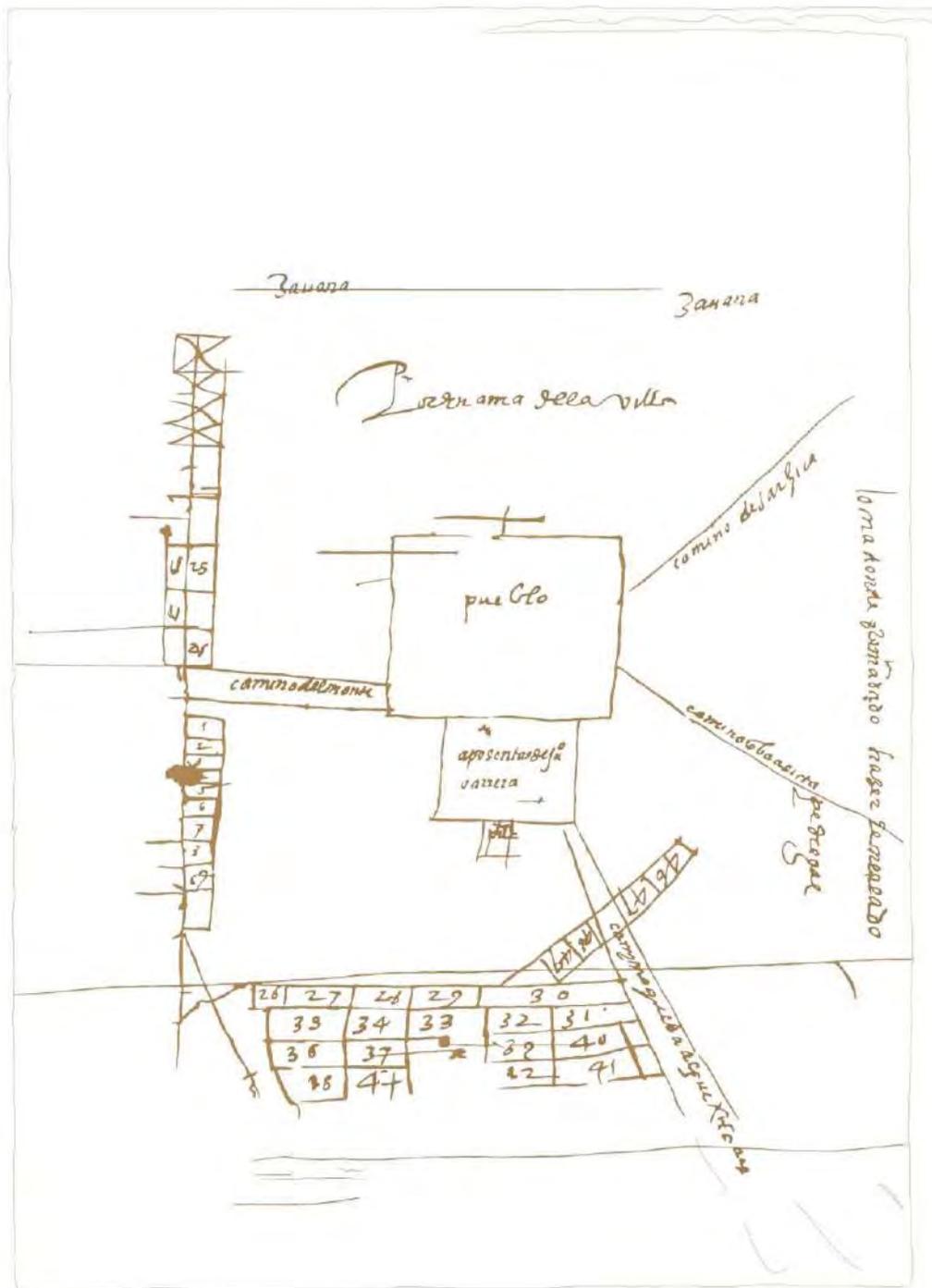
**Figure 259: Vectorization of Villa de Leyva's first plan of *ejidos* from 1572. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

### From 1572 to 1582: Protests and demands against the plantation of Villa de Leyva.

The lack of enthusiasm for the settling of Villa de Leyva was largely due to social and legal conflicts with the Muisca community at the site. Not only were their numbers larger than most other native groups in the regions but Saquencipá featured some of the most sacred places at Boyacá, relatively unperturbed by the colonists up to this point. The decision to plant a new town at this specific place took a considerable group of Muiscas out of their farms and houses, creating a political turmoil that would last for a decade. Taking lands and possessions of peaceful natives was out of the Spanish legal framework of the time. Even if that eventually happened in most colonial regions, the process was managed through *encomiendas* and native reductions called *pueblos de indios*, which became particularly popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The events of Villa de Leyva took place at a stage when the Muisca communities at Boyacá were largely linked to Spanish colonizers through *encomiendas*, but still very large in numbers and not reduced to specific native settlements. Native chieftains who were involved in negotiations with the Spanish explorers at their arrival in 1539 were still around, acting from privileged positions and fighting legally to make effective their promised privileges. They were highly involved in the protection of their communities, and some of them even send reports to Europe and travelled themselves to the Royal Court to present their demands personally.[969]

By planting a new town in the middle of Saquencipá, the governors of Tunja and the listed settlers were harming the interests of native groups, their chieftains, the Spanish *encomenderos* who benefited of their forced labour, and the Dominican priests in charge of their Christian indoctrination. Their response was immediate. Reports and petitions against the foundation of Villa de Leyva include the accusations by the chieftain of Sáchica and his encomendero García Zárate, the report by Don Luis de Iguaque to the Royal Audience at Santa Fe, and the report by Fray Alberto Ariza, among others.[970] Of course, neither Hernán Suárez de Villalobos or Juan Otálora referred in their foundational acts to any complains from Muiscas or Spaniards. According to their record, all native groups present during the successive ceremonies showed themselves to be content and satisfied. In this particular case we know of the truth they were hiding because this was already an stablished colonial region, but something similar could have happened during the

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[969] For example, one of the most relevant Muisca natives in this region was Don Diego de Torres, chieftain Tumerqué, who issued a petition the Royal Court in 1574 to conserve his chieftain rights and, in 1586, issued the most detailed report conserved on the grievances committed on the Muisca community at Nueva Granada, which is conserved at the Archivo General de Indias: Diego de Torres, cacique de Turmequé, "Memorial de agravios de Diego de Torres, cacique de Turmequé, 1584-1586" (Santa Fe de Bogotá, 1586), PATRONATO,196,R.16, Archivo General de Indias. He would travel twice to Spain, receive audience at the Royal Court and serve in official positions. For more on this figure, see: Luis Fernando Restrepo, "El cacique de Turmequé o los agravios de la memoria," *Cuadernos de Literatura* 14, no. 28 (2010): 14–33; Rappaport and Cummins, *Beyond the Lettered City*.

[970] Arango, "Reflexiones Históricas Sobre La Fundación de Villa de Leyva."

plantation of Mendoza without any recognized chieftain, *encomendero*, or priest being able of protesting. Even if the plantation may have not been violent, it was definitely aggressive and harmful to the communities in place, regardless of how vacant or unused the lands were said to be.

### May 10th, 1582: Second foundational plan of Villa de Leyva.

The legal conflict at Villa de Leyva would progress toward higher authorities who recognized the harm done, at least partially. Additional administrative processes were put in place, eventually involving the royal representative and high deputy of Tunja Captain Antonio Jové. He was ordered to visit the still deserted site of Villa de Leyva at Saquencipá and to move it to a better position, attending to the legally required procedures. On May 8th of 1582 Jové appointed a measurer and visited a new location for the city south of Saquencipá, closer to Tunja at a higher level of the slopes of Iguaqué, where the city stands today (Figure 260).



Figure 260: 2017, satellite view of Villa de Leyva in its current form. Each block is a square 120 meters long. © Google.

The act for the new plantation was performed on May 10th and recorded by Martín de Lucuriaga, official notary at the council of Tunja. It was included in the same folder as the other foundational documents of Villa de Leyva conserved at the Colombian National Archive, featuring an urban plan (Figure 261) and a plan of *ejidos* (Figure 262).[971] The act begins with the introduction of Captain Jové and the naming of the new villa:

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[971] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo," fols. 126–145. This author of reference for its study is Alberto Corradine Angulo. See: Corradine Angulo, "Fundación de Villa de Leyva y Su Desarrollo"; Corradine Angulo and Mora de Corradine, *Historia de la arquitectura colombiana*; Alberto Corradine Angulo, "Ciudades, villas, pueblos y parroquias | La Red Cultural del Banco de la República," *Credencial Historia - Red cultural del Banco de la República*, 2002, https://www.banrepcultural.org/biblioteca-virtual/credencial-historia/numero-147/iudades-villas-pueblos-y-parroquias. For other studies on Villa de Leyva, see:

*Estando en la sierra de la nueva población de la Villa de Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria, que es en el valle de Saquencipá jueves diez días del mes de mayo de mil e quinientos e ochenta y dos años, estando en la plaza que se ha señalado para la dicha Villa, el muy ilustre Capitán Antº. Jove, Corregidor y Justicia Mayor de la ciudad de Tunja...*[972]

[Being at the mountain of the new settlement of the **Villa de Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria**, which is at the valley of Saquencipá Thursday 10 days of the month of May of one thousand and eighty-two years, being at the square (*plaza*) that has been marked for the said Villa, the most illustruous Captain Antonio Jove, royal representative and High Justice of the city of Tunja...] [973]

This introductory paragraph follows the usual structure for this kind of acts. One element stands out: the villa has changed its name, from Villa de Nuestra Señora de Leyva to Villa de Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria. Most probably this was a premeditated action, symbolizing a political change and distancing the new plantation from its tumultuous past. Whatever the case, the new name did not stick, as we will see later in this same document. Another interesting detail is that the notary locates the action at the "square that has been marked," inferring that both the site and the plan for the new plantation had been prepared prior to its official foundation. After the presentations, Jové took out his sword and announced:

*...que para su servicio de Dios Nuestro señor y en nombre de Su Majestad el Rey don Felipe nuestro señor, mudaba y mudó la dicha Villa al sitio y lugar que tiene trazado, mandaba y mandó que los vecinos estantes y habitantes en la dicha Villa se muden al dicho sitio y lugar y en él planten y edifiquen sus casas y moradas y hagan sus casas donde mandó que estén y vivan como en Pueblo de Su Majestad y para que su real justicia sea ejecutada y los delincuentes castigados, en medio de la dicha plaza hizo poner y puso un palo hincado en el suelo el cual sirva de rollo y picota y que la dicha Villa y pueblo conforme a la primera fundación y reedificación sea como hasta hoy ha sido y de jurisdicción de la dicha ciudad de Tunja...*

[...for the service of God Our lord and in the name of His Majesty the King Don Felipe our lord, (he) would move and moved the said Villa to the site and place that is marked, he would order and ordered that the settlers present at it and dwellers of the said Villa move to the said site and place and in it plant and build their houses and dwellings and make their houses where (he) ordered them to be and life (in them) as in a Town of His Majesty so his royal

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[972] The partial transcription of this act has been taken from: Arango, "Reflexiones Históricas Sobre La Fundación de Villa de Leyva."

[973] English translation by the author. Terms in brackets and highlights added by the author.

justice is executed and the offenders punished, in the middle of the said square he made them put a trunk pinned to the ground to be used as mast and whipping post and that the said Villa and town following its first foundation and its re-construction must be as it was until today of the jurisdiction of Tunja.] 974

With these lines, the new founder officially enacted the displacement of the city to its new site that, once more, is said to have been previously marked and prepared. The act is again imbued in military symbolism, making use of swords that would likely been deemed unnecessary if the foundational process didn't involve Muisca groups and agents. Based on his military authority, Jové ordered the settlers to build their houses as they have been marked in the plan, insisting in the obligation which with they had not complied at the first site. He also ordered the whipping post to be erected and used always under the higher rule of Tunja. The record then follows with the act of possession taking performed by Jové over the new site:

> *...y estando en el dicho sitio e lugar de la dicha plaza con la dicha espada desnuda y alta en la mano dio y tiró una cuchillada al dicho rollo, lo cual dijo que hacía e hizo en señal de posesión y para adquisición de posesión e guarda del derecho, patrimonio e corona real, en cuyo real nombre lo ha mudado e muda según y conforme a los aditamentos y condiciones contenidos y declarados en la primera fundación y reedificación e que agora de nuevo tomaba e tomó posesión en nombre de Su majestad y de su real corona, declarándola por Villa y aldea sujeta a la dicha ciudad de Tunja y a la Justicia Mayor y Cabildo de ella...*

[...and being (Jové) at the said site and place of the said square with the said naked sword in his hand up high (he) slashed the said mast, which he said to have done in signal of possession and acquisition of the possession and guarding of the right, heritage and royal crown, in which royal name (he) have moved and moved (the city) according the requirements and conditions contained and declared in the first foundation and in the re-construction that now once more he would take and took in the name of His majesty and his royal crown, declaring it as Villa and town subjected to the said city of Tunja and the High Justice and Council of it...] 975

The act of possession taking runs parallelly to the declaration of the new site and name of the city. They feature the same symbols: the mast, the plan, and the reference to God, the king, and Tunja. However, from a legal point of view, the naming of the town and the taking of its possession were not the same action.

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974 English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.
975 English translation by the author. Terms in brackets added by the author.
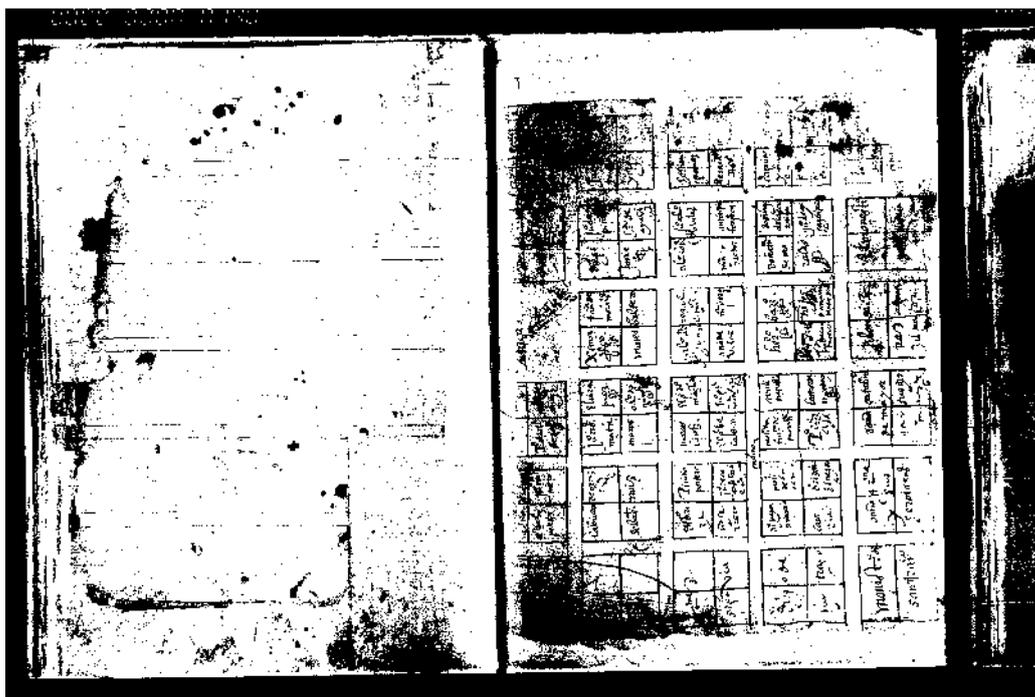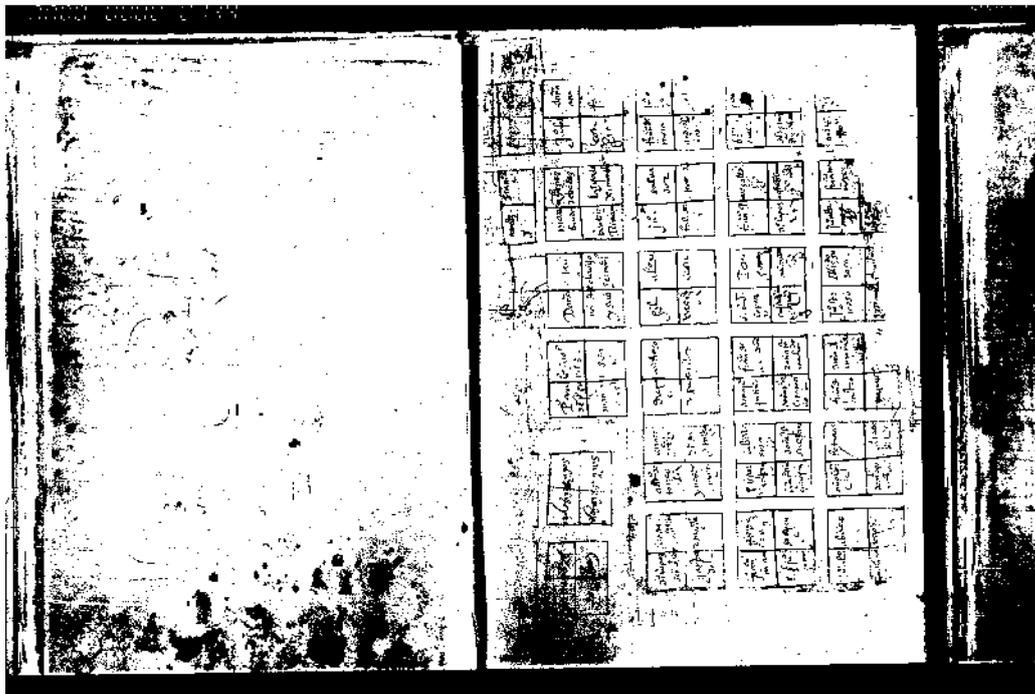
**Figure 261: 1582, second foundational plan of Villa de Leyva, included in the foundational book. © Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia.**[976]

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[976] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, "Fundación de la Villa de Leiva, disposiciones del resguardo," fols. 139–140.
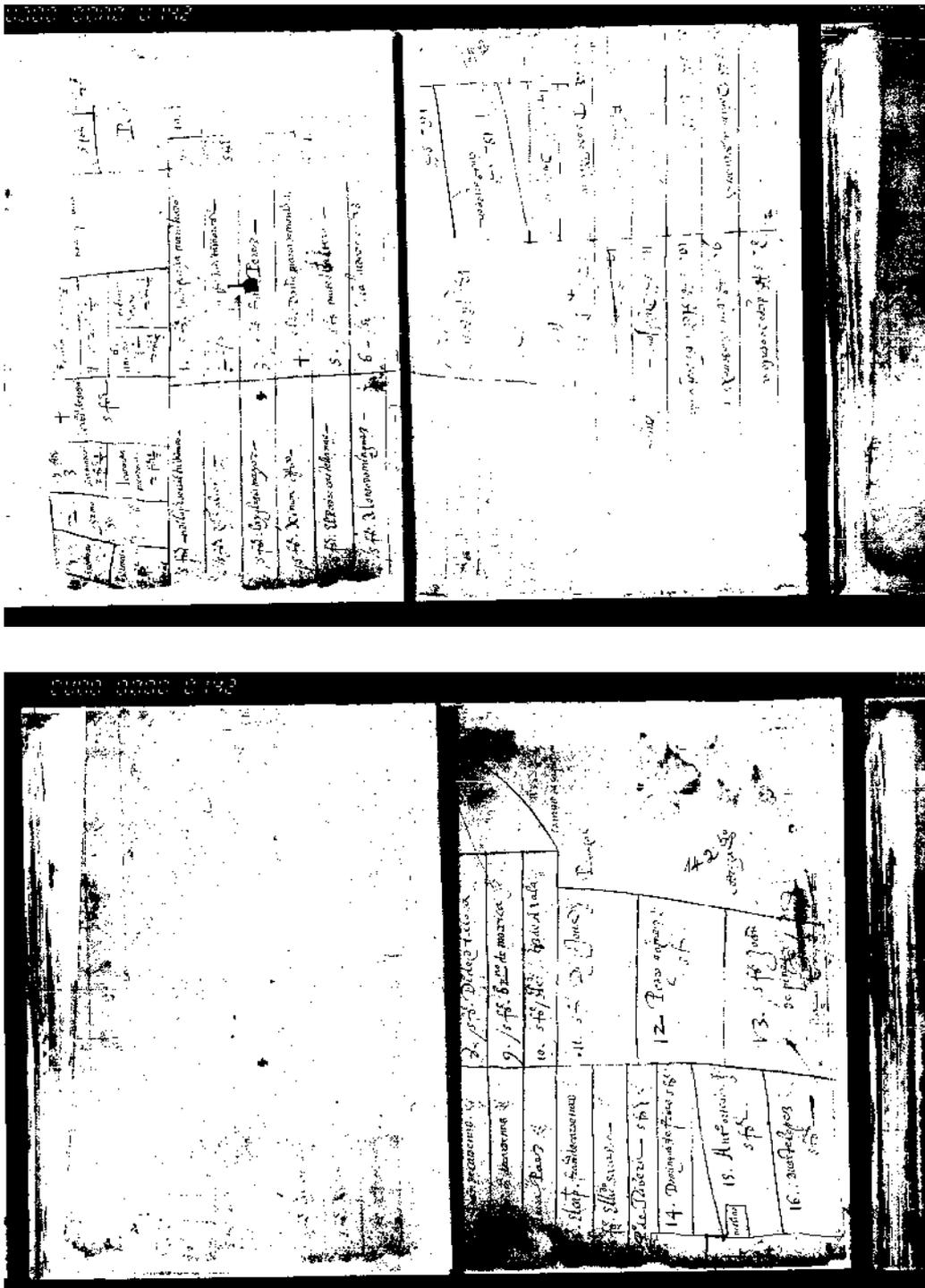
<span style="color:#2e74b5">**Figure 262: 1582, plans for the distribution of farming lots at Villa de Leyva, included in the foundational book. © Archivo General de la Nación de Colombia.**</span>[977]

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[977] Cabildo de Villa de Leiva, fols. 141–142.

Each of them was fulfilling different requirements for the foundation, hence they were performed and recorded separately. Again, the sword is used a powerful symbol and a show of the founders rank of captain, even though the plantation of a city was not a military procedure by any means.

The foundational act includes two more sections, both following the same formula as the previous pair. In the third one, Jové authorized the new town to elect and appoint their own majors and officials according to the regulations shared with other towns in the colonies, insisting on their dependence on Tunja as the regional capital. Finally, the act finishes with a new act of possession taking, once more with the sword unsheathed, in which Jové reaffirms the taking of lands in the new foundational site "bodily and judicially" [*auto que corporal y judicialmente hizo*]. The body of the founder, as well as those of the settlers, were equally important for the act to have legally binding effects. In that final deed, Jové ordered to signal the place of the church with a big cross and insisted in the new name of the town as Villa de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria. The document finishes with the signatures of Captain Jové, the notary and an abundant group of witnesses, all settlers of the new town and/or citizens of Tunja.

Even though the notary recorded that no person spoke against Jové's actions [*pacíficamente sin contradicción de persona alguna*], they would immediately be questioned. Further on, the settlers of Villa de Leyva met for the first time and, by hand of the same notary Martín de Lucuriaga, they recorded the following:

> *Los vecinos de esta villa de Nuestra Señora de Leyva que aquí firmamos nuestros nombres los que tenemos solares y huertas y suertes de tierras en este dicho asiento, donde al presente está poblada y fundada, decimos que de nuestro pedimento y del Procurador General de esta villa se ha pedido y suplicado a v. M. mandase mudar y pasar dicho pueblo de la otra banda de la quebrada, por ser el sitio y asiento donde se pretende mudar, tierra dispuesta y aparejada para edificios perpetuos y V.M. administrando justicia en el caso ha mandado que se pase y mude y que este dicho pueblo y asiento donde al presente estamos...*

> [The citizens of this **villa of Nuestra Señora de Leyva** who here sign our names who have parcels and orchards and lots of land in this said settlement, where at the moment is settled and founded, we said that by our request to the General Procurator of this villa it has been petitioned and begged to His Majesty to order to move and pass the said town to this other side of the ravine, for it is the site and place where it is meant to be moved, with the land prepared and marked for perpetual buildings and His Majesty administering justice in the case has ordered to be passed and moved to this said town and settlement where at the moment we are...] [978]

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[978] English translation by the author. Highlighted text by the author.

**Figure 263: Vectorization of Villa de Leyva's second foundational, 1582, in which the two fragments conserved have been combined into a single plan. It is oriented to the North-East. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

With these lines, the new settlers of Villa de Leyva not only accepted the new site for their city, but also conserved the original name of the town by using it in one of the very first official documents produced by its council. The fact that they did not protest during the foundational performance of Captain Jové, does not mean that they were not planning to defy some of his decisions.

In this same act, the settlers of Villa de Leyva referred to the distribution of parcels in the new site, originally laid out by Jové and his collaborators (Figure 263). In general terms, it follows the general rules that the first one, with a grid of square blocks and streets of the same width, without distinction between primary and secondary axes. Each block is 120 meters long including the square, an open space with no urban mobiliary or elements other than the whipping post. The plan has an oblique orientation toward the north-east, following the slopes of mount Iguaque. The church and the council house were placed at the south-west block of those with a façade towards the square, the higher of the fourth, presiding over the public space and creating a monumental image despite the lack of architectural decoration or expensive materials (Figure 264).



**Figure 264: 2014, plaza mayor at Villa de Leyva, facing the main church, the council house, and the mountain of Iguaque in the background. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

The blocks in the grid are divided in four quadrants measuring 60x60 meters. Some of them were distributed individually while others were combined as a larger provision of land, depending on the rank of the settler. For example, individuals such as Sebastián Ruiz or Francisco de Morales received a pair of lots each. Others like Diego Alfonso and Hernando Barrera received a complete block

to be shared with their sons. Others like Diego de Buitrago or Gómez de Segovia received complete blocks by themselves. The main native agents who protested against the first plantation and followed the procedure until 1582 also received properties in this second one, namely the chieftains of Saquenciá, Monquirá and Suta. There are also women to be found such as Doña Gracia, Doña Catalina de Mayor, and Doña Catalina, probably widows of settlers from the first foundation or of other men whose promised privileges were being gifted here after their decease. Religious orders were included in the plan in a similar fashion to Mendoza, with a whole block reserved for the Franciscans and another for the Dominicans, both at the south-west border of the plan. Services such as the butcheries and the mills also appear in the plan, assigned to the council or to settlers. Some blanks parcels complete the plan, providing a general image much similar to those of Mendoza and Mancha Real. The proportions and the orientation may have changed, but the general ordering logic stayed the same, charged with the political hierarchies and social conflicts of its time.

Even though the main urban elements of this second plantation match with Villa de Leyva's final built form, some scholars have discussed the possibility of the plans being mismatched, so the 1572 plans would, in reality, be the one of 1582. Their main argument is based in the number of blocks in the plan, since the number of blocks built in the town's foundational center are closest to the smaller plan of 1572. However, as we have seen in previous examples, the foundational plan of a colonial new town is not equivalent to its built form. Most often, the trace had to be adapted to the conditions of its site, while the demographic ups and downs would delay the construction of many of its parcels indefinitely. At Mendoza, the original square was moved to a different block and the grid of streets lost its regularity to make space for water streams. At Valdepeñas de Jaén, some of the blocks laid out during the foundation in 1539 were not built until the beginning of the 20th century, while others were modified to avoid the course of the Badillo river. Most foundational plans were as ambitious as their settlers, seeking to secure the property over new and attractive lands even though they may not had the resources to build their houses and put their lands into use.

The plan of *ejidos* included in the second plantation act of Villa de Leyva offers one additional argument towards this flexibility in the foundational grid. This plan presents a simple structure of elongated farming parcels numbered by columns, each marked with the name of its owner (Figure 265). It includes parcels for the church and the priest, as well as for all the settlers. It also features a mill that may be that of Hernando Barrera, mentioned in the settler's acceptance of Jové's plantation. Similarly to the urban plan, the plan of farming lots is drawn in two separate pages that match which each other. The particularity here is that the act includes a second version for its lower section, expanding the parcel of Diego Jové, number 11 in the right column, over the lands assigned to Pedro Gómez, with the number 12 (Figure 266).

