Santa Fe: ¿modelo o prototipo? Usos y abusos de Santa Fe de Granada en la historiografía urbana

En octubre de 1491, durante el sitio de Granada, los Reyes Católicos establecieron el campamento militar conocido como Real de Santa Fe. Tras la rendición nazarí el 2 de enero de 1492, este asentamiento fue fundado oficialmente como ciudad, adquiriendo gran fama en las décadas siguientes a modo de símbolo de las aspiraciones imperiales españolas. La literatura académica dedicada a Santa Fe es amplia. Se la ha descrito como vínculo entre las prácticas urbanas españolas en Europa y América, como pico evolutivo del urbanismo medieval ibérico, como aplicación ejemplar de los nuevos principios del Renacimiento, como la recuperación del castrum romano, o incluso como la materialización de la Jerusalén Celestial, entre otras posibilidades. El presente artículo presenta un análisis historiográfico de esta narrativa que parte desde aquellas posiciones que presentan Santa Fe como modelo ubicuo hacia un entendimiento más profundo de su papel como prototipo en el contexto amplio de los procesos urbanos transatlánticos bidireccionales desarrollados durante la modernidad temprana.

Palabras clave: *Historia urbana, historia del urbanismo, asentamientos coloniales, Imperio español, América Latina.*

In October 1491, during the siege of Granada, the Catholic Monarchs established a royal encampment at the site known as Real de Santa Fe. After the Nasrid surrender on January 2nd, 1492, this settlement was officially founded as a city, acquiring great fame in the following decades as a symbol of Spanish imperial aspirations. Scholarly literature has abundantly depicted Santa Fe as a link between Spanish urban practices in Europe and the Americas, describing it as the evolutionary peak of Iberian medieval urbanism, the exemplary application of new Renaissance principles, the reenactment of the Roman castrum, and the physical embodiment of Celestial Jerusalem, among many other possibilities. This article provides a historiographical analysis of this narrative, ranging from Santa Fe's presentation as a ubiquitous model to a deeper understanding of its role as a prototype embedded within a complex network of bidirectional transatlantic urban processes developed during the early modern period.

Keywords: *Urban History, Planning History, colonial settlements, Spanish Empire, Latin America.*

Manuel Sánchez García

Santa Fe: model or prototype?

Uses and Misuses of Granada's Santa Fe in Urban Historiography

DOI: 10.20868/cn.2025.5575

Figure 1. Panel of Santa Fe in the lower chorus at Toledo's Cathedral, Spain, 1492-1493. Artist: Rodrigo Alemán, Spain. Author.

Figure 2. Panel of Granada in the lower chorus at Toledo's Cathedral, Spain, 1492-1493. Artist: Rodrigo Alemán, Spain. Author.

Doctor en Arquitectura, Historia y Proyecto, Politécnico de Turín. Doctor en Historia y Artes, Arquitecto, Universidad de Granada. Magíster en Arquitectura, Universidad de los Andes. Investigador Juan de la Cierva, Universidad Politécnica de Madrid

Origins of Santa Fe

October 1491: Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon establish their royal encampment for the siege of the Muslim Kingdom of Granada. This temporary placement known as *Real de Santa Fe* was reserved for the monarchs, their generals, and a small portion of their army. The bulk of the Castilian forces resided some hundred meters away at *Real de la Vega*, a much bigger camp whose exact position remains unknown (García Pulido and Orihuela Uzal 2005). While the details of the construction of *Real de la Vega* went mostly unobserved by campaign chroniclers, there are plenty of testimonies regarding *Real de Santa Fe*, including the narration of direct witnesses like Fernando del Pulgar (Del Pulgar 1780; Bernáldez 1995). Their testimonies praise Santa Fe's urban plan for its regularity and strong defenses. Del Pulgar affirmed that the layout of Santa Fe followed the model of Briviesca, a town in northern Spain, relocated and re-founded with a grid-iron structure in the early 14th century by Blanca de Portugal, granddaughter of Alfonso X (Marineo Siculo 1539, Navarro Segura 2006: 218). As a settlement of royal ascendance, Briviesca was an ideal reference for Santa Fe, connecting it to Castilian precedents close to Saint James Way and its network where Aragonese grid town planning practices flourished in the 11th century (Passini 1984, 1988, Bielza de Ory 2003). In this way, Santa Fe's foundational narrative was rooted in both Castilian and Aragonese traditions: a suitable basis for both Catholic Monarchs in their alliance against Nasrid Granada.