**Figure 265: Vectorization of the first of Villa de Leyva's plan of** *ejidos* **from 1582. © Manuel Sánchez García.**
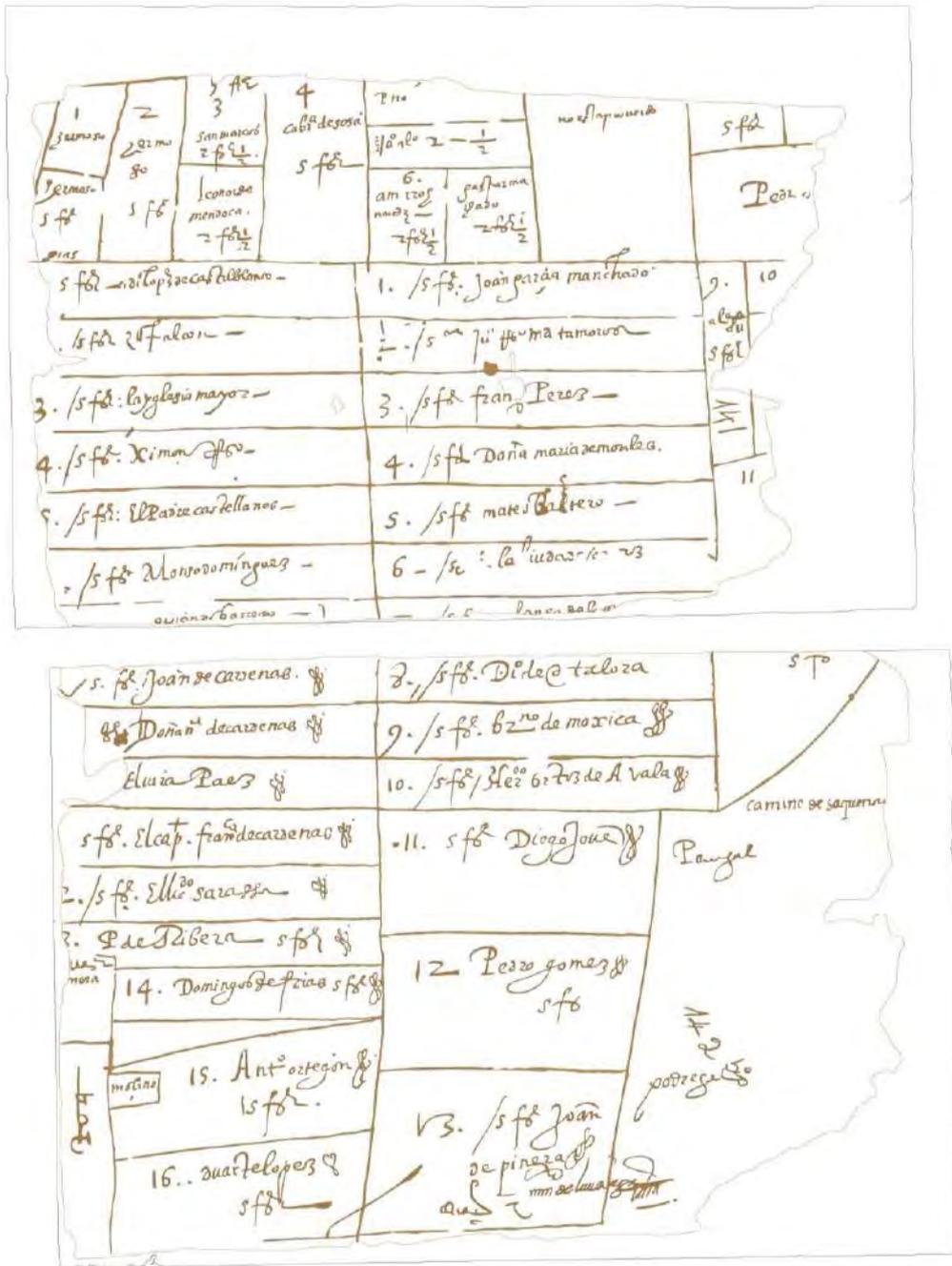
**Figure 266: Vectorization of the other Villa de Leyva's plan of *ejidos* from 1582. This version includes signatures over the names marked in parcels at the lower section of the plan. Its structure features some minor modifications in relation to the other version. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

That second version of the plan incorporates signatures in each of the plots and some additional indications over elements such as the road to Saquencipá or a rocky area [*pedregal*] near the modified parcels, indicating a higher level of development. If there is a second version also for the upper section of the *ejidos* plan, it is not archived in the same folder as the others. In any case, this change evidence that the foundational plan, with its grid and its numerous requirements, was not a rule set in stone but a support to the records, acts, and decisions regarding the plantation of the town. The grid was not the ends but the means, hence it must not be studied out of its documental context, embedded in complex folders of notarial nature. The management of public and private interests on the creation of new towns and the property over their lands was always complex and conflictive, often involving judicial processes in court and the intervention of third parties to reach compromises and agreements. As a response to this situation, the grid was a tool to coordinate individual ambitions into one more or less coordinated collective effort. The rules for the foundation of cities, with the Spanish grid as its most visible result, was more than anything a framework in which those agreements could be developed. Its legal tradition was old, rooted on medieval law and Hispanic territorial dynamics. Its convenience for the colonial control of territories and native populations through written processes largely explains its greater success during the early modern period up until the American revolutions. No one was surprised when, after conquering the Mapuches and the Pampas at the southern regions of Latin America, the already independent nations of Chile and Argentina used the very same grid to urbanize their lands in the 19th century.

### Impact of Villa de Leyva and conservation of its colonial heritage.

After its second plantation in 1582, Villa de Leyva became the main hub for native forced labour in Boyacá, surpassing Tunja and positioning itself as a meeting point for merchants and *encomenderos*. Their impact on the native population of Boyacá would be massive. According to the 1584 report by Diego de Torres, more than 50.000 Muiscas died after within the first decades of Spanish domination due slavery under the encomienda regime, sicknesses, tortures, and other aggressions. This fact was noted down by De Torres in a map of the province of Boyacá, the oldest conserved for this region, showing Tunja at its center within a dense urban network, including the site of Saquencipá (Figure 267). Even though the colonizers would eventually mix with the native population a new colonial hierarchy of *mestizos* and *criollos*, Muisca culture would never recover.

Today, Villa de Leyva is a town of roughly 17.000 inhabitants. While small for the Colombian standard, it is considered one of the main attractors of national and international tourism in the Andean region. Its center is very well conserved but highly gentrified, kept in stasis. Its main square is often presented as almost untouched since its colonial origins, even though its morphological transformations and activity changes are more than evident. The history of its two plantations is told time after time to both visitors of any kind, incorporating a diversity of nuances and meanings depending on the speakers and their audiences.
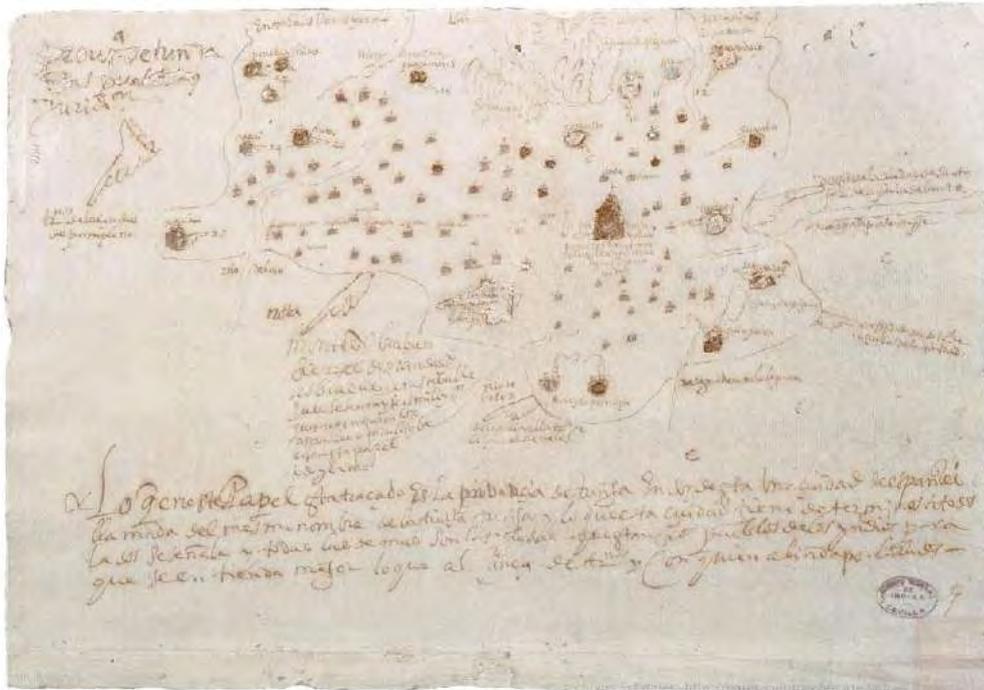
**Figure 267: 1584, map of the province of Tunja by Diego de Torres, Muisca chieftain of Turmequé, included in his report to the Indies Council about the state of the government of Nueva Granada (top). Detail of the plan showing the capital city of Tunja and the sites of Suto and Saquencipá under it (bottom). The text on the left reads: "*En este río había infinidad de Indios todos los han consumido en las faenas que de más de cincuenta mil indios no han quedado ninguno*". The map is oriented eastwise, with the road leading to Santa Fe at the right side. © Archivo General de Indias.[979]**

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[979] Diego de Torres, Cacique de Turmequé, *Plano de la Provincia de Tunja, sus pueblos y jurisdicción*, Sin escala (Santa Fe de Bogotá, Colombia, 1584), MP-PANAMA,7, Archivo General de Indias, Mapas y Planos.

The Spanish grid has a starring role in Villa de Leyva. The streets are straight, paved in stone and purposely preserved from asphalt paving. The size of the blocks allows for coherent exterior façades that often hide interior passages and *patios* of a more intimate scale. However, regardless of this idyllic colonial image and its reinvention as a touristic product, the foundational plan of Villa de Leyva is not as well-known as others in Latin America. Although its relevance is widely acknowledged as the oldest plan of its kind in Colombia, it has not been digitized with contemporary means. The only digital reproduction available of it are the series of microfilms included in this dissertation. Some authors such as Corradine and Angulo have provided redrawn versions of it in the past. *Siblings Overseas* adds one more iteration to that methodology, applying vectorial drawing tools and providing a model that can be scaled up without resolution losses. Moreover, this project approaches the plantation acts of Villa de Leyva in parallel with those of Mendoza and the new towns of Sierra Sur, in an attempt to overcome the limitations of earlier works focused only on the grid and its morphologic nuances. Actions and words that would seem innocuous such as visiting the site to "see it by eyes' sight" or founders and settlers taking hands to take possession, acquire a great significance when observed under the light of other foundational experiences of this period. The result is a critical reading of its foundational text that combines contributions rooted in the fields of urban history and modern history, *con-text-tualizing* the plan and the Spanish grid within a historical landscape of political and legal meanings.

## 3.4 *Siblings Overseas*: Comparative overview

Through the pages in this chapter, we have connected a diverse set of foundational urban practices in the Spanish Spain, from the early conquest and colonization of the Canary Archipelago to the first cities in the Caribbean Sea, the first non-walled capitals in the mountains of Los Andes, and the legal framework of the Indies Laws, until reaching the plantation of second-generation colonial settlements between 1561 and 1582. The two major cases studied in this chapter, Mendoza and Villa de Leyva, were selected because both of them conserve foundational acts, plans, and other notarial documents that are directly comparable with those of the new towns in Jaen's Sierra Sur, providing an excellent opportunity to read them in parallel and compare which elements do they share and which not. Throughout the description of the documents of Mendoza and Villa de Leyva, certain practices have been highlighted because of their clear similitude, while other stand out for their uniqueness either in the colonial context or in Andalusia. These related practices, laws, agents, actions, and performances are all complex within themselves and in their context, so any simplification in the form of a list or a comparative chart is quite challenging. Not only that: reducing the nuances and differing interpretations presented in the previous sections to a shallow comparison poses the risk of falling in the same reductionism that this very project criticises. For this reason, a brief summary is better suited to synthetize

the points made during this final chapter, while keeping the gates open for future expansion.

### *Political hierarchy*

Probably the most relevant aspect shared by the *siblings* presented in this dissertation is their character as secondary settlements subjected to the government of an older and larger provincial capital. This condition is behind the similitude between the documents produced during the foundations at Sierra Sur Mendoza and Argentina, the delays suffered by all of them, the kind of discussions and conflicts motivating them, among other aspects. Moreover, this connection to a close capital from where most of the settlers came, mitigated the urge to build the new cities right after their official plantation, providing a window of time in which notarial processes and lettered activities supply us with much more information than the few foundational buildings conserved in any of them.

The looming shadow of a dominant capital city also motivated an urge for independence that can be felt in all of these new towns. However, the outcomes of their efforts towards this means was very different in each case. The policy of granting/selling royal privileges to small towns enacted by Philip II was readily available for the new settlements in Sierra Sur. They made quick use of it and all four of them had achieved the status of royal villa by the end of the century, producing an array of beautifully illustrated royal documents. Mendoza on the other hand was devised as a provincial capital on its own. Although its plantation depended on the colonial authorities at Santiago and suffered from their political games, after its foundation Mendoza became the capital of Cuyo. From that position, relatively isolated by the Andean Mountain range, it acquired a high level of self-governance. When the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata was created in 1776, Cuyo cut its ties with Chile and got annexed by Buenos Aires, further insisting in its capacity to operate by itself. Villa de Leyva is the case where less self-governance was allowed. It was firmly held by the governors at Tunja as Villa de Leyva operated as the main center of *encomiendas* in the region.

### *Territorial contexts*

All the new towns studied in this dissertation were planted at frontier territories. Their role was key to consolidate them, densifying the network of communications, placing new settlers and their families, and creating institutions responsible for their management and protection. These borderlands present different nuances and features that created very particular situations, denying the old saying often used by Latin Americanists about Spanish grid cities: "seen one, seen all" [*vista una, vistas todas*].

Sierra Sur was a post-conflict frontier. With its demilitarization, it had also lost its role as commercial mountain port and the dynamism it entailed. In consequence, its non-urbanized inner valleys, summed to the lack of activities and the ongoing *morisco* insurgence at Granada, posed a risk for the security of the province. The new towns ordered by Juana I and Charles V were mainly focused on

populating the region to stop that situation, while also providing abundant benefits to both founders and settlers. The Valley of Saquencipá may be compared with this context. It was not a military frontier, but the colonial authorities urged to control the abundant native population settled in it. The lands in it where highly productive and ambitioned by many, contributing to the already tense and complex relationships between Spanish agents, native chieftains, mestizos, *encomenderos*, priests, and many others. Mendoza had a very different objective as it was an advanced settlement towards the uncharted regions east of Los Andes. Other cities would be planted immediately after it, tracing the first colonial networks in Cuyo. This relative disconnection contributed to its later separation from Chile.

### *Founding agents and settlers*

In all the new towns studied there are at least two types of foundational agents: the founders and the settlers. Founders were almost never interested in living in the new town by themselves or even governing it. In Sierra Sur, the new towns were managed by judges appointed by the Royal Council. Some of them had very close relationships with the ruling elites at Jaen, while others were highly independent and achieve success thanks to their negotiation skills. In Villa de Leyva, it was the governors and captains of Tunja who officiated the foundation themselves, imbuing the act with a more authoritarian and militaristic character. In any case, these were non militarized cities, unwalled and devoid of any fortification. Their role was mostly representative. Those responsible for the effective plantation of the town were lesser officials and notaries. In Mendoza, the founders were ambitious officials appointed by two consecutive General Captains of Chile who commanded the operation from their seat at Santiago. While Pedro del Castillo left the town as soon as it was planted, Juan Jufré remained in it for a decade as it first major and governor. These leaders were accompanied by supporting agents such as notaries, tracers, *alarifes*, measurers, announcers [*pregoneros*], among others. Some of them such as Juan de Reolid were illustrious figures on their own and were eventually granted lands in the very same settlements they were planting.

The settlers, on the other hand, were a much more complex group, very different in each plantation. This diversity is the trait they share. At Sierra Sur we can find the original settlers listed in 1508, those added later in 1537, privileged agents close to the Royal Court who received extra privileges, widows and sons of old settlers who have died during the 30 years of foundational process, and even a Granadan *morisco* aristocrat, Juan Tavera *El Africano*, who was gifted more lands than any other settler in Sierra Sur. At Mendoza we find a cohesive group of settlers parted from Santiago. Their main disparity was not caused by their status but by their political allegiance, confronting the followers of the first founder Pedro del Castillo with those loyal to his adversary, Juan Jufré. The *Huarpes* present at the region of Cuyo participated in these actions but not directly, since they had not been integrated into the Spanish hierarchy by that point. At Villa de Leyva we find the opposite situation: a strong native population deeply

tied to their *encomenderos*, their religious indoctrinators, and *mestizo* influential characters such as the Muisca chieftain Diego de Torres. The group of settlers featured mainly Spaniards, but also other Muisca privileged characters scaling the Spanish hierarchy in a similar fashion to *Juan Tavera*.

### *Foundational protocols, actions, and rituals*

The most stable element in all the cases studied are the foundational acts and their protocolary structure. It shows very similar elements, actions, written expressions and legal formulae across Europe and America, evidencing a stable legal tradition towards the creation of new cities and the distribution of property. Among these elements we can list, at least, the following:

- The visit to the site, which must be "walked by feet" and "seen by eyes sight."
- The description of the site and its adequacy usually valued using the classic Vitruvian principles for healthful city planning as reference.
- The tracing and marking of the site, indicating standardized measures for plots and streets.
- The statement of specific instructions and conditions to be complied with by settlers, housing parcels, farming lots, the church, the council house, the mills, and oven, etc.
- The distribution of parcels among settlers. The basic settler right included one urban lot and one farming lot. Privileged settlers could be granted two or more of these rights.
- Naming of the new town.
- Dedication of its church to a certain saint or to Virgin Mary.
- Appointment of majors and officials.
- Acts for all settlers to take possession of their lands. This ceremony was performed by every single settler regardless of their condition. It features highly ritualized actions which resonate with medieval and classic culture.
- The role of the body to transmit and assert property over the land.
- The recording of the whole process by an official notary, certifying it and ensuring its validity for any future procedures.
- Most actions recorded by the notary are signed by the founding commission, the notary, and a group of eyewitnesses that may be settlers or not.
- The record was ordered to be guarded and cared for by the council of the new town.

These elements perform similarly in every new town studied regardless of their situation. However, others were quite different, additions that expanded the foundational protocol to adapt it for the specific context of colonial America. These include:

- The *requerimiento*: a mandatory ceremony to be performed by the Spanish conquerors to the native community as soon as they reached their lands. It was an official announcement of the king
- Taking of possession of the city site, performed by the founder. This action was not necessary in European Spain since the sites for the new cities in Sierra Sur were in the jurisdiction of already stablished capitals. However, in America, the founder needed to take possession of the land in the king's name, so he could later distribute it among the settlers and their families.
- The use of military symbols. Only in America have we encountered swords being used during the foundational acts. Its basic explanation is that, while the plantation of a city was a civic procedure, bonded by civic law, those performing it in America were not only appointed governors and officials but also military ranking characters. The combination of both features, summed to the imposition of Spanish domain over the land, enforced this more militaristic approach.
- The role given to native groups, either for their control and the management of forced labour through the *encomienda* regime, or for privileging selected chieftains and particulars.
- The observation of native lands and jurisdictional limits. As we have seen, official records for the plantation of cities would always ascertain their respect for native lands, even if they were openly violating them. Fragrant infringement of native boundaries was often denounced by their own *encomendero*s, interested in keeping other colonist agents out of the community controlled by them.

Thanks to their common framework of laws, symbols and rituals, the documents conserved at Sierra Sur have proven to be highly useful to provide a common ground for the critical reading of foundational acts in Mendoza and Villa de Leyva. The character of these procedures, always highly protocolary and ceremonial, allow for direct comparison between written documents, even to the detail of specific lines and words. As we have seen, the omission or inclusion of certain terms could have later consequences, be contested by settlers and/or natives, and generate further discussions delaying the plantation.

### Foundational plans

One key element of the foundational record was the plan, referred to as the *traza*. Its main objective was to provide visual support to the distribution of urban parcels among settlers, the council, and the church, while also ensuring that the new town complied with the planning instructions applicable in each case. For this reason, it may be regarded as a foundational plan, a distribution plan, a plantation plan, or even a partition, but not as an urban project in the technical sense. Foundational plans were not developed by engineers but by *alarifes* commanded by lawyers and military officials. In exceptional cases such as Sierra Sur, the

judge in charge called for a specialized artist to participate in the process and take charge of the plan's tracing. However, this professional tracer was not part of the foundational process at its earlier stages. All evidence indicates that he was commissioned after the first attempt to trace and mark the plan of Los Villares, the first plantation at Sierra Sur that was originally entrusted to the *alarifes* alone.

In this way, foundational plans in Mediterranean and American Spanish realms are document of a different kind from other urban plans in the same period. In the first place, they were not urban or territorial descriptions. Foundational plans do not include natural elements and other features of the site where the new town was being creating. As much, the plan may depict roads, mountains, and rivers that were specifically mentioned in the orders issuing the foundation. The plan of Mancha Real at Sierra Sur is a good example of this. The way in which it represents the landscape around the new plantation in 1539 is a direct translation from the population chart issued by Juana I in 1508. Documents not mentioned in the order were simply not drawn by the tracer. Foundational plans in the American cases studied do not present any natural feature at all.

In the second place, foundational plans were also different from military engineering urban plans. While engineers focused on the detailed description of the territory around the city and the best way to defend it, the priority of the civil founder and the tracer in charge was to arrange standardized parcels in a grid structure without walls and ensure their lawful distribution to settlers. While the plan of the engineer was a project, a glimpse of what was to come, the plan of the founder was a simultaneous record of actions performed at the same time it was being traced. The foundational plan does not show buildings to be built in the future, only lots of land marked on the ground, pre-existing buildings and, sometimes, a simplified plan for the future church. Even though both military engineers, distribution judges and American *adelantados* took the Vitruvian principles in great consideration and applied them in their urban affairs, the visual documents resulting from their actions differed greatly. In other words: The Spanish grids produced by military engineers and those developed by founders of new towns were morphologically similar but held vastly different meanings.

Another differentiating feature is that plantation plans were never meant to be read separately from the foundational acts they supported. Unlike maps in an atlas, world maps or nautical charts, when plantation plans are extracted from their original documental context, a great portion of their complex meanings are lost. The result of this isolation, practiced often by 20th-century authors, is the oversimplification of foundational plans in historiography, often regarded as undeveloped urban diagrams or preparatory drawings. On the contrary: foundational plans are the peak of the iceberg formed by the procedures necessary for the plantation of new towns.

Spanish foundational plans of the early modern period are quite simple from a stylistic point of view. They were mostly produced by agents without any training in geometry or the arts, so their appearance is closer to an urban diagram than to a fully fledged plan. They used one single ink in most cases, and the notes

around them were written quickly with the kind of calligraphy typical in judicial processes. Geometric shapes in the plans are also simplistic and in some cases their sizes and proportions are inconsistent even though blocks and streets were supposed to all have the same measures. The plan was supposed to keep proportions -square blocks are squares, not rectangles- but have no scale whatsoever. These features made them a highly abstract graphic tool, meant to represent urban rules and foundational decisions rather than providing an accurate depiction of reality. In fact, the city was not strictly bounded to the plan. The town's council had the authority to adapt its foundational structure to the conditions of the site. Moreover, it was not rare that the plan distributed lands for a greater number of settlers than those who finally stablished themselves in the new town. For this reason, the foundational district of these cities would rarely be as large as originally expected. Some of the blocks would be built decades or even centuries after the plantation, implementing changes and adaptations to the urban reality of later periods. In any case, a high level of variation between the foundational plan of a new town and its built structure does not necessarily means the failure of the original plantation procedures. It is worth remembering that the core of any new city, its most indispensable asset, was not its physical morphology but its institutional consistency. It was the council, not the council house, who preserved the integrity of a new town. If the council was meeting regularly, taking decisions, and performing actions, then the new town was real even if not a single brick had been placed. That was the case of Mendoza, where in 1562 Juan Jufré recognized the authority of the council appointed by Pedro del Castillo in 1561 even though his city was jut a bunch of marked parcels in a barren area.

Plans were not mandatory for a successful foundation, at least not in the early decades of the 16th century. Santa Fe, the widespread example of grid urbanism planted right after the conquest of Granada, does not feature a plan in its foundational book. Some of the earliest colonial capitals in America as Cuzco or Quito did not include a plan in their foundational acts, while other such as Natá lost have not conserved it. The only main case studied in this whose original plantation plan still survives is Villa de Leyva, in Colombia, whose plan was archived along the rest of its foundational records. The plan of Mancha Real that survives today is a copy made in 1570 due to a court proceeding at Granada's Royal Chancery. None of the plans developed by Reolid at Sierra Sur has been conserved. Something similar happened at Mendoza: all of the plans and acts conserved from its two plantations are not the original, but copies commissioned by their founders in order to probe their merit to the Spanish Royal Court. These copies, made at a later time with greater means and presumably at the notary's desk, are more precise, finer in their style and more complex in their decoration. They were celebrative documents meant to show prestige and accomplishments; hence they would not allow the incorrections and crossed mistakes that were common in plans drawn on-site. Many foundational plans have survived thanks to these copies and reports issued to the Indies Council, providing an unvaluable source of material for future research on colonial urbanism If a similar condition had applied to the new towns

at Sierra Sur, all its plans may have been copied and conserved. However, that was not the case. The judge Juan de Rivadeneyra did not need complex briefings to proof his deeds, neither he sought founder privileges or any other of the concessions ambitioned in the colonial domains of the Spanish Empire.

### *Final remarks*

In sum, these characteristics singularize the foundational plan as a particular category, separating it them from other early modern urban representations. Their study requires specially designed methodologies that attend to their particular legal complexity and their documental background. Coming back to the iceberg analogy, If the plan is the most visible part of the foundational process, to understand its meaning in all its complexity it is mandatory to study and scrutinise its lower layers: the written records accompanying the foundational ceremony, the records of other acts and actions performed during the plantation, the documents of earlier plantations of the same city, the political dynamics and regional conflicts that motivated the re-founding or the movement of the city, the evolving legal framework of all these actions, and finally their roots to earlier urban practices and widespread urban traditions dating from the Medieval period to the Classical era and beyond (Figure 268). This deeper understanding of Spanish colonial urbanism connects sources and methodologies from the fields of law history and urban history, at the same time it allows for comparative analysis between documents that preserved a similar structure and procedural rules, even though they may have separated in time, in space, and in the dissimilar political and social atmospheres of postconquest Granada and colonial America.
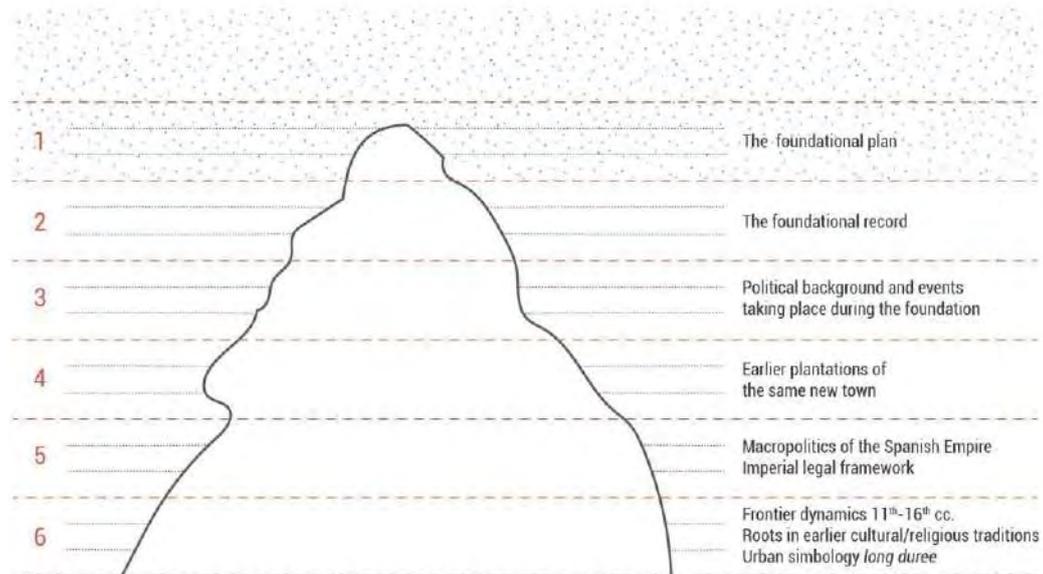


**Figure 268: The iceberg of foundational acts, legal procedures, regional politics, and urban traditions in Spanish early modern new towns. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

# Conclusions

# *Siblings Overseas* as enactors of colonial urban *lawscapes*

## From medieval urban roots to *Siblings Overseas*

Through the sections of this dissertation, roughly five hundred pages long at this point, we have presented a historiographic itinerary from the earliest precedent of medieval grid urbanism in Aragon to the comparative analysis of foundational documents in early modern Jaen, Nueva Granada, and Cuyo. The proposed approach to the medieval evolution of urban laws and foundational practices, based on the regionalized analysis of urban politics and their documental sources, has been then applied to the study of the cases of Sierra Sur, Mendoza, and Villa de Leyva. These cases have been examined using a coherent methodology that focuses on their urban foundation protocols and their records, most of them of civil and notarial nature which differs from military engineering documents and designs dedicated to fortified urbanism.

The results of this study provide a detailed image of the systemic protocols applied for the foundation of Spanish grid cities in different locations and their performance when subjected to specific sites, engaging in their particular social and political conflicts. The study of the common frame of laws of these cities, along with their institutional models, foundational agents, and geometrical orders, allows for a comparative approach in which Andalusian and American cases can be studied together, showing the similitudes and differences born from their branching geopolitics. Under this light, it becomes clear that the Spanish urban grid did not operate as generic rule, but as a common frame for the negotiation of property and land distribution between founders and settlers. Hence, the grid was not a model but the most visible common attribute in a long series of urban

prototypes, each of them with its own micro-history. What was indeed a model is the set of legal protocols shared between them, permeated by almost ritualistic formulae repeated time after time such as the act of possession taking or the naming and religious dedication of any new town. Small deviations in these highly formal ceremonies and in their records often evidence relevant decisions and actions performed by foundational agents. The change of a name, the omission of a certain detail, the absence of a particular agent or the use of one term instead of other are all potential leads that help clarify the history of foundational processes. Thanks to the findings on this regard presented in *Siblings Overseas*, it is possible to advance in the knowledge of regionalized urban colonial phenomena in Andalusia and America without losing the global scope in the process, maintaining an open mind to the current historiographical discussion.

### *History throughout Christian realms in medieval Spain. Two historiographical problems.*

The first section of *Siblings Overseas* dealt with the influence of medieval Spanish urbanism over early modern new towns in America, with Santa Fe as its main connecting case. This is often seen as a 'cold case,' a closed discussion in which new contributions are hardly attainable. As we have seen, according to most Spanish and international scholars the model of Santa Fe expanded over the Spanish Empire in the 16th centuries. Cities all around the America inherited its name. However, historiography tends to acknowledge Santa Fe only for its urban morphology and its regularity, not for its symbolical relevance or for the legal complexities involved in its plantation. Historians often read Santa Fe as a geometrical model following a layout that was not traced until the late 18th century, much less reproduced and distributed among conquistadores looking to create new Spanish settlements overseas. Indeed, Santa Fe was not a model but a prototype: a step forward in an irregular, dense, complex, and even rhizomatic process. Traditional historians have studied this process as a sequence, an urban version of Fletcher's tree where each 'style' and shape has a seat. A tree top ending in Santa Fe as a final European 'pinecone' that was then exported and planted overseas, used exclusively in America for its adequacy towards the colonial hierarchy and its means of domination. *Siblings Overseas* opposes that position through at least two arguments.

Firstly, an urban tradition that evolved in the Iberian Peninsula for more than eight hundred years and sink its roots into its cultural diversity, very rarely would stop its local development because of new overseas urban ventures. Granada's capital also experimented further transformations after its Christian conquest, generating new urban spaces where the grid model and the counter-reformist ideology were exalted by the new Catholic governors.[980] Moreover, Granada and

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[980] One of the main results of these urban transformations and the religious/political movements behind them is the creation of Granada's Sacromonte and its abbey. A study on this project and its landscape was developed parallelly to *Siblings Overseas* in collaboration with Profs. Juan

other provinces in the Iberian Peninsula were the target of repopulation projects during the 16th, 17th, and even 18th centuries. Some of these projects, such as the 1767 new towns project in Sierra Morena, have been thoroughly studied and have a prominent place in literature. However, there are also other examples that show the continuation of grid urban practices in eastern Andalusia in synchronicity with the American conquest. This includes of course the urbanization of Jaen's Sierra Sur during the earliest decades of the 1500s. For them, Santa Fe was not a pine-cone but just another branch in a very complicated tree.

Secondly, urban endeavours on both sides of the Atlantic were not isolated among themselves, neither were they the exclusive result of applying one specific formal principle. Foundational processes were long and produced great amounts of documentation regarding decisions such as the location and/or re-location of the new city, its supply lines, its access to water, its relationship with neighbouring indigenous groups, the distribution of lands among settlers and, of course, the many conflicts derived from it. When researchers look exclusively to cartographical documents such as distribution plans, fortification designs, and other urban representations, part of this complexity is left behind. The idea of comparing 'urban models' embodied by cities as Santa Fe feeds from that simplification. In response, more rigorous approaches to notarial documents allow to uncover details and nuances that had not been previously considered. As we have probed, a methodology based on combining legal and cartographical sources leads to a more precise interpretation of the historical context of newly planted cities and the involvement of founders, lawyers, scribes, military engineers, and other agents.

### *Jaen's Sierra Sur: Present day significance of Sierra Sur colonization as an immaterial urban heritage.*

The main chapter of *Siblings Overseas* applies this methodology to the study of Sierra Sur and its colonization between 1508 and 1539. These foundational processes have been previously approached through methodologies focused on the regularity of the urban trace. Using their contribution as basis, *Siblings Overseas* offers a new vision that connects the plantation processes with their political background, the provincial hierarchies of the time, the legal framework of early modern urban planning, the network of agents situated in Sierra Sur's landscape, and the diversity of performances of human bodies with the land, its soil, and its plant life. The way in which the results have been presented in this dissertation is meant to connect with international audiences, hence its English writing and the presentation of Sierra Sur as a case that articulates Iberian and American urban

Calatrava and Ana del Cid from Universidad de Granada. Its main product is a volume chapter scheduled for publication in late 2022 by Brepols: *The role of the Sacromonte and other Christian and Muslim divine simulacra in the symbolic construction of Granada and its territory, 15th - 16th cc.,* coautored with Juan Calatrava, and Ana del Cid, as part of the volume "Sacri Monti and Beyond: Holy Land Simulacra and Monumental Stational Programs across Europe, c. 1400-1600". Coords. Prof. Pamela Stewart and Prof. Achim Timmermann, University of Michigan. Brepols. Planned for publication in 2022.

history. However, the insights of this study have also proven great potential to impact the local communities at Sierra Sur, seeding social and economic changes.

The preliminary research results of *Siblings Overseas* were implemented in a course of Architecture and Landscape design at Universidad de Granada, coordinated by Professor Rafael de Lacour and developed between September of 2019 and February of 2020. Through its lectures and training activities, several groups of students analysed the landscape of Sierra Sur and its fortifications, developing architectural proposals for their restoration, transformation, and adaptation to contemporary uses (Figure 269).[981] By 2021, the Andalusian Government Territorial Delegation at Jaen had already taken an interest on *Siblings Overseas*. A first consequence of it was a presentation of research results during the cultural program *European Heritage Days*, held at Jaen's Museum in October (Figure 270). Modern history professors from Universidad de Jaén and other experts in the history of this region attended the presentation, contributing to a rich discussion. Furthermore, the conversations with archivists and chroniclers at Valdepeñas de Jaén have fostered a productive relationship with the cultural association Lugia, created by them. From this connection, new collaborations have been proposed to adapt the contents of *Siblings Overseas* to general audiences and disseminate them through talks, conferences, round tables, social workshops, and other activities. The main result of this collaboration was the cultural program "*Grandes historias de un pequeño pueblo: Valdepeñas de Jaén como nodo entre España y Latinoamérica*" [Great histories of a small town: Valdepeñas de Jaén as a node between Spain and Latin America], which took place on May 19-21, 2022, in commemoration of the first distribution of parcels among the settlers of Valdepeñas 483 years ago. The program included three days of activities for history dissemination in primary and secondary schools, the elderly house, and the council house of Valdepeñas de Jaén (Figure 271).

The main event of the program was the presentation of the hypothesis for the foundational plan of Valdepeñas developed in *Siblings Overseas* through the study of its foundational book and the plan of Mancha Real as a reference (Figure 272). A commemorative reproduction of this plan was commissioned to Francisco Gutiérrez, professional scribe and *Enlumineur de France* trained at the Superior European Institute of Illumination and Manuscripts of Angers (ISEEM). Gutiérrez traced a new version of the plan using techniques and materials directly taken from early modern history, adding coloured inks, gold, and other decorations while also providing a more readable calligraphy, adapted to larger audiences (Figure 273). While the hypothesis featured in *Siblings Overseas* is a historically rigorous reconstruction supported by a complete and highly detailed technical report, the new plan developed by Gutiérrez aims to provide reparation

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[981] The results of this teaching experience have been published in: Rafael De Lacour and Manuel Sánchez García, "Paisajes fortificados en clave contemporánea: una puesta en valor patrimonial de la Sierra Sur de Jaén a través del proyecto de arquitectura," in *Arquitectura y paisaje. Transferencias históricas, retos contemporáneos*, vol. 1, 2 vols., H.ª del Arte y de la Arquitectura (Madrid: Abada Editores, 2022), 241–51.

and healing to the historical memory of Valdepeñas de Jaén, devoid of the most relevant urban document. The finished reconstruction will be exhibited at the main hall of the city council, where it will wait for the real plan to resurface at some point in the future.

During these events, it was made manifest how the colonial history of Sierra Sur and its global connections are of great interest not only to experts, but also to the local community, not necessarily trained in early modern historiography. Additionally, the transversal study of its foundational records offers insights that are significant to the current state of the art at the local scale, whose scholars much more knowledgeable of local documental sources than most international researchers. In this way, the globally oriented research of *Siblings Overseas* is also supporting the conservation of local historical and cultural heritage at Sierra Sur. Most of the new towns in the region are immerse in a depopulation process and suffer from a lack of dynamism in their economic and cultural activities.[982] Their heritage value is often disregarded because they lack medieval castles or palaces like other cities in the region. Thanks to the study of legal documents concerning their plantation, it is possible to strengthen their foundational narrative as a way to protect an urban heritage that is not clearly visible at first glance. Their foundational history also offers a new array of past actions and symbols that deserve to be brought back and celebrated today. In the same way that archaeological remains of castles and palaces in the region are conserved to tell the story of how the most active points in Jaen's frontier were developed and transformed during their difficult coexisting with Muslim Granada and after it; the colonization of the region also deserves its place in history. Its rural culture associated to a period of peace is second to none in procedural complexity, normative development, and political dispute.

These projects and activities aim for the future integration of Sierra Sur foundational project as one of the main immaterial heritage assets protected by Jaen's provincial government. The conservation of its rich urban culture, deeply rooted in its landscape and still relevant today, is one of the few resources other than agriculture that can save Valdepeñas, Los Villares, Campillo de Arenas, and Mancha Real from seeing their population slowly fading until their complete disappearance.

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[982] According to the Spanish National Institute of Statistics, Valdepeñas de Jaén has lost 30% of its population in the past 30 years, from 5.000 inhabitants in 1990 to 3.500 in 2020. The decreasing trend is regular and stable. Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, https://www.ine.es/
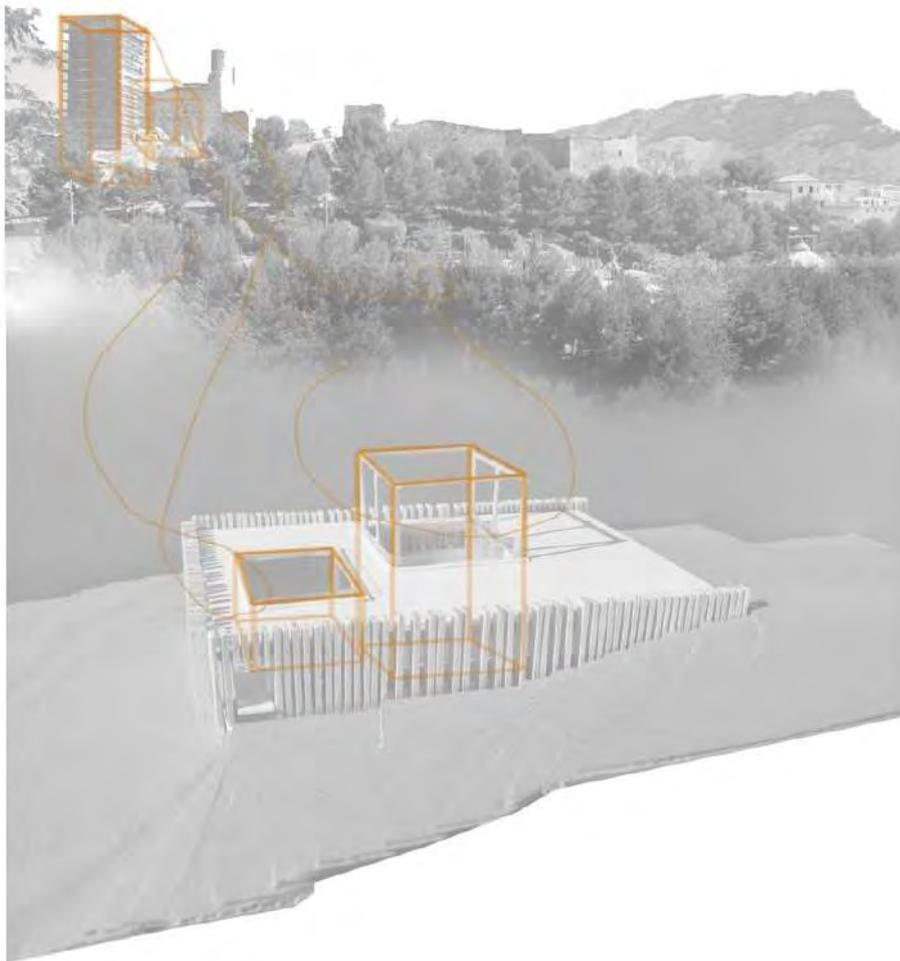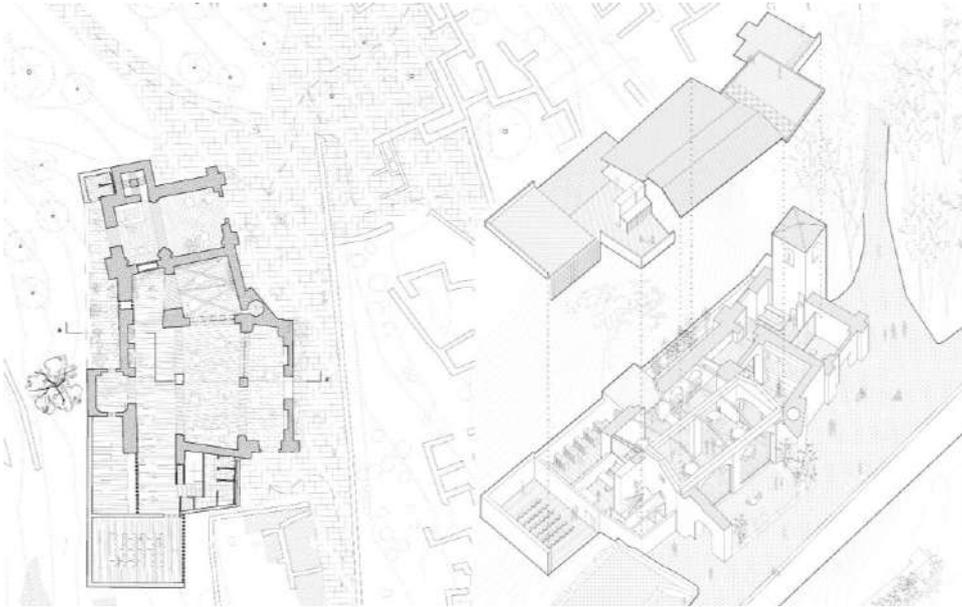
**Figure 269: 2020, project for the transformation of the church of Santo Domingo de Siles, at the feet of the fortress of La Mota in Alcalá la Real, as a cultural center with a public library (top). © Aida Manrique Forné. Project for a cultural center designed at the outskirts of La Guarda, Jaén, by María Cerdán Utrera (Bottom). © María Cerdán Utrera.**
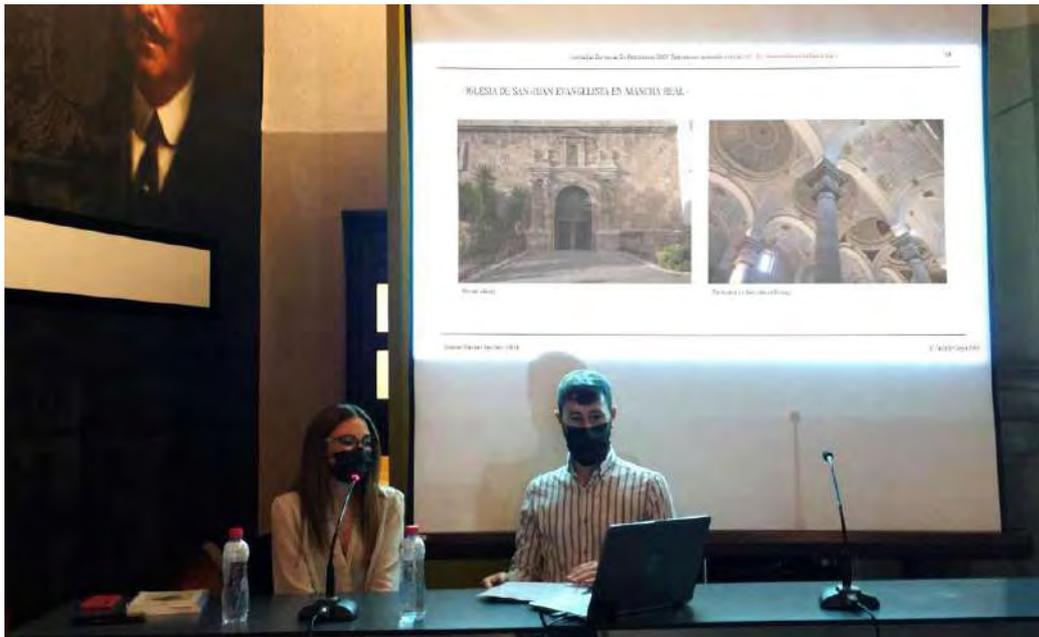
**Figure 270: 2021, Manuel Sánchez García and Eva Amate during the presentation of *Siblings Overseas* at the Museum of Jaén. © Manuel Sánchez García and Eva Amate.**



**Figure 271: 2022, foundation of Valdepeñas de Jaén performance students of the primary school Santiago Apóstol at Valdepeñas de Jaén. The students took the roles of judges, notaries, *alarifes*, measurers, and settlers. Together, they reproduced the foundation of a new town at the school's playground, following a simplified and ludic version of the real plantation process of their town. © Manuel Sánchez García and Eva Amate.**

**Figure 272: Manuscript reconstruction of Valdepeñas de Jaén foundational plan during its presentation at Valdepeñas library on May 21st, 2022. Behind the plan, from left to right: Francisco Gutiérrez, illuminator scribe and author of the plan, José Manuel Marchal, president of Valdepeñas cultural association Lugia, and Manuel Valdivia, secretary of UNED campus at Jaén. © Manuel Sánchez García.**

**Figure 273: 2022, illuminated manuscript plan of Valdepeñas de Jaén developed by Francisco Guitérrez, Scriptorium Yayyan. © Ayuntamiento de Valdepeñas de Jaén. Pictures by Francisco Gutiérrez, Eva Amate and Manuel Sánchez García.**

### *Significance of a documented colonial /repopulation project in Sierra Sur for Ibero-American urban history.*

Additionally to its local impact, the study of Sierra Sur colonization also offers valuable insights to global scholarly audiences interested on Spanish urban history. Even though there are abundant published works on Sierra Sur, most of them have not been translated to English and are not widespread outside of Andalusia, even less outside of Spain. At the same time, comprehensive volumes and collective works on Spanish colonial urbanism almost never mention the colonization of Sierra Sur, regardless of its close connection to the way more referred case of Granada's Santa Fe.[983] As we have seen, other early cases such as the colonization of the Balearic Islands or the first settlements in the Caribbean hold a much stronger connection with Sierra Sur. The study of foundational plans of Latin American cities such as Mendoza and Villa de Leyva further confirm this connection, which could be extended to other cases like San Juan de la Frontera, or San Juan Bautista de la Rivera. Given the traditional fixation of urban history in the morphology of the grid plan, the main reason behind Sierra Sur absence in global literature is not the small size of its new towns[984] or their lack of documentation but, among other reasons, its bad fitting into the traditional narrative that saw the Spanish Reconquista and the American conquest as two processes connected in one single direction: from Europe to America. The Spanish grid appears

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[983] This literature has been reviewed in the latest sections of chapter one, regarding how Santa Fe has been portrayed in historiography. As examples of works available in Spanish in which the colonization of Sierra Sur could have played a relevant role, see: Jorge E. Hardoy, "El Proceso de urbanización en América Latina," programme and meeting document (La Habana, Cuba: UNESCO Regional Office for Culture for Latin America and the Caribbean (Cuba). Documentation Centre, 1974); Benevolo, *Diseño de la ciudad*; Francisco de Solano, ed., *Estudios Sobre La Ciudad Iberoamericana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, 1975); Terán, *La ciudad hispanoamericana. El sueño de un orden*; Terán, "La cuadrícula en la ciudad hispanoamericana. ¿Un modelo urbano permanente?"; Salcedo Salcedo, *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*; Germán Téllez Castañeda, *Crítica & imagen* (Santafé de Bogotá: Ministerio de Cultura, 1998); Kagan and Marías, *Imágenes urbanas del mundo hispánico 1493-1780*; Bielza de Ory, "De la ciudad ortogonal aragonesa a la cuadricular hispanoamericana como proceso de innovación-difusión, condicionado por la utopía."; Navarro Segura, "Las fundaciones de ciudades y el pensamiento urbanístico hispano en la era del Descubrimiento"; Delfante, Isac Martínez de Carvajal, and Barja de Quiroga, *Gran historia de la ciudad*. Other examples published in Italian and English: Stanislawski, "The Origin and Spread of the Grid-Pattern Town"; Robert C. Smith, "Colonial Towns of Spanish and Portuguese America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 14, no. 4 (December 1, 1955): 3–12, https://doi.org/10.2307/987727; Gutkind, *International History of City Development. Urban Development in Southern Europe: Spain and Portugal*; Muratore, *La città rinascimentale*; Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 1976; Morris, *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolutions*; Sennett, "American Cities: The Grid Plan and the Protestant Ethic"; Kostof, *The City Shaped*; Rose-Redwood, "Genealogies of the Grid"; Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*; Piet Lombaerde and Charles Van Den Heuvel, *Early Modern Urbanism & the Grid: Town Planning in the Low Countries in International Context. Exchanges in Theory and Practice 1550-1800*, Architectura Moderna 10 (Turnhout, 2011).

[984] Today, Santa Fe has around 15.000 inhabitants. The city usually referenced as its main precedent, Briviesca, has only 6.500. These examples, along with others in the Mediterranean and Latin America, evidence that not all relevant cases of Spanish colonial new towns have made their way to historiography because of their role as capitals or their later growth as modern metropolis.

in it as a devastating urban model developed during 800 years of crusade against the 'Muslim infidel' and then exported towards the naive native population in America. A case of colonial urbanism in Andalusia performed at the same time than others in America defies that vision. The new towns of Sierra Sur, planted in time of peace and managed by men of law with no relationship with any militaristic endeavour, invalidates the blazing discourse of colonization and domination achieved exclusively through violent action and enslaving.

The other, most probable reason for Sierra Sur absence is the poor dissemination of Mancha Real's foundational plan copied in 1570. It is well known by local scholars; it is well guarded at the prestigious archive of Granada's Royal Chancery; it has been recently restored and beautifully digitized but, still, it has not made its way to global historiography. This valuable visual document is a clear example of the early modern colonial urban practices applied by Spanish agents around the world. The legally binding trace of Mancha Real originally developed at the time of the foundation goes further than the role traditionally assigned to this kind of plans in urban historiography. It had no aspirations to operate as an unmovable blueprint for the future of the city but as a much more mundane real estate property scripture: a proof of land possession to be managed according to law.

Many American colonial cities suffer the same problem. Even though their foundational plans may be well known and widely spread in many languages, the legal nuances of their plantation acts have not reached the same relevance. Authors often subtract the plans from the context of their foundational acts and compare them with other urban representations of diverse origins, dates, and places. When this happens, the nature of distribution plans like Mendoza's and Villa de Leyva are deprived of their nature as legal certificates. The study developed in *Siblings Overseas* provides proof of how a complete interpretation of these documents and their legal background leads to a more precise knowledge of how colonial cities were managed in the sixteenth century. As a result, the Spanish grids of Mendoza and Villa de Leyva is presented not only as a tool for urban planning but as a key piece in a way more complex historical narrative, filled with racial conflict, political turmoil, and games of power. The knowledge developed during the study of Sierra Sur has proven greatly valuable for the analysis of these later American foundations, providing a conceptual common ground from where a more critical discussion can be developed. The new towns at Sierra Sur may be separated from Mendoza and Villa de Leyva in time and space, but their multiple human and conceptual connections make them *Siblings Overseas* (Figure 274). As relatives, they do not only share similar names and shapes: their roots run deep through a common ground of ideas, principles, behaviours, feelings, ambitions, and expectations that deserve a better understanding. This whole dissertation project has been developed with the sole objective of taking a small step in this direction.
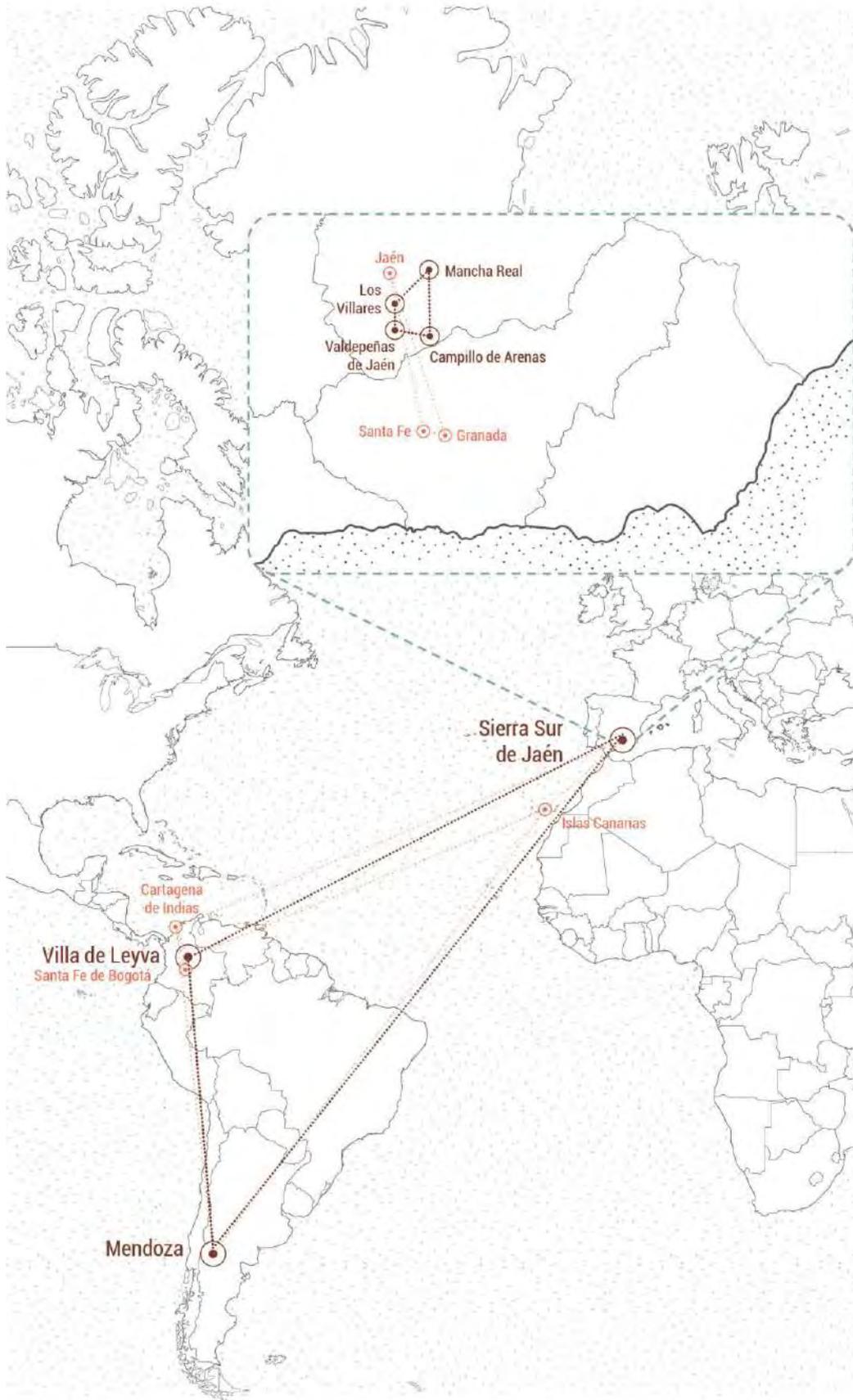
**Figure 274: Cartographic depiction of main and secondary cases studied in *Siblings Overseas* and their connections across the Atlantic Ocean. © Manuel Sánchez García, 2022.**

## Spanish colonial urban history as *lawscape* history: An open line of research.

In this journey from medieval urban traditions to early modern foundational practices there has been an omnipresent and ever influential actor: The law. As the embodiment of a great diversity of principles and actors, the law has always been a defining agent of the new towns featured in *Siblings Overseas*, from 11th-century Aragon to Nueva Granada in the latest decades of the 16th. Authors such as Vicente Bielza de Ory and Marta Herrera insist on it.[985] The maps presented in this dissertation, including both original documents and new visual media, show how law and urban landscape interact with each other, generating a hybrid product in which the morphology of cities and their infrastructures hide an inner network of complex notarial protocols and administrative procedures. This idea was conceptualized in the 2010s by Nicole Graham and A. Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos through the term *lawscape*, defined as "the way in which the tautology between law and space/matter unfolds as difference."[986] This *lawscape* that connects formal regulations and their physical manifestations is particularly relevant in Spanish America, where orders and lawsuits extensively involved native agents and colonial powers during the first two centuries of colonial rule.

*Siblings Overseas* explores that same interaction of urban laws and foundational grid cities through time, deconstructing the historiographical image of the Spanish colonies and intersecting it with spaces of institutional resistance, conflict, negotiation, and *mestizaje*. Such a global study may be approached from a Warburgian perspective, following models and transcontinental parallelisms that travel through time and space.[987] This conceptual background is indeed quite present in the first chapter of this dissertation, particularly in its references to the heavenly Jerusalem and the ideal city of Eiximenis as models that influenced most Spanish urban undertakings. However, on the second and third chapters of *Siblings Overseas*, the approach shifts to a more situated methodology that interrogates specific judicial procedures and documents regarding short periods of time.