The earliest depictions of Santa Fe include an engraved panel in the wooden choir of Toledo's Cathedral sculpted by Rodrigo Alemán between 1492 and 1493, that is, during the subsequent year after the conquest of Granada (Carriazo y Arroquia 1985). The chairs in the lower section of the chorus feature scenes from the Granada War ordered in a strict hierarchy. At the center of the chorus, the chair showing Santa Fe and the siege of Granada (figure 1) was paired with another panel presenting the rendition of the Nasrid capital (figure 2). They frame the stairs

Figure 3. View of the chorus at Toledo's Cathedral, Spain. The image features its central section, with the Archbishop seat at the high chorus and the stairs of the lower chorus flanked by the images of Santa Fe and Granada carved by Rodrigo Alemán. Author.

leading to the Archbishop's presidential seat, Granada to its right and Santa Fe to its left, forming a visual narrative of urban opposites, catholic fervor, and royal authority (figure 3) (García Pulido and Orihuela Uzal 2004). Aleman's engraving of Santa Fe emphasizes its fortifications and is considered the most accurate depiction of the royal camp. Among other details, it shows the proto-modern bastions designed by the Aragonese military engineer Ramiro López, which contrast with Santa Fe's medieval gates and walls[1]. Across the river, the unwalled *Real de la Vega* teems with soldiers making preparations for the siege. Granada's medina appears in the background.

Real de Santa Fe was officially founded as a city in celebration of the Christian victory over Granada, following the signature of a peace agreement on November 25, 1491 and the Nasrid official rendition on January 2, 1492. Santa Fe was re-plotted into urban parcels and distributed among Castilians citizens [*vecinos*] benefiting of a special set of local charters and privileges [*fueros*]. The foundational process included a series of legal and religious protocols that emphasized the new status of the town as a place of non-armed dominance in substitution of its prior military character. Its image of stone bastions and whitewashed wooden walls gradually faded until the remaining fortifications were demolished in the 18th century (García Pulido and Orihuela Uzal 2005: 37). Santa Fe's reinforced doors were substituted in the 1600s by ceremonial entrances with chapels placed above them, obliging citizens and visitors enter the city "under God's gaze" in a quite literal sense (figures 4-7).

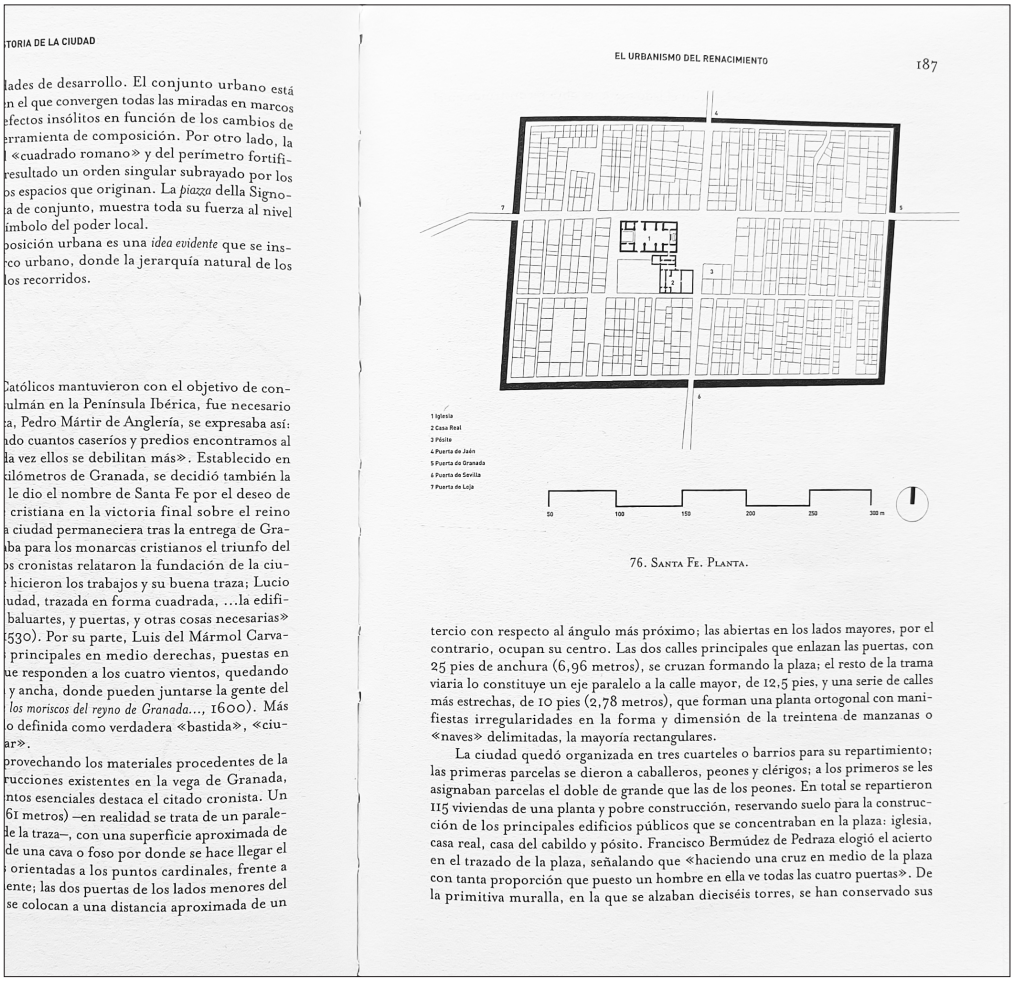
Such urban modifications responded to Santa Fe's renown, well-established by the end of the fifteenth century throughout the global reaches of imperial Spain. Santa Fe is the place where the first document authorizing Christopher Columbus to travel to the East Indies was signed by Queen Isabella on April 17, 1492, four months after the fall of Granada. Santa Fe is also mentioned in documents, letters, instructions, and other transatlantic correspondence throughout the 16th century as a urban referent for *adelantados*