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[985] Vicente Bielza de Ory, *Introducción a La Ordenación Del Territorio. Un Enfoque Geográfico.* (Zaragoza: Prensas universitarias de Zaragoza, 2008); Vicente Bielza de Ory, *Lo urbano y lo sagrado: Morfología de la ciudad Occidental* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra EUNSA, 2022); Herrera Angel, *Ordenar para controlar: ordenamiento espacial y control político en las Llanuras del Caribe y en los Andes Centrales Neogranadinos. Siglo XVIII.*

[986] Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, "Lawscape," in *International Lexicon of Aesthetics*, vol. 3 (Milano: Mimesis, 2020), https://dx.doi.org/10.7413/18258630100. Other references on this topic: Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, *Spatial Justice. Body, Lawscape, Atmosphere* (London: Routledge, 2015); Nicole Graham, *Lawscape: Property, Environment, Law* (Abingdon, UK, 2011).

[987] Kurt W. Forster and David Britt, "Aby Warburg: His Study of Ritual and Art on Two Continents," *October* 77 (1996): 5–24, https://doi.org/10.2307/778958. Also see: Aby M. Warburg, *Atlas mnemosyne*, ed. Martin Warnke, Claudia Brink, and Fernando Checa, trans. Joaquín Chamorro Mielke, Akal: Arte y estética 77 (Madrid: Akal, 2010); Michael Diers, Thomas Girst, and Dorothea von Moltke, "Warburg and the Warburgian Tradition of Cultural History," *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 59–73, https://doi.org/10.2307/488533.

This change is partially inspired by Ginzburg's approach, inquiring about the micro-history of legal documents as a base for reading foundational events that deal with social issues, race, and politics.[988] The result is a catalogue of *urban lawscape micro-histories* built upon the close inspection of notarial procedures and the questioning of day-to-day actions and decisions. Summed together, both approaches allow for a comparative argument that expands its reach over different provinces in the world without neglecting their local narratives and regional particularities.

The number of main and secondary cases featured in *Siblings Overseas* has been measured to allow for a complete iteration of the "accordion movement" suggested by John Elliott, *compressing* parallel cases to find their common traits and then *expanding* the scope to identify their differences and singularities. The goal of such gesture is not to reach a precise percentage of similarity but to engage in a historical argument that highlights certain actions and connects them across different territories, advancing in the study of the Spanish grid and providing grounded criticism on its classic tropes and its current state of the art. In other words: the accordion of comparative history does not show conclusive ideas but dynamic arguments and discussions that seek to open new paths of research. To inspire. To make music.

Of course, additional urban cases and legal sources ought to be approached in the future using the same methodology presented here, testing its efficiency and forcing it to adapt and improve. A first step has already been taken in this direction through the project *Uncovering Colonial Lawscape*: a post-doctoral research proposal for the study of legal documents and landscape depictions of the Spanish Empire at the Rare Books Collection of Dumbarton Oaks, the Harvard University Research Institute at Washington D.C. This project, funded thanks to a Dumbarton Oaks Fellowship for Garden and Landscape studies granted for the term 2022/23, will further develop the historiographical approach of *Siblings Overseas*, enriching it with a deeper inquiry on the concept of *lawscape* and incorporating the study of documents such as reports and orders involving mestizo leaders in Perú (Figure 275), atlases and depictions of native groups (Figure 276), and representations of colonial cities and their landscapes (Figure 277). These documents, similar to those featured in this *Siblings Overseas*, acknowledge the human and institutional dimensions of American territories, providing valuable information regarding the performance of *lawscape* in illustrated legal sources. The main ambition of this second move of the accordion is to broaden the network of Ibero-American sources presented in this dissertation, expanding its impact on the international scholarly discussion as well as on the communities who inhabit these territories.

**Manuel Sánchez García - Torino - May 2022.**

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[988] Carlo Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi. Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500*, Collana Paperbacks 65 (Torino: Einaudi, 1976), https://www.planetadelibros.com/libro-el-queso-y-los-gusanos/202205; Ginzburg, "Microstoria: due o tre cose che so di lei."

**Figure 275: 1788-9, Gonzalo Uchu Hualpa and Felipe Tupac Inca Yupanqui represented beside the Inca emperor Tupac Inca Yupanqui in "Rl. Executoria de los descendientes de los Sres. Reyes Emperadores del Perú 1527-1598" (left) © Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection.[989] 1579, image of Santiago Moor-Slayer in battle during the Reconquista illustrating the "Ejecutoria del concejo de justicia e requerimiento de la villa de valdepeñas contra la ciudad de Jaén." ©Archivo de Valdepeñas de Jaén.**



**Figure 276: 1796, peruvian natives depicted in "Relación de govierno del Excmo. Sor. Virrey del Perú Frey D. Francisco Gil de Tobada y Lemus" (Top). © Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection.[990] 1593, Guanche natives from the Canary Islands depicted in "Descrittione e Historia del regno de l'Isole Canarie gia dette le Fortvnate con il parere delle loro fortificationi" by Leonardo Torriani (Bottom). © Universidad de Coimbra.**

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[989] Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection, OVERSZ F3444 .T478 1788.
[990] Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection, F3444 .G55 1796.

**Figure 277: 1763, Plan of Trujillo and its surroundings by Miguel Feijoo de Sosa in "Relacion descriptiva de la ciudad, y provincia de Truxillo del Peru. Año de 1763" (Top). © Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection.[991] 1781, description of Valdepeñas de Jaén and its surroundings, sent to the Royal Cartographer Tomás López by Francisco Tomás de Porcuna y Fuentes, parish priest of Valdepeñas de Jaén (Bottom). © Biblioteca Nacional de España.**

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[991] Dumbarton Oaks Rare Book Collection, F3611.T8 F4 1763.

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# Glossary

## Glossary of terms

**Adelantado:** Representative of the Spanish Crown who led military operations and held judicial and administrative powers in the New World. The same title had been in use in the medieval period under the formula *adelantado de frontera*, which referred to lords appointed to frontier locations near the Andalusian border who benefit from their lands but were responsible of their defence.

**Al- Andalus:** Refers to all territories controlled by Islamic kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula between 711 and 1492. In some periods, this covers almost all the Peninsula, including most of present-day Spain and all of Portugal. In its last centuries, the term refers just to the Kingdom of Granada in the South-East. During some periods, Al-Andalus was a region of foreign empires, like the period of the Umayyad Emirate of Córdoba, which was controlled from Damasco (711-756), or the Almohad occupation coming from North Africa (1145-1212). At other times, Al-Andalus was a unified, independent region, like the Umayyad Califate of Córdoba (929-1010) or the Kingdom of Granada. Finally, there are several periods when Al-Andalus grouped multiple separate kingdoms called *taifas*, such as the Taifa of Zaragoza in the north, the Taifa of Murcia in the West, or the Taifa of Menorca in the Balear Islands.

**Alarife:** Spanish word of Arab root, meaning "construction worker" or "albañil". In the context of the city plantation, the alarifes were responsible for surveying the land and helping the person in charge of tracing the city to translate his plan to the real site.

**Alcalá:** The Spanish term "*Alcalá*," present in the names of many Iberian cities, comes from the transformation of the Arab voice "*al-qal'at*" literally meaning "the castle." It was used to differentiate the main castle in a given province from other lesser fortifications depending on it.

**Alcázar:** Another Castilian term for castle (*Castillo*). Derived from the Arab "*al-qsar*", meaning "the fortress."

**Alfoz [pl. alfoces]:** Extent of the jurisdiction of a certain city or capital. All other towns inside an *alfoz* were judicially dependant of the main judicial court in the capital, with the exception of *villas realengas.*

**Alquería:** Andalusian farmhouse and its farming lands.

**Andalusia:** South region of the Iberian Peninsula. It was created in the 13th century as a kingdom dependant of Castile, including the provinces of Huelva, Sevilla, Cádiz, Córdoba, and Jaén. In the 19th century it was expanded to cover Málaga, Granada, and Almería, which together with Jaén are also known as *Andalucía Oriental* or East Andalusia.

**Andalusian:** Relative to Al-Andalus and/or Andalusia. This word is potentially confusing in English because it translates to different words in Spanish: *andaluz (pl. andaluces)*, relative to Andalucía in its current configuration, and *andalusí (pl. andalusíes)*, relative to Al-Andalus in any historical period. For example, an Andalusian 20th century author such as Federico García Lorca is definitely *Andaluz*, but he was not *Andalusí* in a strict sense. On the contrary, most northern regions in the Iberian Peninsula were *andalusíes* at some point of their history, bur were never *andaluzas*. Another example: The southern region of Portugal known as Algarve was an important Al-Andalus province until its conquest in the 13th century, but it never became part of Andalucía. Hence, just stating that the Algarve is an Andalusian territory can lead to confusion.

**Aranzada:** Measure for farming areas pre-dating the decimal system. In Castile it was equivalent to 4.472 m2. In Córdoba the measure was different: 3.672 m2.

**Banda Morisca:** Border territory between the Castilian kingdom of Andalusia, created in the 13th century after the conquest of Seville, and the Nasrid kingdom of Granada. This term is more often used to refer to the area south of the Genil river where the border is broader, less abrupt, with fewer fortifications and a lower urban density.

**Bastide:** Unique typology of fortified new towns created in southern France, England, and Wales. Most of them date from the 13th and 14th centuries, although some earlier examples exist. Their main characteristic is their grid plan, central square and fortified limit, with a stablished set of rules and measures for the construction of houses, streets, churches, etc.

**Bereber:** Ethnic group originally from north Africa, Islamized in the seventh century. Bereber were known for their nomadic traditions and warring fervour, described by authors such as Ibn Khaldun in the 14th century.

**Camino de los Cañameros:** Section of the *Camino de Santiago* that crosses the city of Jaén towards the west area of its province.

**Camino de Santiago**: Also known as *Ruta Jacobea* or Way of St.James, is a pilgrimage network of roads and routs leading to the supposed tomb of the Apostle St. James in the Spanish city of Santiago de Compostela.

**Capitanía General de Chile:** Territory of the Spanish empire between 1541 and 1818, dependant of the Viceroyalty of Peru. It included most of the current territories of Chile and the south of Argentina.

**Capitulaciones:** Rendition agreements. During the Granada War (1482-1491), these pacts shared certain aspects and prerogatives to the Granadan citizen such as the respect of their life, personal freedom, and movable property in case of emigration. If they stayed, the had the right to conserve their religion, their social institutions, their particular legal frame and taxation system, the right to develop

commercial activities and to receive adequate salaries for their job, among other details. Migration routes to north Africa were stimulated by the Castilian victors, and the Crown even paid the travel expenses to particular characters.

**Conquistador (pl. conquistadores):** Term applied to Spanish *adelantados* and other leaders in charge of the American conquest. While the rank of *adelantado* was a 16th-century official title with legal effects, to concept of conquistador became most popular in literature written centuries after the conquest. Its usual depiction in printed and visual media with armed with a musket, chest-plate, pointy hat and abundant beard does not correspond with the real image of early Spanish colonizers, who would mostly use medieval armours and weapons.

**Consejo de la Mesta:** Institution created by King Alphonse X of Castile in 1273, representing the interests of shepherds and livestock investors at the time. This long-lasting council had a relevant role in the Iberian economy until it was dissolved in 1836. Its power derives from its virtual monopoly of the Merino sheep breed, which produced a better-quality wool than the traditional Manchego sheep, and in more quantity. Historians such as J.H. Elliott assign a great historical importance to the Castilian exploitation of the Merino Sheep, eventually rising Castile's economy to a position of dominance in the Peninsula. Because of this, the Consejo de la Mesta grew powerful, and its influence was notable in most spheres of everyday life. It had both national and regional council, closely related with the local elites and political classes of each province.

**Cora:** Administrative province of Al-Andalus. The term gained special relevance during the Umayyad Caliphate, stablishing limits that, in some cases, lasted for centuries.

**Corregidor:** Royal representative in a given province who acted as link between the local authorities -town council, judges, Mesta council- and the Royal Council.

**Ejecutoria:** Royal executory order enacted by the monarch to compel the fulfilment of a previous order, law, or decision of any kind.

**El Cantar del mio Cid:** Epic poem written around the year 1200 and considered one of the masterworks of Medieval Spanish literature. It tells the story of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar "El Cid", a Castilian rogue knight who conquered Valencia and defended it against an army of Berbers seeking to retake it.

**Entallador:** In 16th-century Spain, an entallador was at the same time a sculptor and an engraver of wood, stone, bronze, and/or marble; and a sort of stonemason in charge of decorated pieces. This profile fits the figure of Juan de Reolid, trained at the construction site of Jaen's Cathedral and later in charge of some its most important wooden sculptures and altarpieces.

**Extremadura:** Mid-western region of Spain bordering with Portugal to the west and Andalucía to the south. Its name "Extrema-Dura" literally means "Extreme-Harsh", although it originated from the Latin *Extrema Dorii,* meaning "in the (south) extreme of the Duero River.

**Fanega:** Land area measure. In Castile, one fanega in Castile was equal to 6459,6 square meters. However, this unit was different depending on the location.

For example, in Granada it was 4698,5 square meters approximately, in the Canary Islands it was 5248 m2 while in Valencia one fanega measured only 831m2.

**Hamman**: Traditional Islamic public baths building. It typology is based on the Roman bath, with pools and rooms distributed sequentially from colder to hotter.

**Huarpes:** Native ethnic group originary from the valley of Cuyo, South America, currently part of Argentina.

**Iberia:** Refers to the whole territory of the Iberian Peninsula.

**Infante/Infanta:** Royal title given to children in the royal family who were second or lower heirs to the throne.

**Jacobean Route:** *Camino de Santiago*.

**Jacobean:** related to the territories crossed by the Jacobean Route and/or its cultural influence.

**Juez de Repartimiento:** Judge in charge of a new town's plantation and the distribution (*repartimiento*) of its urban and rural land lots.

**Legua**: The medieval Castilian league, also known as *legua legal* for its use in court and legal documents, was equivalent to 5.000 Castilian varas, that is, 4.200 meters.

**Madrassa:** Islamic university, mainly dedicated to the study of the Koranic law but also mathematics, hydraulics, philosophy, among other fields.

**Maravedí (pl. maravedíes):** official currency in Castile in the $16^{th}$ century. It was originally introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the Almoravids in the $11^{th}$ century.

**Marca Hispánica:** Border area between the Carolingian Empire and Al-Andalus, comprising most provinces north and south of the Pyrenees. Its territories share a common set of cultural traits and features that differentiate them from their southern Spanish and northern French neighbours.

**Merino sheep:** Highly productive breed of sheep, introduced in the Iberian Peninsula in the medieval period and grown extensively in Castile between the 13th and 18th centuries. Merino sheep livestock is often considered the main responsible of Castile's economic bloom between the $13^{th}$ and $15^{th}$ centuries.

**Morisco/a (pl. moriscos/as):** Refers to Andalusian Muslim citizens after their homeland's Christian conquest. This term is usually used for Granadan citizens who were forcefully converted to Christianism and/or expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the $16^{th}$ and $17^{th}$ centuries. Still, it can also refer to Andalusians displaced during earlier conflicts like, for example, the conquest of Seville and the creation of the *banda morisca* in the $13^{th}$ century. Christian descendants of converted Andalusians and mixed marriages also are often referred to as *moriscos*. This adjective can also be used for cultural production (*cultura morisca*), art (*arte morisco*), migrations (*éxodo morisco*), uprisings (*rebellion morisca*), along with most aspects of Granadan early modern culture as the product of its mixed Muslim-Christian heritage (*legado morisco*).

**Múdejar:** Literally meaning 'tamed' or 'domesticated' in Arab, this term applies to Muslim artisans and builders working for Christian commissioners, as well

as their production. Their production is particularly relevant in capitals near the Andalusian frontier like Zaragoza, Toledo, and Seville from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The term is also used for later hybrid art and architecture, including several examples in early modern Granada and Latin America.

**Nasrid (pl. Nasrids):** Andalusian Royal dynasty founded by Muhammad ibn Yúsuf ibn Nasr in 1232. Rulers of Granada until 1492.

**Paria:** tribute paid by Muslim kingdoms and taifas as show of vassalage to a Christian realm.

**Plaza Mayor:** '*Lugar ancho y espacioso dentro del poblado, lugar público, donde se venden los mantenimientos, y se tiene el trato común de los vecinos y comarcanos*' ['Place long and wide inside the town, public place, where supplies are sold, and where the common folk and neighbours stablish their relationships'. Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua castellana, o española, 1611.

**Pueblos de blancos:** Colonial cities in Spanish America reserved to Spaniards and other white settlers. In contrast with *pueblos de indios*, many *pueblos de blancos* became relatively important cities that attracted population from different places and backgrounds, producing a mostly half-breed society. In other words: While *pueblos de indios* were highly segregated settlements providing structures for native exploitation and forced labour, *pueblos de blancos* exclusiveness only existed at the legal level.

**Pueblos de indios:** New towns planted in colonial Spanish domains to house native population. Their structure reproduced the grid-iron plan but, instead of just spatializing Spanish powers and classes, it mixed native hierarchies and ecclesiastic institutions.

**Qubbah:** Squared plan volume covered with a spheric dome. It is typical in Arab-Muslim mosques and mausoleums. Appears in many forms and styles over the diverse periods and geographies of the Islamic world.

**Reconquista:** Highly controversial category that comprises all invasions, battles, and frontier movements between Christian and Muslim kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula, from the 8th century to the final surrender of Granada in 1492.

**Requerimiento:** Regulated protocol that Spaniard conquerors were obligated to perform when contacting indigenous groups. It worked as a sort of 'declaration of domination,' required to comply with the Castilian legislative tradition developed during 800 years of medieval territorial claims and conflicts against Al-Andalus.

**Sebka:** Architectural element characteristic of Almohad architecture in North Africa and Al-Andalus (12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> cc.), consisting on layers of oblique bricks conforming patterns, crossed arches, and other decorations.

**Suerte:** Settlement privileges assigned to a single Spanish settler. It included a piece of urban land for building a house and a plot of farming land. Privileges settlers received several *suertes*.

**Taifa:** Independent Andalusian kingdom. These regional realms usually appeared after periods of political unification like the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba or the Almohad annexation of Al-Andalus. When central powers debilitated in the

11$^{th}$, 12$^{th}$ and 13$^{th}$ centuries, local elites rose to power for periods of time that oscillate from case to case. Most taifas lasted for less than a hundred years and held a complicated relationship with adjacent Christian and Muslim kingdoms. For example, Taifas like Murcia eventually became vassals of Castile to gain stability and avoid draining conflicts. In the 13th, emir Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Nasr of Arjona (Jaén) used the same strategy, stabilizing the Castilian frontier to focus on military advances against neighbouring realms and eventually create the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.

**Torre del Homenaje**: higher and reinforced tower in a medieval castle that could operate as a separate keep in case that the enemy overpowered the outer defences of the castle.

**Vecino:** Legally constituted neighbour or citizen of a given city. The figure of *vecino* of a certain new town included the enjoyment of every privilege and endorsement enacted for that city, in reciprocity of the repopulation effort made by its settlers.

**Villa de Señorío:** towns ruled by individual lords who benefited from their lands in exchange of protecting them. These were more common in the frontier, assigned to *adelantados* specialized in border control.

**Villa Realenga:** Royal towns which had particular privileges and counted with their own councillors and judges.

**Visigoths:** Predominant Goth culture in the Iberian Peninsula between 6th and 8th centuries. Their domain was divided in several regions with a considerable level of independence, a fact that is considered crucial for the quick conquest of the Peninsula by Muslim invaders in 711. Hispanic northern Christian kingdoms such as Asturias, Aragon, Leon, and Castille considered themselves descendant of Visigoths kings and noblemen who fought against the expansion of Islam to the Pyrenean frontier.

**Visita a la Tierra:** Typology of protocolary report regulated by the New Laws for the Indies enacted in 1542. Its objective was to inform on the relationship between Spanish colonists and natives, with special attention to the *encomiendas* or native redux in charge of a particular Spaniard, who benefitted from their forced labour.[992]

**Visita de 1560:** Record of the visit made by Tomás López to a series of native redux [*encomiendas*] in the New Kingdom of Granada to count their number and report on their status.

**Yanna:** Islamic paradise described in the Coran as a celestial garden.

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[992]

# Glossary of characters

### *Characters mentioned in Chapter 1*

**Al Ghafiqi:** Abd al-Rahaman ibn Abd Allah al-Ghafiqi, governor of the al-Andalus region in representation of the Umayyad Califate in Damascus between 721-722 and 730-732.

**Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona (c. 1073 - 1134):** Also known as 'El Batallador' [the battler]. Son of King Sancho Ramírez. Monarch involved in many campaigns and battles thorough the Iberian Peninsula, including the conquest of Zaragoza in 1118.

**Alhamar (1194-1273):** Muhammad ibn Yúsuf ibn Nasr, founder of the Nasrid dynasty and first king of Granada.

**Diego Sánchez de Funes (13th c. - 1296):** Adelantado mayor of the frontier and councillor of Alphonse X. He was in charge of coordinating the operations of lords appointed to towns and castles in the Andalusian frontier. Sánchez de Funes owned the castles of Cazalla and Cárchel near Jaen and was responsible for their defence and management, among many other border positions.

**Francesc de Eiximenis (1330-1409):** Franciscan philosopher influenced by the neo-Aristotelian movement and highly influential to the Aragonese crown, especially in Cataluña and the kingdom of Valencia. Author of 'Lo Crestiá', a treaty on the government of Christian societies and cities.

**Jaume I de Aragón y Pamplona (1213-1276):** King of Aragón, Valencia, count of Barcelona, and Lord of Montpellier. His campaigns led to the conquest of the Balear Archipelago.

**Jaume II de Mallorca (1243-1311):** Second son of King Jaume I and heir to the kingdom of Mallorca. He was originally born in Montpellier, highlighting the close connection of the kingdom of Aragon and its domains to the cultures and peoples in south France.

**Juan Ruiz de Baeza (13th - 14th cc.):** *Adelantado*, lord of the castle of La Guardia.

**Rafael Martí de Viciana (1502-1584):** Historian and public notary born in Burriana, Valencia. Author in 1564 of *Crónica de la ínclita y coronada ciudad de Valencia y de su reyno,* historical compendium of cities and noble families in the Kingdom of Valencia.

**Sancho Martínez de Jódar (13th c. - 1274/1276):** Adelantado mayor of the Andalusian frontier between 1257 and 1258 before being relieved by Diego Sánchez de Funes. Owner of the castles of Chincóyar and Neblir in Sierra Mágina.

**Sancho Ramírez de Aragón y Pamplona (c. 1043-1094):** First Monarch of the kingdom of Aragon and the Catalan counties. Responsible for the first Fueros of Jaca and Estella.

### Characters mentioned in Chapter 2

**Alonso de Morales:** Shepherd, settler at Mancha Real [poblador viejo]. Interrogated by Juan de Reolid during the foundational process in 1539 regarding the discussion about Dehesa de Riez.

**Alonso Hernández:** Measurer supporting judge Rivadeneyra during the foundational process at Sierra Sur in 1539.

**Antón de Myrez:** Former vigilant of Dehesa de Riez, near Mancha Real. Interrogated by Juan de Reolid during the foundational process in 1539.

**Benito Martinez de Roma:** Farmer at Dehesa de Riez, near Mancha Real. Interrogated by Juan de Reolid during the foundational process in 1539.

**Diego Fernández de Iranzo:** Member of Jaen's council and nephew of Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo. Veteran of the Granada War. Participated in the foundational process of new towns in Jaen's Sierra Sur.

**Francisco de Bobadilla:** Castilian high ranking military officer. Veteran of the war of Granada. First major of Santa Fe between 1492 and 1492. Warden of the Castles of Cambil and Alhabar in the northern border of Granada. General governor of the Indies between 1500 and 1502.

**Francisco Salvago:** Local judge of Jaén. First judge appointed to coordinate the colonization project at Sierra Sur in 1537. He was taken out of the charge due to the complaints of the settlers, who rightfully accused him of benefiting his circle of aristocratic relationships in Jaén.

**Jerónimo Bustamante:** Second judge assigned to the new plantations at Sierra Sur. He worked on them between 1538 and 1539, when he was replaced by Juan de Rivadeneyra.

**Juan Cerezo:** Representative of Jaen's council. He dealt with judge Rivadeneyra on several occasions during the foundational process at Sierra Sur in 1539, presenting written demands and communications from Jaen against the judge's actions and decisions.

**Juan de Molina:** Measurer supporting judge Rivadeneyra during the foundational process at Sierra Sur in 1539. De Molina was a key agent since he had collaborated with the previous judge Jerónimo Bustamante and was aware of some of his actions and decisions that had not been officially recorded.

**Juan de Reolid:** Stonemason and sculptor trained at Granada and Jaen Cathedrals' construction, commissioned in 1539 as tracer [*tracista*] of the foundational plans for the new towns in Sierra Sur, eventually being granted settler privileges and lands in them. Later on he produced valuable sculptures for the main altars in the Cathedral of Jaen and other relevant temples in the region.

**Juan de Requena:** *Alarife* supporting judge Rivadeneyra during the foundational process at Sierra Sur in 1539.

**Juan de Rivadeneyra:** Third judge assigned to the project of new towns at Sierra Sur. Coming from Valladolid, he was assigned to the project as an un-biased agent able to navigate the entangled network of political influences and conflicts in

Jaén. He coordinated the plantations of all four new towns between April and August of 1539.

**Juan de Torres:** Vigilant of Dehesa de Riez, near Mancha Real. Interrogated by Juan de Reolid during the foundational process in 1539.

**Juan Delgado:** Public notary of the council of Mancha Real in 1548. He modified Reolid's foundational plan with a note on the planting of trees at the main square and the moment in which its fountain first flowed fresh water.

**Juan López Delgado:** Farmer at Dehesa de Riez, near Mancha Real. Interrogated by Juan de Reolid during the foundational process in 1539.

**Juan Vázquez:** Royal notary in charge during the foundational process at Sierra Sur between 1537 and 1539. He was in charge of all the written documents, acts, records, and certifications generated by judge Rivadeneyra and his predecessors. He even recorded events and ceremonies in which the judges were not physically present but acted through the representation of a third-party. All four foundational books in Sierra Sur were written by Juan Vázquez and bear his signature.

**Luis de Molina:** Public notary at Mancha Real in 1570. Author of the only copy of Mancha Real's foundational plan that survives today.

**Miguel Lucas de Iranzo:** Castile High Chancellor [*Canciller Mayor de Castilla*] between 1458-1473, one of the highest ranked members of the Royal Council and head of the Royal Archive.

**Sebastián Ruiz del Salto:** *Alarife* supporting judge Rivadeneyra during the foundational process at Sierra Sur in 1539.

### *Characters mentioned in Chapter 3*

**Alonso Fernández de Lugo:** Spanish *adelantado*, leader of the second and final conquest expedition to the Canary Islands supported by the Catholic Monarchs. Disembarked at Tenerife for the first time on April 30th, 1493. Founder of San Cristóbal de la Laguna in 1496.

**Andrés Díaz Venero de Leyva:** General Captain of Nueva Granada. He authorized the first plantation of Villa de Leyva in 1572. The city bears his name as a tribute.

**Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza:** Spanish military official, veteran of Charles V campaigns in Germany and Flanders. Viceroy of Perú between 1556 and 1560.

**Antonio Jové:** High deputy of Tunja, with the rank of captain. He coordinated the second plantation of Villa de Leyva in 1582.

**Battista (Bautista) Antonelli:** Italian military engineer at the service of Philip II. Author many fortification projects including the design of a fortified perimeter for Cartagena de Indias in the late 16th century.

**Diego de Henares Lezama:** Colonial Spanish officer under the authority of Diego de Losada. Author of the 1578 plan of Santiago de León de Caracas and its surroundings.

**Diego de Losada:** Spanish *adelantado*, conqueror of the region of Venezuela and founder of Santiago de León de Caracas on 1567.

**Diego de Torres:** Muisca chieftain (*cacique*) of Tumerqué and relevant agent in Boyacá and the Royal Court between 1570 and 1590. De Torres was one of the first mestizos in the region, son of the Spanish encomendero Juan de Torres and the Muisca princess Doña Catalina de Moyachoque, daughter of the high chieftain Tisquesusa (*zipa*). He petitioned the Royal Court in 1574 to conserve his chieftain rights and, in 1586, issued the most detailed report conserved on the grievances committed on the Muisca community at Nueva Granada, which is conserved at the Archivo General de Indias. He travelled twice to the Royal Court at Madrid and eventually moved to the Spanish capital.

**Francisco de Aguirre:** Spanish conquistador. Appointed governor of the Tucumán valley between 1553 and 1554. Co-governor of Chile along with Francisco de Villagra after the decease of Pedro de Valdivia. Aguirre and Villagra shared a complicated political relationship as co-rulers for three years until Perú's Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza ended it abruptly

**Francisco de Horbina:** Public notary from Santiago's courthouse. He supported Pedro del Castillo during the first plantation of Mendoza, writing and certifying official documents.

**Francisco de Villagra:** Spanish official. Explorer of the Valley of Cuyo in the 1550s. He would later become General Captain of Chile and command his subordinate Juan Jufré to settle the region.

**García Hurtado de Mendoza:** Son of Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza. Appointed by his father as governor of Chile between 1557 and 1561, when he was replaced by Francisco de Villagra.

**Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada:** Spanish adelantado. Founder of Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1539. Originally trained as a lawyer, with professional experience at Granada's Royal Chancery.

**Gonzalo Suárez Rendón:** Spanish captain under the orders of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Founder of Tunja in 1539.

**Guanches:** Native culture at the Canary Archipelago, divided in several tribes inhabiting different islands and culturally differentiated. Conquered and enslaved through several Spanish invasions in the 14th century. Their culture was described in detail by Leonardo Torriani. The Guanches are extinct today, even though some of their racial and cultural traits perdure in the Canary Islands.

**Hernán Suárez de Villalobos:** Provincial governor of Tunja. Commanded the second plantation of Villa de Leyva in 1582.

**Joan Ruiz Cabeza de Baca:** Public notary at Tunja's council. He recorded and certified the first foundational documents of Villa de Leyva in 1572.

**Juan Barrera:** Spanish *encomendero* at the Valley of Saquencipá, Boyacá. The first plantation of Villa de Leyva in 1572 was placed next to his lands and his mill. He was one of the first agents who protested against it.

**Juan de Contreras:** Public notary from Santiago's city council. Arrived at Mendoza in 1561 to report on the advances of the plantation and the merits of Pedro del Castillo. He is the author of Mendoza's first plan of farming lots [*ejidos*] and

other mandatory documents to complete the foundational process. He received an urban parcel and a farming lot at Mendoza, probably as payment for his services.

**Juan Jufré de Loaiza Montesa:** Governor of Cuyo appointed by Francisco Villagra. He was responsible for the second plantation of Mendoza in 1562, creating a new set of foundational plans and redistributing parcels among settlers.

**Juan Pimentel:** Governor of Venezuela between 1576 and 1583. Author of the report on the province of Caracas featuring the plan traced by Diego de Henares Lezama.

**Leonardo Torriani:** Italian military engineer at the service of Philip II. Author of the atlas titled "Descripción e historia del Reino de las Islas Canarias."

**Mapuches:** Majoritarian native group in the south of Chile. Also known as Aracaunians. Famous for their resistance against the Spanish colonizers. A truce was reached in 1641, providing a relative level of independence to the Mapuches but always under strict Spanish vigilance. The conquest and colonization of their territory would resurge back as a Chilean national ambition after its independence in the 19th century.

**Martín de Lucuriaga:** Official notary at the council of Tunja, Nueva Granada. Appointed during the second plantation of Villa de Leyva in 1582.

**Miguel Sánchez:** Major of Tunja. Commanded the second plantation of Villa de Leyva in 1582.

**Muiscas:** Majoritarian native group in the Andean region of Nueva Granada, particularly in Boyacá and Cundinamarca, were the cities of Tunja and Santa Fe de Bogotá were planted in 1539.

**Pedro Arias de Ávila: Also known as Pedrarias Dávila, Spanish adelantado and conqueror of** the Caribbean coast between 1515 and 1520. He secured the region known as *Tierra Firme,* which included most of the northern provinces of South America: Panamá, Colombia, Venezuela, Guyana.

**Pedro de Heredia:** Spanish *adelantado,* founder of Cartagena de Indias in 1933.

**Pedro de Mesa:** Acting governor of Cuyo appointed by Francisco Villagra in 1561 until the arrival of Juan Jufré de Loaiza Montesa.

**Pedro de Valdivia:** Spanish conqueror and governor (General Captain) of Chile until 1553, when he died in the war against the Mapuche.

**Pedro Ruiz de Castillo:** Spanish conqueror. Founder of the city of Mendoza in the region of Cuyo in 1561, by order of García Hurtado de Mendoza.

# Appendixes

## Appendix A – Transcriptions

### 1. Transcription of the royal executory order signed by Charles V for the population of Sierra Sur, 1537.

Spanish transcription by José Miguel Delgado Barrado, José Fernández García and María Amparo López Arandia. Originally published in: Delgado Barrado, José Miguel, José Fernández García, and María Amparo López Arandia. *Fundación e independencia: fuentes documentales para la historia de Valdepeñas de Jaén (1508-1558)*. Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, Cultura y Deportes, 2009.

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fol 1. r.

**Don Carlos, por la divina clemenzia**/ emperador Semper avgusto, rey de Alemania, doña/ Juana, su madre, y el mismo don Carrlos [sic], por la grazia/ de Dios, reyes de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las Dos/ Sizilias, de Gerusalen, de Nabar(r)a, de Granada, de Toledo,/ de Balenzia, de Galizia, de Mallorcas, de Sebilla de/ Zerdeña, de Cordoba, de Corzega, de Murzia, de Jaen,/ de los Algarbes, de Algesira, de Giblaltar, de las/ yslas de Canaria, de las Yndias/, yslas y tier(r)a firme/ del mar ozeano, condes de Barzelona, señores de/ Bizcaya y de Molina, duques de Atenas y de Neo-/ patria, condes de Ruysellon y de Zerdania, marque-/ses de Oristan y de Goziano, archiduques de Avstria,/ duques de Borgoña y de brabante, condes de Flandes/ y Tirol, ettzª, a bos, el nuestro justicia mayor y a/ los del nuestro consejo, presidente y oidores/ de las nuestras avdienzias, alcaldes, alguaziles/ de nuestra casa y corte y chanzillerias y a todos/ los cor(r)egidores, asistentes, gobernadores [sic] al-/Caldes y alguaziles y otros juztizias y jueces/ qualesquier, así de la ciudad de Jaen como de/ todas las otras ciudades, billas y lugares de los/ nuestros reynos y señoríos, y cada vno de los/ vuestros lugares e juridiziones a quien/ esta nuestra carta fuere, nos da esta [roto e ilegible]//

fol. 1 v.

v. y grazia sepades que pleyto se trata ante los del/ nuestro consejo entre partes, de la vna, avtores/ demandantes ziertos bezinos particulares de la/ ciudad de Jaen y

de los lugares de su tier(r)a, e de/ la otra, reos defendientes, el Conzejo, Justizia/ y rejidores de la d(ic)ha ciudad e la cofradía de la Mesta/ della e sus procuradores en sus nombres sobre ra-/ zon quen la ciudad de Granada, a doce días del mes/ de agosto del año pasado de mil y quinientos/ y veinte y seis años, Sebastian de Tor(r)es, jurado / e bezino de d(ic)ha ciudad, por si y en nombre de los/ d(ic)hos bezinos della e de su tier(r)a, presento ante nos/ en el nuestro Consejo vna carta e probision/ real de mi, la Reyna, firmada del católico/ rey don Ferrnando [sic], nues-tro señor padre y abuelo,/ <margen izquierdo: ojo> sellada con nuestro sello e li-brada de los del nuestro/ Consejo, su tenor de la qual es este que se sigue.=/

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**Doña Juana, por la grazia de**/ Dios, reyna de Castilla, de Leon, de Granada,/ de Toledo, de Galizia, de Sebilla, de Cordoba,/ de Murzia de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algezira,/ de Gibraltar, de las yslas de Canaria, de las/ Yndias, yslas y tier(r)a firme del mar ozeano,/ princesa de Aragon e de las dos Sizilias, de/ Gerusalen, ar-chiduquesa de Austria, duquesa/ de Borgoña y de Brabante, condesa de Flndes,/ de Tirol, señora de Bizcata e de Molina, ettzª,/ por quanto por parte de bos, el Conzejo, jus-/tizia, beyntiquatros, caballeros jurados, escuderos,/ oficiales y hombres buenos de la ciudad de Jaen,/ me fue fecha relación por vna petición di-/siendo quen los términos e sier(r)a desa d(ic)ha/ ciudad e de su juridizion ay dispusizion para/ hacer e poblar algunos lugares, en especial-/mente en el Canpillo de Arenas, questa siete/leguas desa d(ic)ha ciudad y otras siete leguas//

fol 2 r.

De la ciudad de Granada, porque todo el camino/ questa y ay desa d(ic)ha ciu-dad a la d(ic)ha ciudad de Granada/ esta despoblado, en el qual d(ic)ho lugar po-drían/ bibir zien bezinos, porque allí muy buenas aguas/ y tier(r)as calmas e montes que se podrian ron-/per para biñas y olivares, y todas las otras/ cosas nezesarias a la población= E que/ asimismo en la Naba el Can sue [sic] puede hacer/ otra pobla-ción questaria dos leguas del d(ic)ho/ Canpillo de Arenas, hacia la parte de la d(ic)ha/ ciudad, a seis leguas della, en el qua labia para/ cincuenta bezinos, porque asimismo ay muchas/ aguas y sitios para molinos, e tier(r)as, e biñas y o-/libares de riego, e tier(r)as de pan= E que/ en el termino que dicen= Susaña e Rnera, con con/ el ar(r)yo El Zerezo, se puede hacer otra po-/blazion de otros zien bezinos, porque ay muchas/ aguas e ríos y fuentes, en lo qual antigua-/mente parece que vbo población e tenia sus/ azequias y abria en el para siento y çincuenta/ bezinos, en el qual d(ic)ho termino ay muchas guertas/ e biñas y olibares, e molinos e tier(r)as de riego/ e de secano, e rasos e montes que se pueden/ rozar e cabar en gran cantidad, el qual esta/ zinco leguas desa d(ic)ha ziudad e tres de la ziudad/ de Alcala la Real= Y que asimismo=/ en El Hoyo e Cabañeros se puede hazer otro pueblo/ de otros zien be-zinos, porque tiene muchas aguas/ e tier(r)as para huertas e biñas, e para pan y tier(r)as/ calmas, y montes para abrir e rozar, el qual es-/tara quatro leguas desa d(ic)ha ziudad= E que/ asimismo, la billa de Otiñas era billa zecada de/buen muro e tor(r)es de cal y canto con una forta-/leza, en el qual se podria hazer vna billa de/

zincuentas bezinos, a los quales se podria dar/ el canpo de los Almogabares para tier(r)as en/ que senbrasen pan, la qual tenia vn rio junto/ al pie donde abia higueras e huertas, y morales/ y otros muchos arboles, lo qual estaba/ tres leguas desa d(ic)ha ziudad= E que asimismo,//

fol. 2 v.

En el zer(r)o El Biento en los Billares de Heliche/ abia vn lugar para hazer otra poblazion de/ trezientos bezinos con el zer(r)o El Biento, e Hoya/ Bellida, e las haldas del Puerto Biejo con las Mora-/ledas e con la [sic] bertientes de Jabalcuz, por el qual/ sitio pasa el rio que dizen de Riofrio, y por otra/ parte, el rio de Heliche, el qual tenia mucho riego/ para tier(r)as de pan, e para huertas e biñas, y o-/libares y molinos, en el qual parezia aber/ abido antiguamente poblazion, y questa desa/ d(ic)ha ziudad legua y media = E que asimismo,/ a la parte de la billa de To(r)es, ay vn sitio que dizen/ El Triana, en que podria aber poblazion para/ zien bezinos, con La Mancha e la Tor(r) el Moral,/ e con zierta parte de vna dehesa que se dize/ Deyex, en qual abia muy buenas aguas e muchas/ tier(r)as de pan e para biñas, el qual estaba/ tres leguas desa d(ic)ha ziudad. Por ende, que nos/ suplicabades e pe-diades por merzed bos diese/ lizenzia e facultad para que en los d(ic)hos sitios/ e terminos suso declarados, pues heran terminos/ e jurisdizion desa d(ic)ha ziudad, se pudiesen hazer/ e hiz(i)esen los d(ic)hos lugares e poblaziones, por-/que seria cavsa de ennoblezer mas a esa d(ic)ha ziudad, y aprobecharlas de pan, e bino, e huertas,/ y olibares, y casas, e ganados, e colmenares,/ e leña e carbon, porque a cavsa destar la/ d(ic)ha sier(r)a despoblada desa d(ic)ha ziudad , no se po-/dria apro-bechar della, e porque los caminos/ serian mas siguros como la mi merzed fuese, lo/ qual bisto por los del mi consejo e consultado/ con el Rey, mi señor y padre, fue acordado/ que debia de mandar dar esta mi carta en/ <margen izquierdo: la> d(ic)ha razon , e yo tubelo por bien, y por esta/ mi carta bos doy lizenzia e facultad para/ que en los d(ic)hos terminos de suso declarados,/ siendo buestros e dentro de los terminos/ e juridizion desa d(ic)ha ziudad, e no/ siendo en perjuyzio de d(ic)ho lugar alguno,//

fol. 3 r.

podays poblar e pobleys los d(ic)hos lugares y pobla-/ziones de suso declara-dos, con tanto que la jurisdizion/ dellos sea desa d(ic)ha ziudad y de sus terminos e jurisdizion/ para agora e para sienpre jamas, y con que los ter-/minos donde se hi-zieren las d(ic)has poblaziones sean/ comunes a todos los bezinos desa d(ic)ha  ziu-dad e de las/ billas y lugares de su tier(r)a e jurisdizion, sigun y de/ la manera que los son los terminos de los otros/ lugares desa d(ic)ha ziudad que agora estan po-blados, para/ lo qual asi hazer y cunplir bos doy poder cunplido por/ esta mi carta, bos doy poder cunplido [sic] con todas sus ynziden-/zias y dependenzias, anexida-des e conexidades. Dada/ en la ziudad de Burgos, a diez y siete dias del mes de/marz, año del nazimiento de nuestro Salbador Jesu-/cristo de mil y quinientos y ocho años, yo, el Rey./ Yo, Lope de Conchillos, secretario de la Reyna, nuestra/ señora, la dize escrebir por su mandado del Rey,/ su padre= Conde Alferez= El

lizenziatus de/ Santiago= El lizenziatus Palanco (sic)= Rexistrada,/ el lizenziatus Xilis Castañeda, chanziller./

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**Juntamente con la qual dicha nuestra**/ merzed, que de suso ba yncorporada, presento asimismo/ en el nuestro Consejo vna petizion en que dixo que/ sobre lo contenido y la d(ic)ha nuestra carta el te-/niente de cor(r)exidor que a la sazon era en la d(ic)ha / ziudad, vbo muy bastante ynformazion a pedimiento/ del procurador jeneral della, por la qual constaba/ la grande vtilidad y probecho que resultaba de/ se hazer poblar en los lugares en la d(ic)ha nuestra/ carta contenidos, como todo resultaba por la d(ic)ha/ ynformazion que asimismo ante nos presentaba,/ por ende que nos suplicaba le mandasemos dar/ carta e sobrecarta de la d(ic)ha carta, man-dando/ por ella se hiziesen los d(ic)hos lugares e pobla-/ziones que mas largamente en la d(ic)ha//

fol 3 v.

petizion se contiene, la qual e la d(ic)ha informa-/zion es esta./

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**Por los del nuestro Consejo** mandamos/ dar e dimos nuestra sobrecarta de la d(ic)ha carta sellada/ con nuestro sello e librada dellas= La qual d(ic)ha sobre-/carta nuestra de la d(ic)ha carta pareze fue notificada/a el Conzejo, justizia y rejimiento de la d(ic)ha ziudad,/ e que fue obedezida, e quanto al cunplimiento/ della por el bachiller Zibrian de Ortega, juez de/ residenzia, e por ziertos rejidores que a la sa-zon/ eran della, a la respuesta que a la d(ic)ha nuestra carta/ dieron dixeron que suplicaban y siplicaron della/ para ante nos por ziertas causas y agrabios que/ ale-garon despues de lo qual en prosecuzion/ de la d(ic)ha suplicazion Martin Despino-sam, jurado/ e bezino de la d(ic)ha ziudad, y en su nonbre presento/ ante los del nuestro Consejo vna petizion en que/ dixo que afirmandose en la suplicazion ynter-/puesta por la d(ic)ha ziudad de la d(ic)ha nuestra carta,/ y suplicando della de nuevo como ynjusta y muy a-/grabiada contra ella la debiamos mandar re-/bocar, y junta-mente con la d(ic)ha carta/ por mi, la Reyna, dada, porque no abia sido de mi gana <entre líneas: nada>/ con su poder, antes biniendo a su notizia la contra-/dixo, e porque la relazion e la d(ic)ha sobrecarta/ della fue ganada, abia sido siniestra, y porque/ si lo en ellas declarado se vbiera de cunplir/ se siguiera mucho daño a la d(ic)ha ziudad, porque la/ cavsa por questaba tan poblada era por estar/ sus terminos desocupados para poder criar en/ ella sus ganados y tener otras granxerias, lo/ qual todo zesaria e se seguirian muchos daños/ si los d(ic)hos terminos e sier(r)a de la d(ic)ha ziudad se/ poblase, porque se dester(r)ia el pasto y yerba//

fol. 4 r.

dellos, donde se sustentaban las yeguas, y bacas, y el/ otro ganado de la d(ic)ha ziudad y sus terminos, porque/ todos los otros, salbo en aquel donde mandabamos/ hazer la d(ic)ha poblazion, abia mucha falta de pasto/ y leña, seria cavsar que

aquella, y el carbon y los/ ganados se subiesen a muy mayores prezios que a la/ sazon balian, porque de donde se probeyan para sus/ nezesidades era de los d(ic)hos terminos y ser(r)a, e po-/blandose de bezinos de la d(ic)ha ziudad, aquellos que en/ ellos se abezindasen abian de faltar en ella, y si/ fuesen forasteros de nezesidad los naturales, por/ la nezesidad y estrechatura del terminose abian de/ yr de la d(ic)ha ziudad, abian de yr a bibir a otras partes,/ donde hallasen mas anchura e cantidad de termino =/ que en ella obiese mayormente que abia poca ne-/zesidad labrar para pan en los d(ic)hos terminos/ y sier(r)a, ni hazer huertas en ellos, porque en los/ otros de la d(ic)ha ziudad abia muy crezida cantidad de/ ellos adonde se pudiesen hazer, e como d(ic)ho es el/ pasto y leña le hara mucha falta, por todo lo/ qual y por otras ziertas razones que por la d(ic)ha/ petizion dixo y alego, ofreziendose a probar lo neze-/sario, nos pidio y suplico mandasemos rebocar e/ dar por ningunas las d(ic)has nuestras carta e sobre-/carta, de la qual d(ic)ha petizion por los del nuestro/ Consejo fue mandado dar traslado a la parte de los/ d(ic)hos bezinos particulares de la d(ic)ha ziudad e tier(r)a,/ y el d(ic)ho Sebastian de Tor(r)es, jurado della, y en su non-/bre, presento ante nos otra petizion en que dixo/ que debiamos de mandar hazer lo que por su parte/ estaba pedido e suplicado, porque lo obligado por/ la d(ic)ha ziudad no era ynconbenietes [sic] para dexar/ de poblar las d(ic)has sier(r)as e terminos, pues dellos/ se siguiria tan vnibersal probecho, de los quales/ no se traeria leña ninguna para la d(ic)ha ziudad,/ y los ganados que en ellos sepastaban rezebirian mucho daño de los lobos por estar//

fol. 4 v.

despoblado, e que claro estaba que para poblar/ los(ic)hos lugares abian de dalle a jente que a ellos/ quisiesen benir a vivir de la d(ic)ha ziudad y su tier(r)a,/ abian de benir otros de fuera della, e de todo ello se/ rezebia mucha vtilidad, por lo uqal nos pedia y su-/plicaba mandasemos hazer e hiziesemos, sigun/ de suso nos tenia suplicado, de la qual d(ic)ha petizion/ fue mandado dar traslado a la parte de la d(ic)ha ziudad/ y a cavsa de se aber ydo desta corte su pro-/curador a suplicazion de las d(ic)has personas parti-/culares, mandamos dar e dimos nuestra carta de/ enplazamiento contra el conzejo=, justizia e/ beintiquatros della, para quenbiasen ante los del/ nuestro consejo dentro de zierto termino so procurador/ en seguimiento de la d(ic)ha cavsa, despues de lo qual=/ Baltasar de la Fuente, en nonbre de lad(ic)ha cofradia/ de la Mesta de la d(ic)ha ziudad de Jaen, presento ante/ nos, por lo qual dixo que por la d(ic)ha nuestra carta/ que a pedimento de los d(ic)hos bezinos par-/ticulares/ de la d(ic)ha ziudad de Jaen y su tier(r)a mandamos dar e/ dimos para que se poblase de  bezindad ziertos lu-/gares de su termino. Fue mandado que para lo hazer/ ante todas cosas fuesen llamadas las partes a quien/ tocaba, e como tales fueron zitados para ello las/ d(ic)has sus partes, los quales no habian dado ynfor-/mazion/ muy bastante ante la justizia de la d(ic)ha ziudad como/ de se hazer lo contenido en la d(ic)ha nuestra carta/ no se le seguia ninguna vtilidad a la d(ic)ha justizia/ e rejidores della abian botado sobre si seria cosa/ conbeniente hazerse e poblarse los d(ic)hos lugares,/ y por todo abia sido acordado serle muy perjudizial/ a la d(ic)ha ziudad, sin enbargo de lo qual a pedimiento/ de los d(ic)hos particulares

se vbo zierta ynfor-/mazion fecha por parte de la d(ic)ha cofadria [sic]/ de la Mesta
e sin hazernos relazion de nungina/ cosa dello, bisto por nos, fue mandado dar la
d(ic)ha/ e sobrecarta de la d(ic)ha carta, e porque abia sido//

fol. 5 r.

en su perjuyzio, nos pedia e suplicaba mandasemos/ ver la d(ic)ha ynformazion
y parezeres que ante nos/ presento, y en el entretanto que se beya e pro-/beya lo que
se conbiniese, mandasemos probeer/ e sobreser el efeto de la d(ic)ha sobrecarta e
como/ la nuestra merzed fuese, sobre lo qual todo que/ d(ic)ho es por las d(ic)has
partes fueron presentadas/ ante nos ziertas probanzas, escrituras d(ic)has, y ale-/ga-
das otras razones por otras ziertas petiziones/ que cada vno en guarda de su derecho
presentaron,/ hasta tanto que bisto por los del nuestro consejo/ el prozeso todo del
d(ic)ho pleyto, pron(n)ziaron en el/ vn avto, su tenor del qual es este que se sigue.=

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**En la billa de Balladolid, catorze**/ dias del mes de agosto de mil y quinientos
y treynta/ y seys años, bisto por algunos del Consejo de Sus/ Magestades el prozeso
dentre la ziudad de Jaen/ y Mesta de la vna parte, e de la otra ziertos bezinos/ par-
ticulares sobre la poblazion de la sier(r)a de/ la d(ic)ha ziudad, mandaron/ quel
cor(r)ejidor de la d(ic)ha/ ziudad en persona con vn rejidor della que sea sin/ sospe-
cha en el negozio, baya a ver por bista de ojos/ la d(ic)ha sier(r)a, en espezial hazia
el camino que ba/ a Granada, y la calidad e disposizion della, y asi de/ su ofizio
como a pedimiento de parte aya ynformazion/ de los ynconbenientes, y perjuyzios,
y utilidades y/ probecho que se siguira en que se haga la d(ic)ha po-/blazion, sigun
que por las partes a sido alegado, y/ rezebida la enbien con su parezer, por birtud/
del qual d(ic)ho avto que de suso ba yncorporado, mandamos / dar e dimos nuestra
carta e probision real para/ quel d(ic)ho cor(r)egidor de la d(ic)ha ziudad, junta-
mente/ con vn rejidor della, fuesen a ber y biesen por bista/ de ojos la d(ic)ha sier(r)a
y obiesen la d(ic)ha ynformazion/ sigun y como en el d(ic)ho avto se contiene, y en
cun-/pli(mi)ento dello, el d(ic)ho cor(r)ejidor y un rejidor bieron/ los d(ic)hos ter-
minos y sier(r)a, e sobrello se vbo

fol. 5 v.

zierta ynformazion, la qual juntamente con sus/ parezeres enbiaron ante los del
nuestro consejo,/ ante los quales Luis de Godoy, en nonbre de los d(ic)hos/ bezinos
particulares de la d(ic)ha/ ziudad e tier(r)a de Jaen,/ presento vna petizion en que
dixo que pues la d(ic)ha/ probanza y todo lo demas que por la d(ic)ha nuestra/
manda mandamos hazerse abra cunplido asi e/ traydo e presentado ante nos, nos
pedia e supli-/caba lo mandasemos ber y probeer zerca dello/ lo que mas conbiniese
a nuestro serbizio y al/ bien publico, haziendo sobre todo lo que ha-/llasemos por
justizia, de la qual d(ic)ha petizion/ por los del nuestro consejo fue mandado dar/
traslado a las otras partes, a las quales por/ el d(ic)ho Luis de Godoy, en el d(ic)ho
nonbre fueron/ acusadas las rebeldias, e d(ic)has e alegadas otras/ ziertas razones

en guarda de su derecho por otras/<margen izquierdo: ojo> [ilegible: tachado] petiziones quel d(ic)ho pleyto presento presento [sic]/, el qual y las d(ic)has probisiones y parezeres, y todo/ lo demas sobrello fecho, bisto por los del nuestro/ consejo, pronu(n)ziaron en la d(ic)ha cavsa vn avto/ señalado, con sus señales, su tenor del qual es/ este que se sigue./

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**En la billa de Balladolid, quatro**/ dias del mes de jullio de mil y quinientos y treynta/ y siete años, bisto por los señores del Consejo de/ Sus Magestades el prozeso del pleyto ques entre/ Luis de Godoy, bezino de la ziudad de Jaen, por si/ y en nonbre de los otros bezinos dellae de/ su tier(r)a e consortes, de vna parte, e de la otra/ el conzejo, justizia e rejimiento e conzejos de la/ Mestade la d(ic)ha ziudad sobre si se poblaran/ ziertos lugares que se quieren hazer e poblar/ en los terminos de d(ic)ha ziudad, dixeron que/ debian confirmar e confirmaron el grado/ de rebista=lo por ellos probeydo e mandado/ en el d(ic)ho negozio= en que mandabaron/ dar sobrecarta carta [sic] de la carta de sus al-/tezas que fue dada en burgos en el ano de mil//

fol. 6 r.

y quinientos y ocho, por la qual mandaron po-/blar los d(ic)hos lugares sigun que mas largo/ en ella se contiene, para que guardase e/ <margen izquierdo: ojo> cunpla y execute, sin envargo de las suplica-/ziones ynterpuestas por la d(ic)ha ziudad e conzejo/ de la Mesta, e quel cor(r)ejidor e juez de resi-/denzia de la d(ic)ha ziudad e su lugarteniente, luego/ que fuere requerido con la carta executoria, en-/tienda en el cunplimiento della, e cunpla e guarde/ lo que por probision de Su Magestad les era man-/dado azerca de la manera que se a de tener en el/ repartimiento de las d(ic)has tier(r)as, y a que per-/sonas se a de dar, e con que condiziones e ynstruzion/ sobre la d(ic)ha poblazion, el qual d(ic)ho avto que de/ suso ba yncorporado fue notificado a los procu-/radores de las d(ic)has/ sus partes que pues aquel abia sido pronu(n)ziado/ en grado de rebista y por la d(ic)ha cavsa no abia/ abido del lugar de suplicazion ni otro remedio/ alguno, le mandasemos dar nuestra carta e-/xecutoria, para que lo en ella contenido obiese/ cunplido efeto, e como la nuestra merzed/ fuese, lo qual bisto por los del nuestro con-/sejo, fue acordado que debia-mos de mandar dar/ esta nuestra carta para bos en la d(ic)ha razon,/ y nos lo tubimoslo por bien, por la qual bos man-/damos a todos y a cada vno de bos en los d(ic)hos/ buestros lugares e juri(s)diziones, como d(ic)ho es,/ que beays el d(ic)ho postrero avto que asi en grado/ de rebista fue dado e pronun(n)ziado por los del/ nuestro consejo e la d(ic)ha carta de mi, la Reyna,/ de que en el se haze menzion que todo de suso/ ba yncorporado e lo guardeys, cunplays y exe-/cuteys e hagays guardar, cunplir y executar/ en todo y por todo, sigun y como en ello se [tachado] y en/ cada cosa dello se contiene e contra el tenor//

fol 6. v.

e forma de lo en ello contenido no bays, ni pa-/seys, ni consintays yr ni pasar por alguna manera,/ so pena de la nuestra merzed y de diez mil m(aravedie)s/ para la nuestra camara a cada vno que lo con-/trario hiziere, dada en la billa de Ballado-lid,/ a diez dias del mes de jullio de mil y quinientos/ y treynta y siete años <margen izquierdo: en 10 jullio/ 1531>= Junis Cardenalis=/ Dotor Guebara= Lizenziatus= Lizenciatus Jiron=/ el lic(encia)do de= e lizenziatus Mercado de Peñalosa=/ Yo, Al(ons)o de la Peña, escribano de camara de sus/ zesarea(s) catolicas magestades, la fize escrebir/ por su mandado, con acuerdo de los del su Consejo./ Rexistrada Martin de Bergara= Martin Ortiz, por chanziller./

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### Ynstruzion primera ======

**La horden que se a de tener en la/** poblazion que por carta executoria de su magestad/ esta mandada de hazer de ziertos lugares en la/ sier(r)a e termino de Jaen es lo siguiente./

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**Primeramente que se reziban por**/ bezinos honbres casados, e que bayan a residir a los/ lugares donde fueren rezebidos por bezinos/ con sus mujeres e casas pobladas dentro de/ vn año, e que si en el d(ic)ho termino no fueren/ a residir y poblar con sus mujeres, que luego/ sin otra mas ynformazion pierdan las be-/zinda-des que les fueren dadas e señaladas/ e que se puedan dar e probeer a otros./

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**Yten que los dichos lugares en**/ quanto buenamente fuere pusible, se/ pueblen de bezinos de lugares de fuera/ de la ziudad de Jaen e de su ter(r)a.//

fol. 7 r.