Figure 4. *Left page.* Santa Fe, Gate of Granada. Outside view. 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. Author.

Figure 5. Santa Fe, Gate of Seville. Outside view. Author.

Figure 6. Santa Fe, Gate of Jaén. Outside view. Author.

Figure 7. Santa Fe, Gate of Loja. Inside view, featuring a chapel balcony overlooking the main street. Author.



TORIA DE LA CIUDAD

lades de desarrollo. El conjunto urbano está
n el que convergen todas las miradas en marcos
efectos insólitos en función de los cambios de
rramienta de composición. Por otro lado, la
l «cuadrado romano» y del perímetro fortifi-
resultado un orden singular subrayado por los
os espacios que originan. La *piazza* della Signo-
a de conjunto, muestra toda su fuerza al nivel
símbolo del poder local.
posición urbana es una *idea evidente* que se ins-
co urbano, donde la jerarquía natural de los
los recorridos.

Católicos mantuvieron con el objetivo de con-
ulmán en la Península Ibérica, fue necesario
a, Pedro Mártir de Anglería, se expresaba así:
ido cuantos caseríos y predios encontramos al
la vez ellos se debilitan más». Establecido en
ilómetros de Granada, se decidió también la
le dio el nombre de Santa Fe por el deseo de
cristiana en la victoria final sobre el reino
a ciudad permaneciera tras la entrega de Gra-
ba para los monarcas cristianos el triunfo del
os cronistas relataron la fundación de la ciu-
hicieron los trabajos y su buena traza; Lucio
udad, trazada en forma cuadrada, ...la edifi-
baluartes, y puertas, y otras cosas necesarias»
530). Por su parte, Luis del Mármol Carva-
principales en medio derechas, puestas en
ue responden a los cuatro vientos, quedando
y ancha, donde pueden juntarse la gente del
los moriscos del reyno de Granada..., 1600). Más
o definida como verdadera «bastida», «ciu-
ar».
provechando los materiales procedentes de la
rucciones existentes en la vega de Granada,
ntos esenciales destaca el citado cronista. Un
61 metros) –en realidad se trata de un parale-
le la traza–, con una superficie aproximada de
de una cava o foso por donde se hace llegar el
orientadas a los puntos cardinales, frente a
ente; las dos puertas de los lados menores del
se colocan a una distancia aproximada de un

EL URBANISMO DEL RENACIMIENTO 187

1 Iglesia
2 Casa Real
3 Pósito
4 Puerta de Jaén
5 Puerta de Granada
6 Puerta de Sevilla
7 Puerta de Loja

50 100 150 200 250 300 m

76. Santa Fe. Planta.

tercio con respecto al ángulo más próximo; las abiertas en los lados mayores, por el contrario, ocupan su centro. Las dos calles principales que enlazan las puertas, con 25 pies de anchura (6,96 metros), se cruzan formando la plaza; el resto de la trama viaria lo constituye un eje paralelo a la calle mayor, de 12,5 pies, y una serie de calles más estrechas, de 10 pies (2,78 metros), que forman una planta ortogonal con manifiestas irregularidades en la forma y dimensión de la treintena de manzanas o «naves» delimitadas, la mayoría rectangulares.