**Yten, que los dichos bezinos que asi/** se abezindaren en los d(ic)hos lugares sean obligados/ a estar e resedir en sus bezindades, que asi les fueren/ dadas cada vno diez años continuamente e que du-/rante los d(ic)hos diez años no pueda bender las d(ic)has/ sus bezindades ni parte alguna dellas a ninguna/ personade qualquer calidad e condizion que sean,/ ni poner zenso abierto ni zer(r)ado sobre las d(ic)has/ bezindades, ni en qualquier parte dellas, e que si/ hizieren qualquier cosa de las d(ic)has, pierdan las/ d(ic)has bezindades, asi los que las bendieren como/ los que las conpraren e pusieren el d(ic)ho zenso,/ e que las puedan dar [tachado] luego repartir e dar a otro/ que sea bezino que se biniere a bezindar, e pasando/ de los d(ic)hos diez años si lo bendiere, sea a persona/ que baya a bezindar en la misma bezindad que se tiene,/ y no de otra manera./

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**Yten que cada uno de los dichos/** bezinos que asi se abezindaren en los d(ic)hos lugares/ sean obligados hazer dentro de dos años vn cuerpo de/ casa de

siete tixeras de tapias, con sus cimientos, e que/ si obiere algunos pobres que hagan el d(ic)ho cuerpo/ de chozas e como mejor pudieren./

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**Yten que acada uno de los dichos be-**/ zinos que asi se abenzidaren en los d(ic)hos lugares,/ se de del riego la cantidad de tier(r)a que pareziere/ buenamente que se pudiere dar para guerta/ y para biña./

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**Yten que los dichos bezinos a quien**/ asi se dieren las d(ic)has bezindades sean obligados/ a poner e plantar, y tener puestas e plantadas/ las dichas biñas y guertas dentro de tres años./

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**E porque aca no se puede saber**/ la cantidad de tierras que a cada bezino se a de dar/ de secano y de riego, por no aber relazion de lo/ que cada termino donde se an de hazer e poblar/ los lugares tiene ni las bezindades que se//

fol. 7 v.

pueden dar sacado primeramente lo nezesario para/ las cosas que abaxo yran declaradas, se manda quel/ cor(r)egidor de Jaen tome consigo tres o quatro per-/sonas honr(r)adas, bezinos del pueblo, que sean/ sin sospecha y desperenzia en semejantes cosas/ y que tengan el zelo que conbiene al bien pu-/blico, con los quales baya a ber los terminos/ en que ansi se an de hazer las poblaziones e/ lugares atenta la cantidad dellas y los bezinos/ que se pueden abezindar, y la cantidad de tier(r)as que se/ puede dar a cada vno dellos, y para que se puedan/ conserbar y juntamente con ellos haga el d(ic)ho/ repartimiento declarando las bezindades que/ cada lugar puede, y deben ber la cantidad de tierras/ que a cada bezino se puede dar, asi de secano para/ ronper e labrar e poner de biña, como de riego/ para guerta, y asi fecho el d(ic)ho repartimiento/ y la horden que en ello se debe tener, se e-/xecute e se enbie al Consejo relazion de todo,/ firmado del d(ic)ho juez e de las otras personas que/ entendieron en ello./

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**Otro si por quanto las personas**/ que an litigado el d(ic)ho pleyto es justo que gozen/ de las d(ic)has poblaziones se manda que las tales/ personas que ansi lo an litigado sean admitidas/ a la poblazion de los d(ic)hos lugares y se les de/ las bezindades, sigun y como ar(r)iba esta d(ic)ho y de-/clarado, avnque sean bezinos de la d(ic)ha ziudad/ de Jaen e de su tier(r)a./

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**Yten, que sean obligados a ron-**/per, y ar(r)asar y rozar cada vno año de los/ montes que asi se les diere, la cantidad que a los/ dichos repartidores pareziese hasta

que los aca-/ben de ronper y ar(r)asar, so pena que si asi no lo/ hizieren que pierdan las d(ic)has bezindades e se/ den a otros en su lugar./

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<Margen izquierdo: Exidos y dehesa> **Yten, quel dicho cor(r)ejidor y los dichos**/ repartidores que asi hizieren el d(ic)ho reparti-/miento, señalen lo que les pareziere ser//

fol. 8 r.

nezesario para exido e dehesa de conzejo para/ cada lugar, porques la mas prenzipal parte para la/ poblazion./

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**Yten, que señalen los solares para**/ las casas e para la plaza conbenibles, haziendo/ sus calles en horden, e para horno, e tienda e carr-/nezeria que sea propio del conzejo./

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**Yten, an de señalar solar para la**/ yglesia y tier(r)a para la fabrica.

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**Yten, los sitios para los molinos ques-**/tubieren en los terminos de cada lugar los/ señalen para propios del conzejo./

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**Otro si, se manda quel dicho cor(r)egidor,**/ en vn libro enquadernado, haga que por el esc(r)ibano/ ante quien se hiziere este repartimiento, se asiente/ por menudo todas las bezindades que dieren y a quien,/ e ques lo que se da a cada vno, e lo que se señalare/ para todas las otras cosas aqui declaradas, y con las/ condiziones y de la manera que toman las d(ic)has be-/zindades, el qual se ponga en el arca del conzejo/ de la ziudad de Jaen, para que se sepa y aberigue/ lo que conbiniere zerca de lo aqui contenido/ que se ofreziere alguna duda

Al(ons)o de la Peña./

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**E presentado el dicho escrito y**/ probisiones e ynstruzion en la manera que d(ic)ha es,/ y por mi el d(ic)ho escribano leydas, el d(ic)ho cor(r)egidor/ tomo las d(ic)has probisiones en sus manos y las beso/ y puso sobre su cabeza, y dixo que las obedezia y o-/bedezio con el acatamiento debido, como a cartas/ y probisiones de Sus Magestades, el qual dixo que/ estaba presto de las cunplir.

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**E despues a pedimiento del dicho**/ Luis de Godoy se dio ora sobrecarta de la d(ic)ha carta/ executoria de Su Magestad, librada de los señores/ de su muy alto consejo, cuyo tenor es este que/ se sigue.//

fol. 8 v.

**Don Carrlos por la dibina clemenzia**/ emperador semper avgusto, rey de Ale-mania, doña/ Juana, su madre, y el mismo don Carlos, por la misma/ grazia, reyes de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las/ Dos Sizilias, de Gerusalen, de Nabarra, de Granada,/ de Toledo, de Balenzia, de Galizia, de Mallorcas, de Se-/billa, de Zer-deña, de Cordoba, de Corzega, de Murzia, de/ Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algezira, de Gibraltar, de las yslas de Canaria,/ de las Yndias, yslas y tier(r)a firme del mar/ ozeano=, condes de Barzelona, Flandes y/ Tirol, etzzª, a bos el nuestro cor(r)ejidor e juez de residenzia de la ziudad/ de Jaen, salud y grazia, bien sabeys como nos man/damos dar e dimos vna nuestra carta para bos,/ sellada con nuestro sello e li-brada de los del/ nuestro Consejo, su tenor de la qual es el siguiente./

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**Don Carrlos, por la dibina cle-**/menzia emperador semper avgusto, rey de Ale-/mania, doña Juana, su madre, y el mismo don Carrlos,/ por la misma grazia reyes de Castilla, de Leon, de A-/ragon, de las Dos Sizilias, de Gerusalen, de Na-bar(r)a,/ de Granada, de Toledo, de Balenzia, de Galizia, de/ Mallorcas, de Sebilla, de Zerdeña, de Cordoba, de/ Corzega, de Murzia, de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de/ Al-gezira, de Gibraltar, de las ylas de Canaria,/ de las Yndias, yslas y tier(r)a firme del mar/ ozeano, condes de Barzelona, Flandes y7 Tirol, ettrª, a bos el nuestro cor(r)eji-dor e juez de residenzia de la ziudad de Jaen, y a buestro lugar-/teniente en el d(ic)ho ofizio, salud y grazia, sepades/ que pleyto se a tratado ante los del nuestro consejo/ entre partes, de la vna el conzejo, justicia y re-/jimiento desa d(ic)ha ziudad y el conzexo de la Mesta/ della, y de la otra Luis de Godoy, por si y en nonbre/ de algunos bezinos de la c(ic)ha ziudad, e su tier(r)a,/ de quien presento poder sobre razon del cunpli-/miento de vna carta dada por mi, la Reyna, del año/ de mil y qui-nientos y ocho en que mandamos//

fol. 9 r.

que se poblasen ziertos terminos de la sier(r)a de la/ d(ic)ha ziudad, haziendose en ello ziertos terminos e/ lugares con ziertas condiziones, segun que en la/ d(ic)ha carta que sobrello se dio se contiene, de lo qual/ oydas las partes vltimamente por los del/ nuestro consejo a sido pronu(n)ziado vn avto en grado/ de rebista, por el qual mandaron que se guardase/ e cunpliese la d(ic)ha carta de mi, la Reyna, sin en-/bargo de lo alegado por la d(ic)ha ziudad e conzejo/ de la Mesta, y que en la manera del reparti-/miento de las personas a quien se abian de dar las/ d(ic)has bezindades, guardasedes lo que por otra/ nuestra carta e ynstruzion que sobrello se diese/ bos fuese mandado sigun que mas largamente/ en el d(ic)ho avto y en la carta executoria que sobrello/ fue dada da[sic] se contiene, y agora el d(ic)ho Luis de Godoy,/ por si y en nonbre de los d(ic)hos nuebos pobladores/ de quien tiene poder, nos suplico y

pidio por merzed/ mandasemos efetuar e cunplir lo que por el/ d(ic)ho avto estaba mandado, nonbrando persona/ que lo executase, declarando la horden yns-/truzion que zerca del d(ic)ho repartimiento se debia/ tener, e que sobrello probeyesemos como la d(ic)ha/ nuestra merzed fuese, lo qual bisto por los del/ nuestro consejo, por quanto por ellos a sido hor-/denado lo que zerca de la d(ic)ha poblazion e re-/partimiento de lugares, e tier(r)as, e bezindades/ se debe hazer y las personas que en ello an de/ entender con bos, fue acordado que debiamos de/ mandar dar esta nuestra carta para bos en la/ d(ic)ha razon, e nos tubimoslo por bien, por la/ qual bos mandamos que beays la ynstruzion7 y horden que asi por los del nuestro con-sejo/ a sido hordenado, zerca del repartimiento se bos/ manda hazer en execuzion e cunplimiento de la/ d(ic)ha carta executoria, la qual ynstruzion bos sera/ presentada, firmada de Al(ons)o de la Peña, nuestro/ escribano de camara, de los que residen en es [tachado]/ nuestro consejo, y conforme a ella entendays/ en la execuzion y cunplimiento de todo ello//

fol. 9 v.

por manera que con brebedad se haga e cunpla/ lo que asi por nos zerca de la d(ic)ha poblazion esta/ mandado, sin que en ello pongays escusa ni dila-/zion alguna, porque no lo haziendo y cunpliendo/ asi, enbiaremos persona de nuestra corte que/ a buestra costa lo haga, cunpla, y no fagades/ ende al por alguna manera, so pena de la nuestra/ merzed e de diez mil m(aravedie)s para la nuestra camara,/ dada en la billa de Balladolid, a diez y ocho dias/ del mes de jullio de mil quinientos y treynta/ y siete años= Juan Cardenalis Acuña,/ el lizenziatus= Dotor de Cor(r)al=, Lic(encia)do Jiron=,/= Dotor Sandero= El lic(encia)do A= lizenziatus/ Mercado de Peñalosa= Yo, Al(ons)o de la Peña,/ escribano de camara de suszesarea(s) y catoli-cas/ magestades, la fize escrebir por su mandado,/ con acuerdo de los de su Consejo. Rexistrada,/ Martin de Bergara= Martin Ortiz, por chanziller./

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## 2. *Transcription of Juan de Rivadeneyra first visit to Mancha Real, May 4th, 1539.*

Originally published in: "Libro del lugar y población Mancha Real." Mancha Real, 1539. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Jaén. Fols. 40 v. to 42 r., according to Jiménez Cobo, Martín. *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*. Mancha Real: Ayuntamiento de Mancha Real, 1998, 56-61.

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Text in bold letters was introduced by Martín Jiménez Cobo to highlight topominical names and sites around Mancha Real that can still be identifyed today.

a quatro dias del mes de mayo
año del señor de myll e quiny^os
e treynta e nueve años el señor
liçenziado juan de rriba de neyra
juez de sus magestades en lo to
cante el rrepartimyento de la
syerra de jaen salió de la dhª zbdad
conmigo el dhº escrnº e con juan de rre
quena sebastian rruyz del salto
alarifes diputados por el dhº
señor juez e con juan de rreolid en
tallador e con juan de molina medidor
e fue a visytar el termyno e
sytios de la mancha e letraña
torre el moral e la dehesa de rriez que
son los sytios donde su mgd.
por esecutoria manda que se
haga un lugar e para la
dhº visyta vino e rrecibió
juramento en forma devida de
derecho de los suso dhºs e
de cada uno de ellos jurando
por dios e por santa ma
ria e por las palabras de
los quatro santos evange
lios a dondequiera que mas lar
gamente son escritos e por
la señal de la cruz a tal como
esta (+) en que pusyeron sus
manos derechas que como buenos
cristianos dirán la verdad de lo

supieren e alcanzaren
en todo lo que por el dhº señor
juez les fuere mandado e pre
guntado, e prometieron de dezir verdad e a la confesyon
del dhº juramento dijo
cada uno de ellos sy juro e
amen. testigos francº de grana
dos e lazaro de alfaro vnᵒˢ
de la dhª zibdad.

e fue haciendo la dhº vi
syta el dhº señor juez
con los suso dhᵒˢ e fue
por el **camyno de los caña
meros** e a la **fuente de la pa
rra** e por medio de la dhº de
hesa de **rriez** ojeando la torre
que se dice de rriez e llegó
a la **peña horadada** que es aza
de donde parte el termyno la dhº
zibdad de jaen con la zibdad de
baeça e fue visytando el dhº
termyno e de alli se fue con los
suso dhᵒˢ haziendo la dhº vi
syta e subio el **arroyo vil** a
rriba que es la linde que parte
los dhᵒˢ termynos e de alli fue
al sytio que dizen **del pila
rejo** e visytó e tantearon los
alarifes diputados aviendo
visto e tentado e paseado el sy
tio que dizen de la fuente de la
parra e de alli a la del dhº pila
rejo fue por la **cañada** que dicen
**del arcachofal** e llego al **cor
tijo que dizen de la mancha** e
fue ojeando todo lo sombrado
e rrompido e mandó a los suso
dhᵒˢ viesen la dispusycion
de calidades e de alli fueron a dar
al sytio que dizen la **loma
rretamosa** e alli mandó a los
dichos alarifes diputados
que viesen e tentasen e

apeasen el dhº sytio e
viesen las calidades e dis
pusycion dél para a
sentarse pueblo los quales
lo hizieron e de alli partió
al cortijo que dizen de la **to
rre del moral** ojeando todo
el rrompido entre medio
del en el dhº sytio e el dhº
señor juez mandó a los dhº ala
rifes diputados e a las otras
personas que viesen e ten
tasen el dhº sytio e viesen
las calidades del pan que sy en
el se asyenta el pueblo, los
quales lo hizieron e de alli pa
so el dhº señor juez a dormir a
pegalajar por ser ya muy tarde
e subieron por el **puerto de pe
galajar** e alli mandó que los
suso dhºˢ viesen e tantea
sen toda la dhª tierra los quales
en cumplymiento dello lo hizieron
testygos pedro de barreda e juº
rruyz de bitoria e pedro de rrequena
estantes en la dhª zibdad
liçenziado juan de rriba de neyra.

### *3. Transcription of the first plan of Mendoza by Pedro del Castillo, 1561.*

### 3.1        Urban plan

Transcription originally published in Chueca Goitia, Fernando, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, and Julio González. *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1951-1982, 12-14.

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*Upper text:*

En el nombre de Dios, en el asiento y valle de Huantata, provincia de Cuyo, desta otra parte de la gran Cordillera Nevada, en dos dias del mes de marzo, año del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu-Cristo, de mil y quinientos y sesenta y un años, el muy magnífico señor Pedro del Castillo, capitan, teniente general de las dichas provincias y sus comarcanas por el ilustrísimo señor D. García Hurtado de Mendoza, gobernador y capitan general en las provincias de Chile, por S. M. é ante mi Francisco de Horbina, escribano de juzgado en las dichas provincias, dijo: que, por cuanto él ha venido á estas dichas provincias á las poblar y reducir al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de S. M. como por las provisiones que de ello tiene consta, y le es mandado, y tiene de ellas tomada posesion en nombre de la magestad del Rey de Castilla D. Felipe, nuestro señor, y mucha parte de los naturales de ella han dado la ovediencia y estan de paz; y por que el Mempo que ha que está en ellas ha sido breve, en el cual no ha podido hallar asiento ni lugar para donde fundar una ciudad con mero imperio; y porque de no fundarla y alzar rollo y nombrar cabildo y regimiento, podrían resultar inconvenientes y daños, ansí en lo que toca al servicio de Dios y de S. M. como contra los naturales y españoles que en esta provincia están; y para que cesen los dichos inconvenientes y está tierra se perpetue y pueble y puedan encomendar los indios en los españoles vasallos de S. M. que en su servicio en este dicho asiento estan, para que los puedan doctrinar y enseñar en las cosas de Nuestra Santa Fé y mostrarles á vivir políticamente guardándoles y haciéndoles en todo justicia, me pareció convenia en este dicho asiento y valle alzar rollo y nombrar alcaldes y regidores y procurador de la ciudad y oficiales de S. M. é demas oficios que son anexos para el mejor gobierno de ella, y ante todas cosas, señalando la advocacion de la Iglesia Mayor de la dicha ciudad, la cual se ha de llamar y nombrar Señor San Pedro, á quien tomo por patron y abogado en esta dicha ciudad, y por mayordomo de ella á Juan de Maturana, la cual dicha ciudad se ha de llamar y nombrar la ciudad de Mendoza, nuevo valle de Rioja, en todas las escrituras y demas cosas que fuere necesario nombrarse; á la cual doy por términos y jurisdiccion, con mero misto imperio, desde la gran Cordillera Nevada aguas vertientes á la mar del Norte, y de todos los repartimientos de los vecinos que á ella se repartieren; el cual dicho asiento y nombramiento de alcaldes y regidores y oficiales de S. M. y vecinos y moradores de ella hago, dándoles y señalándoles solares en esta tierra de la dicha ciudad, como van señalados y nombrados y ciertos; los cuales dichos

solares han de ser de grandor de cuadra de frente de doscientos y veinte y cinco piés de doce puntos y las calles de treinta y cinco piés de ancho.

*Lower text:*

Y yo por virtud de los poderes que para ello tengo i y en nombre de S. M. y como mejor convenga para el derecho de los conquistadores y pobladores y vecinos y moradores de estas dichas provincias y de esta dicha ciudad, hago el dicho nombramiento y les doy, señalo y nombro, en nombre de S. M. por propios suyos y de sus herederos y sucesores, los dichos solares que arriba estan declarados, para agora y para siempre jamas, para que los puedan vender, trocar y enagenar y hacer dellos á su voluntad, como cosa habida y tenida por derecho y justo título como este lo es, guardando en ello y en cada cosa díllo las ordenanzas de S. M.; y porque como he dicho, conviene nombrar la dicha ciudad y alzar rollo y hacer alcaldes y regidores y demas oficios en este dicho asiento para su mejor sustentacion, por estar, de lo que hasta hoy se ha visto, mas en comarca de todos los naturales y donde hay mas comidas, para que menos en vejacion de los dichos naturales se puedan sustentar los españoles y de donde se pueda mejor ver y visitar la tierra, y buscar si hubiere otro sitio y lugar que sea mejor para poblar la dicha ciudad, y para lo que tocare al servicio de Dios y de S. M. y bien de los naturales y conservacion de los españoles, concurriendo en el sitio y lugar mas calidades que en el sitio y lugar deste, y así mudándose esta ciudad, el nombre desla y alcaldes y regidores y demas oficios, tenga donde se mudare que tiene en esta, guardándoles los solares á los vecinos y moradores en la parte que en la traza desta los tiene, hacia los vientos que están señalados en la márgen de la dicha traza; que es fecha ut supra. Y el dicho señor capitan y teniente general lo firmó de su nombre—Pedro Del Castillo.—Por mandado de su merced, Francisco de Horbina, escribano.

## 3.2      Plan of ejidos

Transcription originally published in Chueca Goitia, Fernando, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, and Julio González. *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1951-1982, 14-15.

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*Upper text:* En çibdad de Mendoça nuevo valle de Rioja, provincia de Cuyo, a nuebe días del mes de octubre de mill e quinientos e sesenta e un años, el muy magnífico señor capitán Pedro de Castillo, capitán e teniente general en esta provincia de Cuyo por el muy yllustre señor don García Hurtado de Mendoça, governador e capitán general de las provincias de Chile, etc., dixo que por quanto él vino a estas dichas provincias, como es notorio, a las poblar en nombre de su magestad e por virtud de los reales poderes que para ello truxo él a poblado esta dicha çibdad y dado y encomendado a los pobladores della en nombre de su magestad los naturales que en ella abía e para la perpetuidad de los dichos vecinos como se a usado y usa en las demás partes que en nombre de su magestad se an poblado otras semejantes çibdades como ésta ay neçesidad de dalles tierras y heredamientos para que puedan senbrar y plantar las cossas neçesarias para su sustento de sus casas y familias y por su merced abiendo visto y mirado toda la tierra y buscado el menor perjuizio y daño de los dichos naturales para dar las dichas tierras y abiéndose ynformado de los señores y caçiques de este balle si en la parte que quiere dar y da las dichas tierras a los dichos vecinos y moradores que en ella están reçiben daño y agrabio en dar las dichas tierras los quales respondieron y an respondido que las dichas tierras que ansí se les quiere dar y a dado están desyertas e bacas y ellos no se aprovechan ni aprovecharon dellas e para que los dichos vecinos e moradores tengan tierras para lo que dicho es.

*Lower text:* Por tanto usando de los poderes e comiçiones que para ello tiene y como mejor puede y a lugar de derecho y conbiene a los dichos vecinos como a primeros pobladores y descubridores destas dichas probincias y vasallos de su magestad les daba y señalaba y dió y señaló en nombre de su magestad como dicho es a cada vecino y morador desta dicha çibdad para guerta y viña seys quadras de tierra que se entienden del grandor y tamaño que tienen las quadras señaladas en la trasa de dicha çibdad, ansí como y en la parte y lugar que en esta trasa ba señaladas y nombradas corriedno y tomando las dichas tierras por las partes y lugares que aquí están señaladas e con los linderos que tienen dexando una calle en medio por la parte del exido de veinte pies de cada suerte de heredad para que puedan andar carretas y otro serbiçio y ganado, guardando en todo ello las hordenanças de su magestad que sobre ello disponen las quales dichas tierras que ansí les daba y señalaba y les dió y señaló en nombre de su magestad y por virtud de la dicha comiçión se las daba y dió por propias suyas y de sus herederos y suceçores para agora e para sienpre jamás para que las puedan vender y enajenar, trocar, dar, donar, y hazer

dellas a su boluntad como cosa suya abida y tenida por derecho e justo título como ésta lo es, e mandaba y mandó a las justicias desta dicha çibdad que estando metidas y amojonadas las dichas tierras por el alarfife desta çibdad los metan y amparen en la poseçión de las dichas tierras so pena de quinientos pesos para lacámara de su magestad, e firmólo aquí de su nombre.

Fecha u supra.

Va testado en las quadras o [diz] Alonso de Torres, Pero Gonçales Debia, Pedro Marqués, Pedro de Ribas, porque no se le dió, e do diz Diego Cabrera, no vala.

Pedro del Castillo (*signed*)

Por mandado de su merced, Juan de Contreras, escrivano público y de cavildo (*signed)*

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A Juan Gómez Ysleño su suerte a las espaldas de Gaspar Ruiz | | A Bartolomé Copín, a las espaldas de Martín de Elbira | Diego Lucero a las espaldas de Pero Márquez | A Pedro Gonçales de Ebia a las espaldas de Pedro Moyano. Balga, Pedro del Castillo (*signed*) | Anze de Fabre medida la suerte de Campofrío anzia los paredones. | A Hernando Arias medida la suerte de Ruiz de Arze como corre | |
| | A Gaspar Ruiz a las espaldas de Lope de la Peña | | A Martín de Elbira a las espaldas del padre corriendo como las demás | Pedro Márquez a las espaldas de Gabriel de Cepeda | Pedro Moyano Cornejo su suerte, corriendo como las demás | Campofrío, su suerte como las de arriba 90. | Hernando Ruiz de Arce como las demás, su suerte 90 lanças | A Gonzalo de Arze 3 quadras por arriba y dos por abaxo |
| | Lope de la Peña 90 lanças de frente por la azera y 135 por ésta | | El Sr. Padre Hernando de la Queba lo mesmo | Gabriel de Cepeda lo mesmo | Juan de Villegas 90 lanças de frente al exido y 135 de largo azia los paredones de yzpallaja | Capitán ciento y diez lanças de frente del exido | Pedro de Cárate por esta parte dos quadras y por ésta tres | A Juan de Malla 3 quadras por arriba y tres por abaxo |
| | Antonio Canbranes 3 quadras por esta azera y dos por ésta | | | | | | Juan de Contreras 3 quadras por esta azera y dos por ésta | A bartolomé Copín 3 quadras por arriba y tres por ésta |
| | Francisco de Hurbina 3 quadras por ésta y por ésta dos | | | | | | Pedro de Villegas 3 quadras por ésta y 2 por ésta | Pedro de Ribas tres quadras de abaxo y dos por ésta |
| | Martín Pérez 3 quadras por ésta y dos por ésta | | | | | | *Ilegible* | |
| ~~Pedro de Ribas tres quadras de abaxo y dos por ésta~~ | Alonso de Torres 3 quadras ésta y 2 por ésta (signature of Pedro del Castillo) | | | | | | Juan Gómez el Galán 3 quadras y 2 por ésta | |
| | Pedro Hernández 3 por ésta y 2 por ésta | | | | | | | |
| | A Gaspar de Lemos y a la señora su muger sus dos suertes en esta quadra del cantón | A Juan de Maturana dos quadras por ésta y 3 por ésta | A Mateo Díaz dos quadras por ésta y 3 por ésta | Grabiel de Sosa dos quadras por ésta y 3 por ésta | A Martín de Santander dos por ésta y 3 por ésta | | | |
| | | Juan Martín dos quadras por ésta y como corre la de arriba | A don Martín Ynga dos quadras por esta parte y 3 por ésta por anbas partes quadras | A don Pedro Guelengele quatro quadras para guerta y viña | | | | |
| | | | | A Felipe Ynga casado dos quadras de tierra linde con don Pedro | | | | |
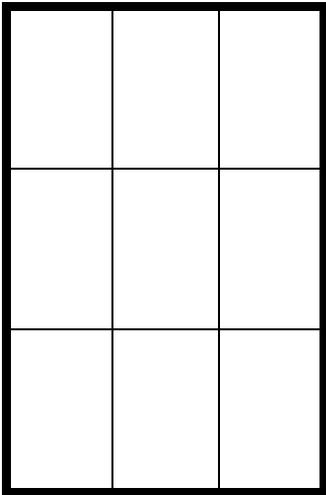
### *4.* *Transcription of the second plan of Mendoza (Resurrección) by Juan Jufre, 1562. Copied in 1572.*

Originally published in: Chueca Goitia, Fernando, Leopoldo Torres Balbás, and Julio González. *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, Seminario de Urbanismo, 1951-1982, 15-17.

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*Upper text:*

Este es un traslado fielmente sacado de una traça de un pueblo e asiento del que parece pobló el capitán Jhoan Jufre en el asiento y balle de Cuyo, de la provincia de los Guarpes, su tenor de la qual es el que se sigue:

En el nombre de Dios. En este asiento de balle de Cuyo, provincia de los Guarpes, ques desta otra parte de la gran cordillera Nevada, en veinte e ocho días del mes de março, año del Señor de mill e quinientos e sesenta e dos años, ante mí Joan de Contreras, escrivano público y del cabildo desta dicha provincia, el muy magnífico señor Capitán Joan Jofre, Teniente General en estas dichas provincias de Cuyo, Caria, Famatina, Tucumán e Nolongasta, desde las vertientes de la gran cordillera Nevada hasta el mar del Norte por el muy yllustre señor mariscal don Francisco de Villagrá, gobernador e capitán general en los reinos de Chile e destas provincias por su magestad, etc. Dixo que él viene a estas dichas provincias con poderes muy bastantes de los quales a hecho demostración a la justicia e regimiento desde dicho asiento e sitio que Pedro del Castillo tenía señalado en este dicho valle, el qual está apartado desde asiento e suerte, e por quanto el dicho asiento no estaba e parte competente e para el bien e aumento e conservación de los bezinos e moradores que en ella and estar e residir convenía por estar metido en una hoya e no dalle los vientos que son necesarios e convenibles para la sanidad de los que en ella biben e an de vivir e perpetuarse en ella, e andando a buscar otro mejor sitio que sea y tenga las calidades arriba dichas halló estar otro mejor asiento y más ayroso que el quel dicho Pedro del Castillo abía nombrado dos tiros de arcabuz poco más o menos en este dicho valle y el dicho se[ño]r general por virtud de los poderes que de su magestad el rey don Felipe nuestro señor e del dicho gobernador en su real nombre alçava e alçó con sus manos un árbol gordo por rollo e picota e árbol de justiçia para que en él se execute la real justiçia para agora e siempre jamás e dando a entender a todos los cavalleros soldados pobladores que presentes estaban lo arriba dicho e juraron de sustentar e defender todo lo dicho y el dicho señor general siendo este dicho día que el dicho rollo e picota alço bíspera bíspera (sic) de Pasqua de Resurrecçión dixo que en nombre de Dios y del rey de Castilla don Phelipe nuestro señor y del dicho señor governador le daba e dió por nonbre la çibdad de la Resurrecçión, probinçia de los Guarcos, el qual dicho nombre mandaba y mandó que en todos los abtos y escrituras públicas y testamentos y en todos aquellos que se acostumbran y suelen poner con día, mes y año, se ponga el nombre como dicho tiene e

no de otra manera so pena de la pena en que caen e yncurren los que ponen en escrituras públicas nonbres de çibdad que no está poblada en nonbre de su magestad e subgetó a su dominio real a la qual dicha çibdad de la Resurrección daba e dió por término de norte sur por la banda del norte hasta el balle que se dize de Guanacache e por aquella comarca del dicho balle hazia baxo e por la banda del sur hasta el balle de Diamante e por la vanda del este hasta el çerro questá junto a la tierra de C[u]yo canta e por la banda del hueste hasta la cordillera Nevada, los quales dichos términos le señalaba e señaló con mero e misto inperio como dicho tiene para agora e sienpre jamás, la qual dicha çibdad arriba declarada dixo que la asentaba e asentó, fundaba e fundó en nombre de la magestad real del rey don Felipe nuestro señor e del dicho señor gobernador don Francisco de Villagrá.

Pasó ante mí este treslado: Ambrosio de Moscoso, escribano de su magestad. (*Rub.*)

*Text on the side:*

Otrosi dixo el señor general que a visto las tierras vacas que junto a esta çibdad ay y que atento (sic) a que para pro de la dicha çibdad dixo que daba e dió de la parte de leste y de la parte del sur y a la parte del ueste y a la parte del norte, e le daba e dió todo a la redonda seys leguas para términos desta çiudad y baldíos y pueda dar y señalar el cabildo desta çibdad, asientos y estançias para ganados y otras cosas con tal que no sea en perjuyzio de los naturales y no teniéndolos y poseyéndolos los dichos yndios y naturales a quien perteneçieren y fueren suyas, y ansí lo mandava y mandó.

Ques fecho a çinco días del mes de junio de mill e quinientos e sesenta y dos años, siendo testigos el teniente Diego Jufre, vezino desta çibdad, y Hernando de Robles, vezino desta çibdad, y Hernando Díaz, estante en esta çibdad, y el dicho señor general Joan Jufre lo firmí aquí. -Juan Jufre.- Joan de Coria Bohorques, escribano público y de cabildo. Pasó ante mí (*Rub.*)

*Lower part:*

El dicho señor general en su nombre e con aditamento que si otro mejor sitio e [más co]nbenible obiere en esta comarca, e la boluntad del dicho señor gobernador fuere de la mudar e fundar en él con este dicho adi[tamen]to dixo que lo fundaba e fundó e nombraba e nombró con todas las diligençias e abtos que como tal çibdad se debe hazer para ser bálido para [agora] e para sienpre jamás e fecho lo que dicho es el mismo día, mes e año arriba dicho, el dicho señor general tomó en sus manos una cruz y la puso en el si[tio de] la fundaçión de la yglesia desta çibdad a de ser e le daba e señaló por patrón de la dicha yglesia al señor San Pedro, patrón y bic[ario de] la christiandad, al qual tomaba e tomó por abogado e le señalaba e señaló por mayordomo de la dicha yglesia a Francisco Rubio por [este pr]esente año, e señalaba e señaló solares a los bezinos que son en esta dicha çibdad los solares por la horden que aquí ba declarado y seña[lado] según traça de la çibdad, los quales solares an de ser de grandor en frente de dozientos e veynte e cinco pies de doze puntos ca[da pi]e las calles de treynta e çinco pies de ancho de la misma medida y

si se mudare la dicha çibdad tengan la misma hord[en e t]raça que tiene ésta, guardando los solares a los vezinos e moradores en la parte [que] esta dicha traça está e tiene hazia los bientos questán señalados en el margen de la dicha traça, que es fecho ut supra.

Y el [dicho s]eñor general lo firmó de su nombre siendo testigos el reverendo padre Hernando de la Cueba, cura y bicario desta dicha sancta Yglesia e Diego Jufre, e Garci Herrandes, alcaldes por su magestad, e Juan de Villalobos e Antonio Chacón e Martín de Santander y [He]rnand Arias e Diego Luzero, regidores e Alonso de Videla, procurador e mayordomo desta dicha çibdad, e Francisco Peña e Christóval de Buyça e Thomás Núñez e otros muchos que presentes estaban a todo lo que dicho es.

Fecho y sacado fué el dicho treslado de la dicha traça e asiento de la dicha çibdad del original que parecía estar f[irmado de un] nombre e firma que dezía Juº Jufre e de un nonbre e firma que dezía Juº de Contreras, escribano público, y daba fee aber pasado ante él por mí A[mbrosio de Mos]coso, escribano de su magestad en esta çibdad de los Reyes a catorze días del mes de hebrero de mill e quinientos e setenta e dos años. E doy fee que va çierto y verdadero. Testigos que [fueron presentes] para lo ver sacar e corregir. Alonso Márquez e Pedro de Angulo, etc. en esta çibdad. Va testado: Cura y bicario / esta dicha sancta yglesia e odez[ia gober]nador no vala. En fee de lo qual fize aquí este mío sino a tal en testimonio de verdad.

Ambrosio de Moscoso (*rubricado y signado*).

*On the back: legitimación de la firma y signo del escribano Moscoso, hecha en Los Reyes, 14-febrero-1572, como el de San Juan de la Frontera.*

*Plan of the city: Puntos cardinales:* Ueste.-Sur.-Norte.-Leste.-*Cuadras*: San Francisco     Hernando Díaz Chávez     El padre Cucúa     Cristóval de Buisa     Juan Gómez el viejo     Bartolomé de Medina     Santo Domingo     /     Ribas     Martín Hernandes de los Ríos     Velasco     El comendador     Yglesia     Yglesia     Santa Yglesia     Videla     Rubio     Francisco Peña     Moyano     Torres     Juan de Contreras Bohorques     Robles     Lemos     /     Juan     Sanches Cabrera     Jeneral Juan Jufre     Rodrigo Jufre     Robles     Juan de Villalobos     Juan Gomes     Sebastián de Villanueva     Ruvio el moso     Bohorquez     Mendoça el casado     /     Federico de Penalosa     Pedro de Sárate     Juan de Villegas     Pedro de Villegas     Martín de Santa Cruz     Graviel de Sosa     La menor de Araia     Çepeda     Ortiz     /     Espital de espanoles y de naturales     Casas de su magestad     Su magestad     Su magestad     Nuestra señora de [la] Merçed.

## 5. *Transcription of the first foundational act of Villa de Leyva, June 12th, 1572.*

Originally published in Corradine Angulo, Alberto. "Fundación de Villa de Leyva y Su Desarrollo." In *Villa de Leyva: Huella de Los Siglos*, 64–100. Bogotá: Sandri, 1986.

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Acta de Fundación de la Villa Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyba

En el nombre de la Santísima Trinidad Padre e Hijo y Espíritu Santo tres Personas y un solo Dios Verdadero que vive y reina por siempre sin fin. Amén.

Estando en el Valle que llaman de "Sacrenzipa" cerca de donde están los aposentos de Juan Barrera, vecino de la ciudad de Tunja, Jueves que se contaron doce días del mes de Junio año del nacimiento de Nuestro Salvador Jesuscristo de mil e quinientos e setenta e dos años y habiendo salido de la ciudad de Tunja los muy magníficos señores capitán Hernán Suárez de Villalobos, teniente de Gobernador Corregidor e Justicia Mayor de la dicha ciudad de Tunja y la de Vélez y sus términos e jurisdicción en lugar y por el muy ilustre señor doctor Venero de Leyba del concejo de su Majestad su Presidente y Gobernador e Capitán General de este Nuevo Reino de Granada y el muy magnífico señor Miguel Sánchez alcalde ordinario por su Majestad de la dicha ciudad de Tunja, y su jurisdicción. Y que vinieron en su seguimiento los muy magníficos señores Francisco Rodríguez y Diego Montañes Regidores perpetuos de la dicha ciudad de Tunja por su Majestad por ante mi Joan Ruiz Cabeza de Baca su Escribano y Notario Público en esta Corte y por todos sus reinos y señoríos y escribano público del número y del Cabildo y Concejo de la dicha ciudad de Tunja y estando todos juntos en el dicho valle, sus mercedes dixeron que pedían y pidieron por testimonio a mi el dicho Escribano de como en cumplimiento de lo proveído e mandado e ordenado que proveyó mandó e ordenó su señoría del dicho señor Presidente estando en la dicha ciudad de Tunja como Gobernador de este dicho nuevo reino en que se fundase hiziese y poblase la Villa de Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leiba por el órden que se acordó y trató en el Cabildo que sobre ello se hizo presente su Señoría por los señores justicia e regimiento de la dicha ciudad y de pendimiento de ciertas personas como todo ello mas largo consta e parece por los autos y pendimientos que sobre lo suso dicho se hicieron e proveyeron que sus mercedes dixeron que mandaban e mandaron se ponga por cabeza y principio de esta dicha fundación para que conste de ello para siempre jamas su tenor de todo lo cual es este que se sigue

Aquí los Autos y Pedimentos

Por tanto sus mercedes de los dichos señores Justicia e regimiento de suso contenidos dixeron que en cumplimiento de dicha comisión e autos proveídos por su Señoría del dicho señor Presidente y sus mercedes han andado: Por el término y jurisdicción que señalo y declaro que el pedimento se presento por parte de las personas que pidieron la dicha villeta y otros más términos de la dicha ciudad de Tunja que ha convenido para mejor acertarse la fundación de esta dicha villa y que menos inconveniente y perjuicio se pueda seguir a ninguno de los naturales de la dicha comarca ni a otras ningunas personas particulares y que mejor se pueda servir a Dios Nuestro Señor y a su majestad y después de haber visto y esaminado los dichos sitios y lugares más convenientes y cómodos por el dicho efecto después de haberse juntado sus mercedes dos veces y hechos dos cabildos y ayuntamientos para tratar e platicar sobre lo suso dicho de unanimes y conformes y ninguno de sus mercedes discrepante, dixeron que hallavan y hallaron y declaraban y declararon que el mejor sitio y lugar mas comodo y conbiniente y mas acertado y de mejor sitio y lugar y de las partes y calidades que se requieren para semejante fundación era y es el dicho valle de "Sacrezipa" e asi para poner en efecto lo que su señoría del dicho señor presidente sobre esto tiene proveído y mandado todos juntos, Juntamente conmigo el dicho escribano fueron a unsitio y lugar donde estan unos cardones y cerca de una sierra de lo mas bajo de lo alto de ella que hace dos quebradas en la falda de la dicha sierra que bajan hacia lo llano de la dicha sierra y cerca de un arroyo de agua que viene por cerca de los aposentos del dicho Juan Barrera, los dichos señores justicia y regimiento estando todos sus mercedes juntos el dicho señor corregidor y el dicho señor alcalde tomaron dos espadas desenvainadas en las manos y dixeron que para servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y en nombre de su majestad y para su real servicio y por jurisdicción de la dicha ciudad de Tunja en el dicho sitio y lugar donde estan los dichos cardones y unas matas altas del suelo y arbolillos pequeños tomaban e tomaron la posesión de la dicha villa de Nuestra Señora de Leiba en el cual dicho sitio y lugar con las dichas espadas que tenían en las manos desenvainadas en señal de la dicha posesión y fundación de la dicha villa sujeta a la dicha ciudad de Tunja, cortaron de las dichas ramas y se pasearon en el dicho sitio en nombre de su majestad declarandola por villa y aldea sujeta a la dicha ciudad de Tunja. Y por de su majestad y que se a de regir y gobernar por los señores justicia e regimiento de la dicha ciudad de Tunja donde se han de elegir y nombrar los oficiales de justicia e regimiento que de la dicha villa han de ser en cada un año por el día de año nuevo como se suele hacer la elección de los alcaldes e alguacile mayor e otros oficios de la dicha ciudad de Tunja como lo suelen e tienen de costumbre de hacer y que se hará perpetuamente para siempre jama sin que sin que se le atribuya a la dicha villa mas jurisdicción de aquella que fuere ordenado y se ordenare y proveyere y mandare por los dichos señores justicia e regimiento que son y fueren de aquí adelante de la dicha ciudad de Tunja en nombre de su majestad y en nombre de los dichos señores regidores y debajo de este dicho "presupuesto" y de los que "agora" son y fueren de aquí en adelante. El dicho señor Diego Montañes regidor susodicho y en nombre de su majestad así mismo con una espada desenvainada añadiendo fuerzas a fuerzas y firmeza de la posesión que de la dicha villa y

fundación de ella tomaron los dichos señores corregidores e alcaldes y en señal de la dicha posesión y de otros autos, que corporal y justicia y "velcasimente" hicieron mandaron hacer e se hizo luego un mojón de raíces de cardones y piedras y se puso y mandó ponerse luego una cruz alta en señal de la dicha posesión y de todo lo demás que de suso está referido la cual dicha fundación y posesión de la dicha villa dixeron que tomaban e fundaban con cargo de cada y cuando y en cualquier tiempo que conviniere mas al servicio de su Majestad mudar la dicha villa del dicho sitio y lugar lo puedan hacer sus mercedes o otro cualquier justicia y regimiento que es o fuere de la dicha ciudad de Tunja. De aquí adelante y de cómo la dicha posesión y fundación de la dicha villa de Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyva la habían tomado y quedaron en ella pacíficamente sin contradicción de persona alguna puesto que estaba presente mucha gente y todos dixeron ser cosa muy acertada y conveniente al servicio de su majestad los que a lo suso dicho se hallaron presentes mostrando de lo suso dicho mucho contento. Pidieron a mi el dicho Escribano y mandaron asilo de todo ello por testimonio para en guarda del derecho de su majestad y de la dicha ciudad ciudad (sic) de Tunja en cuyo nombre y debaxo de cuyo amparo y "subjeción" se fundó y tomó la posesión de la dicha villa y reservaron sus mercedes en sí de proveer luego y cada que bien visto les sea lo demás que convenga al servicio de su majestad en la dicha villa y vecinos que de ella fueren y señalar la plaza y solares y sitios que en ella se hubieren de dar y proveer y los demas oficios de justicia e regimiento e ordenanzas de ella y se tomó por nombre y patron y debocion de la dicha villa al bien aventurado San Antonio de Padua cuya víspera fue y es hoy dicho día que para todo lo de suso contenido. Y luego por el muy magnífico y muy reverendo señor y padre Fray Sebastian de Ocando guardian de la casa y monasterio del convento del Señor San Francisco de la dicha ciudad de Tunja que a todo lo susodicho se halló presente y que de Dios Nuestro Señor sea servido aceptar por particular servicio de su dibina majestad la dicha posesión y fundación de la villa dixo un responso y oración en el dicho sitio presente mucha gente siendo a todo ello presentes por testigos Antonio de Castro y Andrés Jorge y Antonio Cabrera de Sosa y Luís de Bergara Escribano de su majestad y otra mucha gente y lo firmaron de sus nombres e yo el dicho escribano doy fé que la dicha posesión se tomó según dicho es sin contradicción de persona alguna quieta y pacíficamente que yo el dicho escribano viese ni oyese y lo firmaron todos los dichos. Hernán Suares de Villalobos, Miguel Sánchez, Francisco Rodríguez, Diego Montañez, Pasó ante mi Joan Ruíz Cabeza de Baca.

Auto de pregón

Despúes de lo dicho es, acabado de pasarlo de suso dicho referido desde los dichos señores justicia mayor y regimiento dijeron por ante mi el dicho escribano que por que asi conviene a servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor e de su majestad mandaban e mandaron se pregone públicamente en el dicho sitio donde se tomó la dicha posesión que ninguna persona de cualquier estado y condición que no sea osado de derribar ni de moler la cruz y mojón que en señal de la dicha posesión sea puesto y

mandaba hacer y sopena de muerte natural y de perdimiento de todos sus bienes aplicable la mitad de ellos para la camara e fisco de su majestad y la otra mitad para reparar y edificios de la iglesia mayor y casas de cabildo que se ha de hacer en la dicha villa e así lo proveyeron mandaron e firmaron;

> Hernando Suarez de Villalobos
> Miguel Snachez
> Francisco Rodríguez
> Diego Montañez

Pasa ante mi: Joan Ruíz Cabeza de Vaca

E luego incontinente, en este dicho día doce de junio del dicho año de mil e quinientos e setenta e dos años estando en el dicho sitio donde tomó la posesión de dicha villa la Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyva por vos de Anton negro esclavo, de Mata Gualteros "Sillero" en altas voces fue pregonado el auto de suso contenido en ha de mucha gente que en el dicho sitio estaba siendo presente por testigos Luis de Vergara Escribano de su majestad y Po Hernández y Diego López de Castil-blanco estantes en el dicho sitio.

Ante mí: Joan Ruíz Cabeza de Vaca.

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Es fiel copia, firmada en la ciudad de Tunja el día 12 de junio de 1998, a los 426 años de fundación de la Villa Nuestra Señora Santa María de Leyva transcrita por el Archivo Regional de Boyacá y revisada por el Archivo General de la Nación.

Transcripción: Pedro Gustavo Huertas Ramírez.

### 6. *Transcription of the second foundational act of Villa de Leyva, May 10th, 1582.*

Originally published in Arango, Diego. "Reflexiones Históricas Sobre La Fundación de Villa de Leyva." *Villa Viva Vive*, 2013.

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En el nombre de la Santísima trinidad, Padre hijo y Espíritu Santo, tres personas y un solo Dios verdadero que reina y vive para siempre sin fin amen. Estando en la sierra de la nueva población de la Villa de Nuestra Señora de La Candelaria, que es en el valle de Saquencipá jueves diez días del mes de mayo de mil e quinientos e ochenta y dos años, estando en la plaza que se ha señalado para la dicha Villa, el muy ilustre Capitán Antº. Jove, Corregidor y Justicia Mayor de la ciudad de Tunja, Vélez y Pamplona y de esta dicha Villa y de la Villa de Sanxpobal y sus términos y jurisdicción por Su Majestad por presencia de mi Martín de Lucuriaga, Escribano de su majestad real y su Notario Público y del número y Cabildo de la dicha ciudad de Tunja del Nuevo Reino de Granada de las Indias, el dicho nuestro Corregidor tomó una espada desnuda en la mano y dijo que para su servicio de Dios Nuestro señor y en nombre de Su Majestad el Rey don Felipe nuestro señor, mudaba y mudó la dicha Villa al sitio y lugar que tiene trazado, mandaba y mandó que los vecinos estantes y habitantes en la dicha Villa se muden al dicho sitio y lugar y en él planten y edifiquen sus casas y moradas y hagan sus casas donde mandó que estén y vivan como en Pueblo de Su Majestad y para que su real justicia sea ejecutada y los delincuentes castigados, en medio de la dicha plaza hizo poner y puso un palo hincado en el suelo el cual sirva de rollo y picota y que la dicha Villa y pueblo conforme a la primera fundación y reedificación sea como hasta hoy ha sido y de jurisdicción de la dicha ciudad de Tunja; y estando en el dicho sitio e lugar de la dicha plaza con la dicha espada desnuda y alta en la mano dio y tiró una cuchillada al dicho rollo, lo cual dijo que hacía e hizo en señal de posesión y para adquisición de posesión e guarda del derecho, patrimonio e corona real, en cuyo real nombre lo ha mudado e muda según y conforme a los aditamentos y condiciones contenidos y declarados en la primera fundación y reedificación e que agora de nuevo tomaba e tomó posesión en nombre de Su majestad y de su real corona, declarándola por Villa y aldea sujeta a la dicha ciudad de Tunja y a la Justicia Mayor y Cabildo de ella, con todas las cláusulas y aditamentos y gravámenes qué desde agora tiempo fueron señalados y declarados para que la dicha justicia y Cabildo de la dicha ciudad nombre y señale al Justicia y otros Oficiales de República que hubiere de hacer en la dicha villa como hasta aquí lo han hecho y según que lo tienen de costumbre, sin que se le atribuya a la dicha Villa más jurisdicción de aquella que fuere ordenado y se ordenare, proveyere y mandare por las dichas Justicias, Cabildo y Regimiento de la dicha ciudad de Tunja en nombre de su majestad, así como los que al presente son como los que adelante fueren y así conste de presupuesto, el dicho señor Corregidor con la dicha espada desenvainada añadiendo fuerza a fuerza y firmeza a

firmeza de la posesión que en nombre de su Majestad de la dicha Villa y fundación y reedificación ha tomado y toma y en servicio de ella y d otro auto que corporal y judicialmente hizo, mando hacer y que se haga una cruz alta y que se ponga frontero del sitio y lugar donde ha de ser la Iglesia mayor de la dicha Villa y de cómo la dicha posesión de la dicha Villa de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria ha tomado y toma quieta y pacíficamente sin contradicción de persona alguna, pidió e requirió a mi el dicho Escribano le dé por fiel testimonio, de como en nombre de Su Majestad en su real nombre y por Villa y aldea de la dicha ciudad de Tunja y sujeta a la jurisdicción de ella, toma y aprehende la dicha posesión por aquella vía e forma que dé derecho mejor lugar haya, e yo el dicho Escribano certifico y doy fe que el dicho señor Corregidor tomó e aprehendió la dicha posesión a la manera dicha y sin contradicción de persona alguna lo mejor que yo o el se entendiese, siendo testigos presentes Crno. De Mojica Guevara y Antonio Cabrera de Sossa y Hernán Rodríguez Mosso y otras muchas personas, vecinos de la dicha ciudad de Tunja y de esta dicha Villa y el dicho señor Corregidor lo firmó.

Martín de Lucuriaga: dijo: Los vecinos de esta villa de Nuestra Señora de Leyva que aquí firmamos nuestros nombres los que tenemos solares y huertas y suertes de tierras en este dicho asiento, donde al presente está poblada y fundada, decimos que de nuestro pedimento y del Procurador General de esta villa se ha pedido y suplicado a v. M. mandase mudar y pasar dicho pueblo de la otra banda de la quebrada, por ser el sitio y asiento donde se pretende mudar, tierra dispuesta y aparejada para edificios perpetuos y V.M. administrando justicia en el caso ha mandado que se pase y mude y que este dicho pueblo y asiento donde al presente estamos se pueda sortear entre los vecinos de esta dicha villa que la han sustentado y para que en todo haya cumplido efecto el tenor de dicho auto, por tanto por la vía y forma que más de derecho hubiere lugar hacemos dejación de su Md. de los solares y huertas que así tenemos y poseemos labrados y por labrar en este dicho asiento y pueblo desde el pie de la sierra y nacimiento del agua que pasa por la plaza desta dicha villa hasta dar al molino y acequia del dicho molino de Hernando Barrera y desde la quebrada hasta alinderar con tierras de Sebastián Ruiz y Alonso Pérez, y el pedregal abajo hasta la acequia del dicho molino de Hernando Barrera la cual dicha tierra en la reedificación de esta villa señalo para repartir solares y huertas con tanto y ante todas las cosas V.M. mande dar por ninguno e ningún valor y efecto los dichos solares y huertas y suertes de tierras que en cualquier manera e por cualquiera justicia y cabildo se haya dado y proveído a personas particulares, vecinos y no vecinos de esta villa que han labrado y edificado y hecho vecindad por cuanto conforme a las ordenanzas desta villa y autos y pregones todo ello queda vaco y como tales vacos declare V.M. y con tal aditamento y condición que si por cualquiera vía no hubiere la mudada de dicho pueblo que tenemos en si cada uno de los solares y huertas que así tenemos y poseemos y con esta dicha condición hacemos la dicha dejación y con que los que tenemos edificado, labrado y cultivado y sustentado en este dicho pueblo seamos preferidos en la mejoría de las dichas suertes que se hubieren de hacer en la dicha tierra y se nos acreciente en mas cantidad

conforme a lo que cada uno tuviere hecho, labrado y cultivado. Ansí mismo supli-
camos a V.M. se tenga atención con los primeros pobladores y reformadores de esta
villa y los que dejó señalados y nombrados el señor licenciado don Diego de Nar-
váez, Oidor que fue de la Real Audiencia que vino a la visita desta dicha villa con
que no se entienda con las estancias que están fuera de los linderos dichos, pedimos
y suplicamos a V.M. así lo provea y mande con éstas dichas condiciones que refe-
rimos se sortee la dicha tierra entre los dichos vecinos y personas que han de asistir
a ella y sobre todo pedimos justicia y para ello.

Franº Anto Pérez, Polo Ribera, Duarte López, Alonso Pérez, Diego López de
Castiblanco, Sebastián López de Castiblanco, Juan López, Francisco López, Fran-
cisco Machado Serrano, Hernando Mozo, Ger. De Moxica Guevara, Sebastián
Ruiz, L. Antº Oetegón, Pº. López, Juan R. Matamoros, Pº. Ruiz, Joan Hidalgo
Nieto, Joan Agustín del Castillo, Leonor de Mendoza, Tomás Castellanos, Jhoan
Falcón, diego María Ruiz, Hernán Fonseca, Juan de Piñeros, Simón Ruiz, Andrés
López, Elias de Zárate, Hdiº. De Rojas, Joan M.º Abila.

# Appendix B – Supporting tables and data

*Locations and foundational sites featured in the 1508 order by Queen Juana I for the colonization of Sierra Sur.*

| Location Name | Distance | Nº of settlers | Details | Land quality |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canpillo de Arenas | 7 leagues from Jaen and 7 more from Granada. | 100 | The road is deserted | - Water<br>- Calm lands<br>- Hills to be broken for vineyards and olive groves |
| Naba el Can | 2 leagues north of Campillo de Arenas and 6 leagues from Jaen | 50 | - | - Water<br>- Places for mills<br>- lands for vineyards, olive groves, and wheat (tieras de pan) |
| Susana y Ranera, and arroyo el Cerezo (Valdepeñas de Jaén) | 5 leagues from Jaen and 3 leagues from Alcalá la Real | 100-150 | At some moment there was a settlement here. Its original irrigation. | - Water, rivers, and fountains.<br>- Many orchards, vineyards, olive groves.<br>- Mills<br>- Lands for both rainfed and irrigated cultivation.<br>- Many hills that can be broken for farming. |
| El Hoyo e Cabañeros | 4 leagues from Jaen | 100 | - | - Water.<br>- Lands for orchards, vineyards, wheat.<br>- Calm lands.<br>- Hills to be broken. |
| Otiñas (Otíñar) | 3 leagues from Jaén. | 50 | It was a walled town with a fortress.<br>A named farming field: Campo de los Almogárabes. | - Lands for wheat.<br>- River<br>- Fig trees, orchards, morales.<br>- Many other trees |
| El zero El Biento en los Billares de Heliche (Los Villares) | 1,5 leagues from Jaen. | 300 | Located in the lower skirts of the mountains Puerto Viejo and Jabalcuz, near the rivers Riofrioand Heliche.<br><br>There was a previous population. | - Abundant irrigation for wheat, orchards, vineyards, olive groves and mills. |
| La Mancha e la Tore el Moral (Mancha Real) | 3 leagues from Jaen | 100 | Torre el Moral is a watchtower built before the plantation. | - Water.<br>- Many lands for wheat and vineyards. |

### First list of settlers for Mancha Real, May 7th, 1539.

|  | **Name** | **Type of settler** | **Profession** | **Provenance** | **Notes** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Xro<sup>val</sup> rodriguez colmenero | Por cédula | labrador | Jaén | |
| 2 | Juan lopez de la fuente el rrey | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | Poblador viejo |
| 3 | Pero Hernandez de beixixar | Por cédula | Sastre | Jaén | Por cédula de su magestad |
| 4 | Hernman gutierrez de la fuente el rrey | Poblador viejo | | No data | |
| 5 | Juan gut<sup>rrez</sup> de arjona | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 6 | Luys lopez maestro | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 7 | Bartolome sanchez de Malpica Texedor | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Torredelcampo | |
| 8 | Xro<sup>val</sup> lopez rromero texero | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 9 | Luys moreno | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 10 | Hernando de peralta | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 11 | Mari hernandez mujer de alonso hernandez de morales | Poblador viejo a ella e a sus hijos | | No data | |
| 12 | Marcos hernandez | Poblador viejo | Vidriero | Jaén | |
| 13 | Francisco del olmo | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 14 | Myguel sanchez de mynzarroza | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 15 | Alonso de morales | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | a Santiago viejo |
| 16 | Alonso de toro | Por cédula | Cardador | Jaén | A la colaçion de sant<sup>o</sup> |
| 17 | Juan sanchez de molina | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 18 | Pedro de torres | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | A la magdalena |
| 19 | Pero sanchez rruyz | Poblador viejo | | Jaén | |
| 20 | Alonso lopez Aravaca | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 21 | Alonso lopez de martos | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 22 | Diego martinez vadillos | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 23 | Diego rruyz saludador | Por cedula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 24 | Hernan perez de la higuera | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 25 | Hernan lopez de buenavida | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 26 | Juan rramyrez serrano | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |

| 27 | mateo rrodriguez de la higuera | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 28 | Alonso lopez saludador vezº | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 29 | Francº perez magano | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 30 | Francº toral | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 31 | Alonso lopez de alcab-dete | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 32 | Juan zarza texero | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 33 | Lorenzo rruyz serrano e catalina rruyz e gonçalo rruyz e teresa rruyz e uan rruyz serrano here-deros de alº rruyz ser-rano | Poblador viejo | | Cazalilla | |
| 34 | Bartolome rruyz de mo-rales | Poblador viejo | | Jaén | |
| 35 | Hernan garçia de mo-rales | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Pegalajar | |
| 36 | Myn hernandez deste-ban | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Pegalajar | |
| 37 | Mari lopez de la guarda mujer de francº lopez descalona a ella e a jose gutrrez de vasco e sus he-rederos vezos | Poblador viejo | | Jaén | |
| 38 | Myguel sanchez de don-quilez e su mujer e hijos | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 39 | Francº lopez colmenero | Poblador viejo | | Jaén | |
| 40 | Juan rruyz de çafra | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 41 | Fernando de haro | Poblador viejo | Pintor | Jaén | |
| 42 | Francº lopez de Malpica | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 43 | Francº de vago | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | La man-cha |
| 44 | Bartolome calvente | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 45 | Francº fernandez | Poblador viejo | pintor | Jaén | Entró con él a juan delgado vezino de villal-gordo por-que se aparto de ella el dhº francº fer-nandez |
| 46 | Alonso rruyz de valeo | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 47 | Alonso zarza vadillos | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 48 | Pº mynez de castilla | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 49 | Alonso vaño | Poblador | Pintor | Bailén | |

| 50 | Alonso hernandez de valençuela | Poblador viejo | | Jaén | |
| 51 | Xro<sup>val</sup> perez | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jódar | |
| 52 | Xro<sup>val</sup> de vernedo | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Cambil | |
| 53 | La mujer e hijos de juan franc° urtado vez° | Poblador viejo | | Cazalilla | |
| 54 | Rrodrigo perez | Poblador viejo | Pintor | Jaén | |
| 55 | Pero gutierrez despinosa | Por cédula de su magestad | Guarda de su magestad | No data | |
| 56 | Marzial del valdes | Por cédula de su magestad | Portero de su magestad | Valladolid | |
| 57 | Pedro de porras | Por cédula de su magestad | Portero de su magestad | Medina del campo | |
| 58 | Pero alonso de adarve | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 59 | Alonso de mercado | Por cédula | Platero | Jaén | |
| 60 | Alonso lopez | Por cédula | Platero | Porcuna | |
| 61 | Frc° hernandez del cuerpo | Por cédula | Zapatero | Jaén | |
| 62 | Luys fernandez de alférez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 63 | Myn alonso yerno de gonçalo yañez | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Archidona | |
| 64 | Pero zarza de aranda | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Archidona | |
| 65 | Juan rruyz de Montoro | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 66 | Juan de ortega | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 67 | Jose de torres | Por cédula | | Jaén | |
| 68 | Pedro de ortega | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 69 | Pero lopez de pancorvo | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 70 | Myn de gamez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 71 | Diego rruyz gascon | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 72 | Bartolome rruyz soriano | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 73 | Diego rruyz de la miel | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 74 | Franc° lopez de caçorla | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 75 | Alonso lopez de Malpica | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 76 | Hernan zarza ballestero | Por cédula | Labrador | Archidona | |
| 77 | Alonso perez cavizalvo | Por cédula | Labrador | Archidona | |
| 78 | Franc° martinez rrey | Poblador viejo | Labrador | Archidona | |
| 79 | Franc° muñoz amo yerno de cabello | Poblador viejo | | Archidona | |
| 80 | Hernan lopez morzillo | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 81 | Xro<sup>val</sup> hernandez colomo | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 82 | Myn marin | Por cédula | Labrador | Albánchez | |
| 83 | Franc° hernandez de baeça | Por cédula | Cuadrillero | Pegalajar | |

| 84 | Pero sanchez | Por cédula | Labrador | Archidona | |
| 85 | Juan rruyz de Madrid | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 86 | Xro^val rruyz calero | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 87 | Garçi fernandez de Logroño | Por cédula | | Jaén | |
| 88 | Xro^val de alva | Por cédula | Labrador | La Guardia | |
| 89 | Nycolas lopez de cordova | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 90 | Luys hernadez de Montoro | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 91 | Alonso hernadez de cdonquilez hijo de myguel de donquilez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 92 | Ju^o lopez de symon perez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | La mancha |
| 93 | Juan cobillo | Por cédula | Labrador | Villargordo | |
| 94 | Pero rruyz barriga | Por cédula | Labrador | Villargordo | |
| 95 | Garçi fernandez de portillo | Por cédula | Labrador | Villargordo | |
| 96 | Xro^val hernandez de ubeda | Por cédula | Labrador | Torredonjimeno | |
| 97 | Franc^o de Godoy | Por cédula | Quadrillero | Villargordo | |
| 98 | Rruy lopez toral | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 99 | Antonyo hernandez de Montoro | Por cédula | Labrador | Villargordo | |
| 100 | Mateo rruyz de la miel | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 101 | Tomas lopez de Godoy | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 102 | Garçi rruyz de la fuente el rrey | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 103 | Luys hernandez barriga | Por cédula | | Villargordo | |
| 104 | Pero diaz orejon | Por cédula | Labrador | Villargordo | |
| 105 | Juan rruyz serrano | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 106 | juan delgado | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 107 | Vastian rruyz gallego | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 108 | Juan hernandez de la puerta | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 109 | Lope sanchez de dios | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 110 | Juan rrodri^ez de las cuevas | Por cédula | | Mengíbar | |
| 111 | Zebrian lopez de martos | Por cédula | | Cazalilla | |
| 112 | Diego garçi | Por cédula | | Mengíbar | |
| 113 | Rruy lopez de la rrosa | Por cédula | | Cazalilla | |
| 114 | Hernan barba | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 115 | Pero maestro | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 116 | Luys maestro | Por cédula | | Cazalilla | |
| 117 | Franc^o lopez de alcabdete | Por cédula | | Mengíbar | |
| 118 | Juan maestro | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 119 | Juan delgado del moço | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 120 | Gines lopez maestro | Por céudla | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 121 | Asensyo cordoves | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |

| 122 | Juan estevan | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 123 | Alonso rruyz zerralvo | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 124 | Pero Ortiz | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 125 | Francº cañizares | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 126 | Francº de vilchez | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 127 | Juan rruyz de Montoro | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 128 | Bartolome rrodriguez de la hoya | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 129 | Pero lopez Navarrete | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 130 | Anton covo | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 131 | Francº peraznal | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 132 | Pero de Montoro | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 133 | Juan alonso de martos | Por cédula | | Cazalilla | |
| 134 | Hernando alonso de la hoya | Por cédula | | Mengíbar | |
| 135 | Juan polido | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 136 | Hernando de la hoya el moço | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 137 | Alonso gallego | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 138 | Tristan de quesada | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 139 | Juan rrubio | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 140 | Alonso rruyz de la losa | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 141 | Andres lopez jurado | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 142 | Pero myn | Por cédula de su magestad | Portero de su magestad | Córdoba | |
| 143 | Alonso hernandez de ubeda | Por cédula | Labrador | Martos | |
| 144 | Alonso medina | Por cédula | Labrador | Cazalilla | |
| 145 | Alonso rruyz de azuaga | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 146 | Pedro de alonso yañez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 147 | Tomas lopez de Valbuena | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 148 | Gaspar peynado | Por cédula de su magestad | | No data | |
| 150 | Estevan garçia gadeo | Por cédula | | Torredonjimeno | |
| 151 | Juan garçia jurado | Por cédula | | Mengíbar | |
| 152 | Lazaro lopez sastre | Poblador viejo | | Jaén | hera de jaen e agora es de Sevilla |
| 153 | Bartolome de gamez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |
| 154 | Alonso rruyz de azuaga | Por cédula | Labrador | Mengíbar | |
| 155 | Lazaro lopez sastre | Por cédula | | Sevilla | |
| 156 | Myn de gamez | Por cédula | Labrador | Jaén | |

Table 2: 1539, first list of settlers for Mancha Real recorded on May 7th by Juan Vázquez, following the orders of judge Juan de Rivadeneyra. Recorded in Libro del lugar y población Mancha Real, fols 108 r. * 113 v., transcribed in Jiménez Cobo, Martín. *Libro del Repartimiento y Fundación de la Mancha*. Mancha Real: Ayuntamiento de Mancha Real, 1998, 79-90.

# Appendix C – Academic production 2018-2022

*Grants, prizes, and recognitions awarded through competitive calls.*

1. Project shortlisted for the Arquia Próxima prize 2022 for young architects, granted by Fundación Arquia, Spain. Winners to be announced in October 2022.
2. Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University research institute) Junior Fellowship for Garden and Landscape Studies, Washington D.C., September 2022 / May 2023. Amount: 21.000 USD
3. Kress Travel Grant for attending the RSA 68th Annual Meeting in Dublin, March/April 2022. Amount: 500 USD.
4. SAH Graduate Student Lighting Talks travel stipend for presenting a research paper during the 75th Annual International Conference, Pittsburg, 2021. Amount: 900 USD.
5. Grant for PhD candidates covering editorial support for publication in international peer-reviewed journals, Universidad de Granada, July 2021. Amount: 170 Euro.
6. Honorable mention 27th Colombian Biennial of Architecture and Urbanism for the book Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana, as part of the collection of Graduate Thesis edited by Los Andes University. Category: divulgation. November 2020.
7. Grant for PhD candidates in support of attendance cost to international conferences, Universidad de Granada, June 2020. Amount: 400 Euro.
8. SAH Graduate Student Fellowship awarded by SAH for presenting a research paper during the 73rd Annual International Conference, 2020. Amount: 1.000 USD
9. Targeted Acquisition Grant awarded by the Global Arch. History Teaching Collaborative (MIT), development of teaching materials on Hispanic urban history, 2019-20. Amount: 19.800 USD.
10. Finalist on the 3minuteThesis Competition, Granada University and Coimbra group, May 2020.
11. Erasmus+ Ph.D. Fellowship for an academic exchange with Granada University, Spain, September 2019 - May 2020. Amount: 2.820 Euros.
12. Fellowship of the Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana (AISU) for participating in the international summerschool "Learning by Game Creation: Cultural Heritage, Cities and Digital Humanities", jointly organized by UCLA and Politecnico di Torino, September 2019. Amount: 500 Euro.
13. Exhibited work during the Quito Architecture Iberoamerican Biennale 2018 "Granada Des-Granada: raíces legales de la forma urbana morisca e hispana" in the category E: theory, history, and critic of architecture, urbanism, and landscape, Quito, Ecuador, 2018.

### *Editorial appointments*

- Editorial Assistant of Architectural Histories. Journal of the European Architectural History Network. Ubiquity Press. Avery, SJR Q2, JCR-JCI Q2. O-ISSN 2050-5833. Appointed 2021-2025.
- Editor of LC. Revue de recherches sur Le Corbusier. Valencia Polytechnic University, Fondation Le Corbusier. Online ISSN 2660-7212. Valencia, Spain, 2020 – ongoing.

### *Participation in Research Projects*

1. Research project: "FoodCity. Comida y Ciudad, de lo doméstico al espacio público. Elementos para una historia, argumentos para el proyecto contemporáneo", 2021 – 2025. Role: Researcher. Lead researchers: David Arredondo Garrido y Juan Calatrava Escobar. Research group HUM-813, Universidad de Granada. Funding Institution: Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación Gobierno de España. Budget: 57.800 €.
2. Research project: "Creativos_Andaluces_Online: Dinámicas Contemporáneas en la Comunicación de Arte y Arquitectura", 2021 – 2023. Role: Researcher. Lead researchers: David Arredondo Garrido y Juan Calatrava Escobar. Research group HUM-813, Universidad de Granada. Funding Institution: Junta de Andalucía, Programa Operativo Feder (Unión Europea). Budget: 20.000 €.
3. Research project: "Cementerio, Medina y Ensanche de Tetuán. Tres unidades morfológicas y una única realidad patrimonial". Universidad de Granada, 2018-2020. Role: External collaborator. Budget: 20.000 €.

### *Research articles published in peer-reviewed journals.*

1. [Submitted] "Siblings overseas: Spanish unfortified grid cities and their foundational practices in the early 16th century". Submitted to Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (JSAH), Chicago. SJR Q1. JCR-AHCI Q2. Peer-reviewed finished in August 2021. Preparing resubmission.
2. [Upcoming] "Fortificaciones de frontera, bastiones y repartimientos castellanos como escenarios de innovación en la modernidad temprana". Submitted to Studia Historica. Historia Moderna. Universidad de Zaragoza. SJR Q2. JCR-ESCI Q2. To be published on June 2022.
3. "Urban archetypes applied to the study of cities in contemporary historical fictions. Symbolic urban structures in Age of Empires III and Bioshock Infinite" in Culture and History Digital Journal Vol. 8 (1), CSIC History Institute, ISSN-e 2253-797X, SJR Q3 + JCR - SSCI Q3. September 2020.
4. Editorial: "Historic Spaces and Architectures in Videogames" in Culture and History Digital Journal Vol. 8 (1), CSIC History Institute, ISSN-e 2253-797X, SJR Q1 + JCR Q4. September 2020.
5. "Re- representar lo re-presentado: una exploración de paisajes digitales a través del juego y el dibujo arquitectónico", in Revista Arquitectura, edited by the

oficial architects association of Madrid (COAM) vol. 382, Avery Index, issn 0004-2706, September 2019.

6. "Arquetipos fundacionales en Metro 2033: estructuras territoriales y centros urbanos", in Collectivus: revista de ciencias sociales., Vol. 5, Nº 1, pp. 126-131, Ed. Universidad del Atlántico, Colombia, ISSN-e 2382-4018. JCR-ESCI Q3, 2018.

7. "La Alhambra en la obra de Rogelio Salmona: ecos de la experiencia nazarí", in Museion Revista do Museu e Arquivo Histórico La Salle, n.29, pp. 251-264, Brasil, ISSN 1981-7270. 2018, indexed in CAPES/Qualis.

### *Volume chapters and peer-reviewed proceedings*

1. [Upcoming] Book chapter: Drawing celestial landscapes in Assassin's Creed Valhalla: An experiment for architectural education in Spain, in the volume "Assassin's Creed: History's Playground or a Stab in the Dark?", coordinated by Prof. Erik Champion, Curtin University, and Prof. Juan Hiriart, University of Salford. Ed. De Gruyter. Planned for publication in 2022.

2. [Upcoming] Book chapter: Santa Fe: model or prototype? Uses and misuses of Granada's Santa Fe as a transatlantic myth in urban historiography, as part of the volume "On the uses and Abuses of Early Modern Spanish Culture", coordinated by Prof. Chad Leahy, University of Denver. University of Amsterdam Press. Planned for publication in 2022.

3. [Upcoming] Book chapter: The role of the Sacromonte and other Christian and Muslim divine simulacra in the symbolic construction of Granada and its territory, 15th - 16th cc., coautored with prof. Juan Calatrava, Doc. Ana del Cid, and Doc. Francisco A. García Pérez, as part of the volume "Sacri Monti and Beyond: Holy Land Simulacra and Monumental Stational Programs across Europe, c. 1400-1600". Coords. Prof. Pamela Stewart and Prof. Achim Timmermann, University of Michigan. Brepols. Planned for publication in 2022.

4. [Upcoming] Contribution in proceedings: Paisajes fortificados en clave contemporánea: una puesta en valor patrimonial de la Sierra Sur de Jaén a través del proyecto de arquitectura, coautored with Rafael de Lacour Jiménez, in "III Congreso Internacional Cultura y Ciudad: Arquitectura y Paisaje. Transferencias históricas, retos contemporáneos." Ed. Universidad de Granada, Spain. Planned for January 2022.

5. Book chapter "Digitalscapes: semillero de innovación en paisaje, arquitectura y videojuegos de la Universidad de los Andes. Experiencias 2015-2018" in Intersecciones 2018, pp. 60-69, Ediciones ARQ, Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile, ISBN 978-956-9571-83-1, Nov. 2020.

6. Book chapter "Publicidad en revista Proa: ideas de modernidad en Colombia (1946-1962)" in Intersecciones 2018, pp. 16-29, Ediciones ARQ, Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago de Chile, ISBN 978-956-9571-83-1, November 2020.

7. Contribution in proceedings "Games studies in architectural education: An experimental graphic approach implemented in Granada University Architecture

School" in Proceedings of the VI Congreso de la Sociedad Española para las Ciencias del Videojuego, pp. 1-12, Ed. RWTH Aaachen University, ISSN 1613-0073. Indexed in Scopus, Hi 46, October 2020.

8. Book chapter "La imagen del arquitecto moderno en Colombia. El arquitecto en la publicidad de revista Proa" in Mensajes de Modernidad en la Revista Proa. Publicidad en pauta y contenidos 1946-1962. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, ISBN 978-958-774-9809, 2020.

9. Book chapter "Catálogo de la publicidad en Proa" in Mensajes de Modernidad en la Revista Proa. Publicidad en pauta y contenidos 1946-1962. Bogotá: Ediciones Uniandes, ISBN 978-958-774-9809, 2020.

10. Contribution in proceedings "Granada, Desgranada y Nueva Granada: genealogía de formas y significados en la ciudad hispanoamericana de frontera" in Actas del 2º Congreso ibero-americano de Historia Urbana, pp. 2285-2295, Ed. Asociacao Ibero-americana de Historia Urbana, ISSN: 2674-6808, Nov. 2019.

11. Contribution in proceedings "Digitalscapes: Semillero de innovación en paisaje, arquitectura y videojuegos de la Universidad de los Andes. Experiencias 2015-2018" in Intersecciones Proceedings pp. 211-219, Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Estudios Urbanos, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, ISBN 978-956-9571-66-4, Santiago de Chile: March 2018.

12. Contribution in proceedings "Publicidad en revista Proa: ideas de modernidad en Colombia" in Intersecciones Proceedings pp. 35-44, Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Estudios Urbanos, Pontificia U. Católica de Chile, ISBN 978-956-9571-66-4, Santiago de Chile: March 2018.

13. Contribution in proceedings "La ciudad digital como propuesta urbana contemporánea. El caso de Columbia", in Ciudad y formas urbanas, perspectivas transversales. Volumen 10. Formas urbanas en el proyecto moderno y contemporáneo, pp. 91-104, Ed. Universidad de Zaragoza, ISBN del volumen: 978-84-17358-89-1, ISBN de la obra completa: 978-84-17358-90-7, 2018.

14. Abstract in proceedings "La ciudad digital como propuesta urbana contemporánea. El caso de Columbia", in Ciudad y formas urbanas. Perspectivas transversales. Libro de resúmenes, pp. 251-252, Ed. Universidad de Zaragoza, ISBN: 978-84-17358-91-4, 2018.

### *Papers presented in international conferences during the elaboration of Siblings Overseas.*

Speaker: Historias de la arquitectura a través de los estudios del videojuego, in 3er Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Historiadores de la Arquitectura y el Urbanismo, Madrid, Spain, June, 1-3, 2022.

Speaker: Second wave Spanish colonial towns in Chile and Colombia, 1562-1582, in 75th Annual International Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians, Pittsburgh, US, April 27 - May 2, 2022.

Speaker: Paisajes fortificados en clave contemporánea: una puesta en valor patrimonial de la Sierra Sur de Jaén a través del proyecto de arquitectura, in "III

Congreso Internacional Cultura y Ciudad: Arquitectura y Paisaje. Transferencias históricas, retos contemporáneos", Universidad de Granada, Spain. January 26-28, 2022.

Invited International Keynote speaker: Metaverse cartographies: The power of mapping in videogames, in GeoForum Conference, Aalborg, Denmark, November 24 - 26, 2021.

International invited speaker: De la Santa Fe fortificada en Granada a la Santa Fe abierta en Nueva Granada. 1er Seminario Internacional de paisaje cultural "Paisajes que construyen paisajes." Heritage Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Government of Colombia. November 2020.

Speaker: Siblings Overseas: Comparing Two Spanish Grid Cities of 1539. SAH Virtual Conference, Session Cosmopolitan and Local in the Colonial Americas. April 2020.

Speaker: Granada, Des-Granada y Nueva Granada. Genealogía de formas y significados en la ciudad hispanoamericana de frontera. 2º Congreso Iberoamericano de Historia Urbana, Universidad Autónoma Nacional de México, November 2019.

International invited speaker: Digitalscapes: Afrontar los Game Studies a través del paisaje, la historia urbana y el pensamiento arquitectónico. 2º Congreso Internacional de Diseño, Tecnología y Entretenimiento D+T+E, U. Colegio Mayor de Cundinamarca, Bogotá, Colombia, Nov. 2019.

International invited speaker: ¿A qué necesita jugar Colombia? Los Game Studies como espacio de desarrollo académico entre las humanidades y el diseño digital. 2º Congreso Internacional de Diseño, Tecnología y Entretenimiento D+T+E, Universidad Colegio Mayor de Cundinamarca, Bogotá, Colombia, November 2019.

Speaker: Occupying a (re)conquered territory. Four grid-iron cities in the kingdom of Jaen founded during the XVI century. Associazione Italiana di Storia Urbana (AISU) Annual Conference, Bologna, Italy, September 2019.

International guest: GAHTC annual meeting, founded by Andrew W. Mellon Foundation in collaboration with MIT, Miami, April 2019.

Speaker: Early career of an architect/researcher/divulgator, in II Seminar "Arquitectos en ejercicio", University of Granada, Spain, 2019

Speaker: Granada, Des-Granada, Re-Granada, in XIX Inner Seminar "Research lines for Modern History in Competitive Projects", University of Jaen, Spain, 2019.

Speaker: Digitalscapes: innovation seed for Landscape, Architecture and Videogames in Los Andes University. Experiences 2015-2018 in Intersecciones 2018: III Interdisciplinary Research Congress in Architecture, Design, City and Territory, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 2018.

Speaker: Advertisement in Proa Magazine: ideas of modernism in Colombia 1946-1962 in Intersecciones 2018: III Interdisciplinary Research Congress in Architecture, Design, City and Territory, Santiago de Chile, Chile, 2018.

### *Teaching activities*

### Teaching in undergraduate and graduate programs

1. PhD teaching assistant of graduate design course "History of Material Culture" coordinated by Prof. Sergio Pace, Politecnico di Torino, Italy, 2021-2022.
2. PhD teaching assistant of graduate design course "History of Material Culture" coordinated by Prof. Sergio Pace, Politecnico di Torino, Italy, 2020-2021.
3. PhD teaching assistant of undergraduate architecture design studio "Landscape and Heritage", led by Prof. Rafael de Lacour Jiménez, Universidad de Granada, Spain, 2019-2020.

### Digital courses and open access teaching material during the COVID-19 Pandemic

1. Edx MOOC course "Global History of Islamic Architecture: Space, city, art". Coordinated by Universidad del Rosario, Bogotá. Accessible through Edx platform. 3.000+ students.
2. GAHTC module of 6 lectures "Roots of Global Hispanic Urbanism: Spaces of Conflict and Cultural Exchange during the Reconquista and its Aftermath". Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative, MIT, US. Accessible through the GAHTC platform. Published in October 2020.

### Undergraduate thesis co-directed (Trabajo Fin de Grado)

1. Jacob Jiménez Fernández, "Arquitectura del mundo virtual: trascendencia de la sección arquitectónica como escenario narrativo en el videojuego." Co-directed with Prof. Rafael de Lacour Jiménez. Architecture Undergraduate program, University of Granada, 2021.
2. Pablo Muñoz Barco, "Dibujo virtual: construir a través de la mano." Co-directed with Prof. Rafael de Lacour Jiménez. Architecture Undergraduate program, University of Granada, 2021.
3. Juan Antonio Zamora Bolea, "Re-materializar la imaginación. Arquitectura mitológica, nórdica y digital en el videojuego Assassin's Creed Valhalla." Co-directed with Prof. Rafael de Lacour Jiménez. Architecture Undergraduate program, University of Granada, 2021.
4. Ana María García Linares, "Arquitecturas físicas y digitales. Análisis comparativo de la saga de videojuegos BioShock." Co-directed with Prof. Rafael de Lacour Jiménez. Architecture Undergraduate program, University of Granada, 2019.

### Lectures

1. International guest lecturer "La colonización de la Sierra Sur 1508-1539: una historia en sincronía con América Latina," celebrated in the frame of the European Heritage days hosted by the Andalusian Government at Jaen's Provintial Museum, Consejería de Cultura y Patrimonio Histórico, Junta de Andaluscía. October 7th, 2021.

2. Digital seminar "Los videojuegos. Bien cultural y objeto de estudio", organized by Madrid's Bar Association - Ilustre Colegio de Abogados de Madrid, along with representatives of the gaming industry specialized in retail, intellectual property, and e-sports. September 27th, 2021.

3. Digital round table "Conversatorio inaugural MARQ", inaugural seminar for Universidad de los Andes Architecture Master's degree, course 2021/2022, along with profs. Luis Fernando González and Pilar Sánchez. August 13th, 2021.

4. Digital lecture "La investigación en arquitectura como salida profesional." Architecture Master's program, Architecture School at Universidad de Granada, April 28th, 2021.

5. Digital lecture, "Arquitectura y videojuegos: metodologías para su investigación." Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Cali, Colombia. April 2021.

6. Digital lecture, "Arquitecturas históricas en el videojuego: entre el historicismo y el eclecticismo digital." Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Cali, Colombia. April 2021.

7. Digital lecture "Graphic design principles for architects". Universidad Piloto de Colombia and Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. Bogotá, Colombia. October 2020.

8. Lecture "Granada Des-Granada: legal foundational archetypes of the Arab-Muslim urban form." La Madraza Center for contemporary culture, Granada University, Spain, November 2019.

### *Dissemination towards nonspecialized audiences*
### Scientific dissemination articles

1. "La batalla por aprender: conoce la historia de los vikingos con un nuevo videojuego" in Diario ABC, Spanish newspaper founded in 1903, October 19th, 2021. Printed and digital edition.

2. "Maxime Durand, el humanista infiltrado que llevó 'Assassin's Creed al mundo educativo", in ABC newspaper August 8th, 2021. Printed and digital edition.

3. "Los desarrolladores de videojuegos se alían con los grandes archivos y museos de Europa en Gamelab", in ABC newspaper, culture section, April 2021.

4. "Colección Tesis de Posgrado, Universidad de los Andes", in Memorias XXVII Bienal Colombiana de Arquitectura y Urbanismo 2020. Bogotá: SCA - Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos. Pp: 360-361. ISSN: 2500-7408.

5. "La otra cara de los videojuegos:así se utiliza Assassin's Creed para salvar Notre Dame", in ABC newspaper, digital edition, culture section, Spain, 2019.

6. "La acera, una reinvención del siglo XVIII", in National Geographic HISTORIA, pp. 30-31, nº 188, RBA Ed., ISSN 1696-7755, August 2019.

7. "La catedral de Florencia", in National Geographic HISTORIA, pp. 96-115, nº 176, RBA Ed., ISSN 1696-7755, August 2018.

8. "Publicidad en la Revista Proa durante la década de los cincuenta. Estudio gráfico e inventariado", in Revista Proyectos, nº 20 (Academia), pp. 187-188, Ed.

Architecture Department, Los Andes University, Colombia, ISSN 0123-918X, July 2018.

9. "La Imola de Leonardo", in National Geographic HISTORIA, pp. 34-35, nº 174, RBA Ed., ISSN 1696-7755, June 2018.

10. "Discovery Tour Assassin's Creed: Visitar la Gran Biblioteca de Alejandría no es suficiente", in ABC newspaper March 19, 2018. Culture section.

### Interviews in architectural periodical and other media

1. Press note: "Destrucción y lenguas de fuego en la España de Felipe II: «Se creó un puerto de lava cerca de Tazacorte»" in Diario ABC, April 29th 2021, based on a Twitter thread about 1592 Atlas of the Canary Islands by Leonardo Torriani, that reached and audience of 100k+ people.

2. Interview in Stepienybarno #Instatectura episode 110, weekly Instagram livestream, June 2021.

3. Podcast for Javeriana Estéreo Cali on Architecture and Videogames, along with professor Joaquín Llorca from Pontificia Universidad Javeriana de Cali. 2021.

4. Interview as prominent alumni of Universidad de los Andes "Experiencias MARQ", published by Uniandes Architecture and Design School, Bogota, March 2021.

5. Results of the I International Seminar on Cultural Landscapes "Paisajes que construyen paisajes" published in the official web of Colombia's Ministry of Culture, 2020.

6. Host of the launch event of the book "Mensajes de Modernidad en la Revista Proa. Publicidad en pauta y contenidos 1946 – 1962" along with its authors and colaborators, live streamed through the official Facebook channels of ArqDis Uniandes and Ediciones Uniandes, November 2020.

7. Launch trailer for the book "Mensajes de Modernidad en la Revista Proa. Publicidad en pauta y contenidos 1946 – 1962" produced along with the communication team of the Architecture and Design School of Los Andes University, October 2020.

8. "Final del concurso UGR '3 Minute Thesis ' con el egresado Manuel Sánchez García." Press note on the official website of Granada's Architecture School, 2020.

9. #40enCuarentena, short presentation for the Spanish Committee of Art History (CEHA), as part of a Social Media project during the COVID-19 crisis.

10. "Arquicafe Stepienybarno con Manuel Saga". Short interview with Stepienybarno, one of the most visited architecture blogs in Spain, 2020.

11. "¿Para qué sirve un arquitecto?" interview with Stepienybarno, one of the most visited architecture blogs in Spain, 2019.

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