La ciudad quedó organizada en tres cuarteles o barrios para su repartimiento; las primeras parcelas se dieron a caballeros, peones y clérigos; a los primeros se les asignaban parcelas el doble de grande que las de los peones. En total se repartieron 115 viviendas de una planta y pobre construcción, reservando suelo para la construcción de los principales edificios públicos que se concentraban en la plaza: iglesia, casa real, casa del cabildo y pósito. Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza elogió el acierto en el trazado de la plaza, señalando que «haciendo una cruz en medio de la plaza con tanta proporción que puesto un hombre en ella ve todas las cuatro puertas». De la primitiva muralla, en la que se alzaban dieciséis torres, se han conservado sus

Figure 8. Plan of Santa Fe as presented in the Spanish edition of Charles Delfante's Grande Histoire de la Ville (2006), originally published in 1997.

and other Spanish officials[2], many of them being veterans from the War or Granada (e.g. Nicolás de Ovando), descendants of war veterans (e.g. Hernán Cortés), or sons of Castilian settlers 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 countries as dissimilar as the United States[3], Mexico[4], Cuba[5], Honduras[6], Panamá[7], Colombia[8], Venezuela[9], Brazil[10], Bolivia[11], Chile[12], and Argentina[13]. In other words: most Spanish colonial territories in the Americas have their own unique Santa Fe, all of them different but rooted to a common ancestor in Granada. New *santafes* following the colonial model were also settled in the Iberian Peninsula and other Spanish realms in Europea. That is the case of Santa Fe de Mondújar in Almería, the eastern province of the Kingdom of Granada, a city meant to repopulate the region with Castilian colonists after the expulsion of local inhabitants in the aftermath of the Morisco rebellions of 1568-1571 (Sánchez Ramos 1995: 380).

This worldwide impact has given Santa Fe a prominent role in most historical studies dealing with Spanish urbanism. Authors such as Fernando Terán (1989) and Charles Delfante (2006: 186-188) listed Santa Fe in their general urban history surveys (figure 8). Their work shows the expansive influence of Santa Fe both in its time and in contemporary scholarship, inspiring winding discussions about its archetypical trace that have not been fully resolved. If Santa Fe's grid structure was meant to be used as a planning model, its plan would consistently appear in manuscripts, instructions, and military engineering treatises. But this is not the case. There is no 16th-century plan of Santa Fe to be found, not in its own foundational record (figure 9), nor in those of the cities that allegedly reproduced its model. Santa Fe may be considered a planned city, but no plan was involved in its creation.

Period sources featuring the image of Santa Fe are not plans but views, such as Alemán's engravings, and urban diagrams, like the one featured in the 1750 land registration survey by Marques de la Ensenada (Guillén Marcos, 2003) (figure 10). The earliest surviving plan of Santa Fe is the one

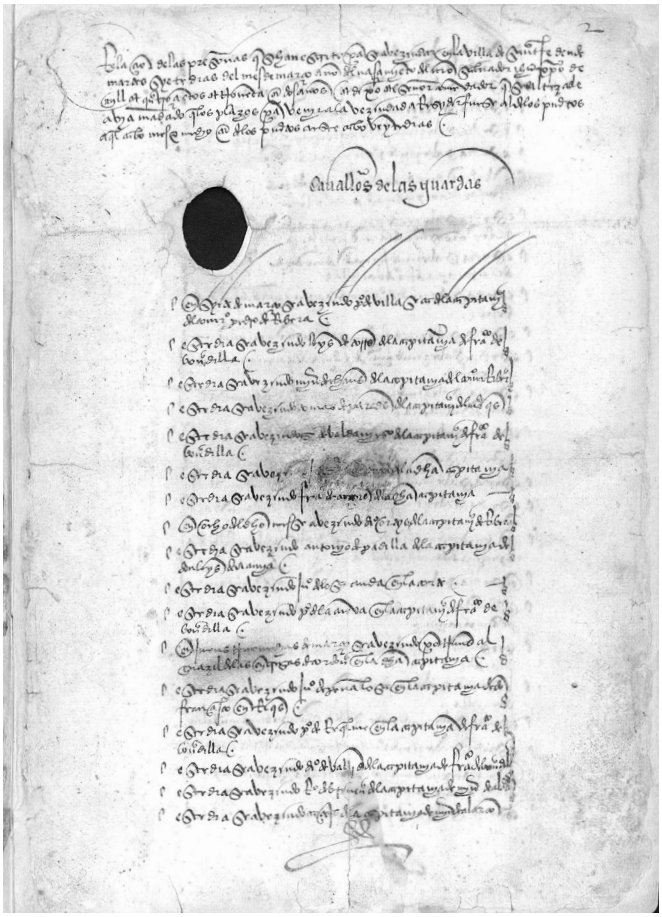


Figure 9. Libro de Fundación de Santa Fe, 1492-1496, fol. 2r. Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe.

Figure 10. Plan of Santa Fe sketched in the margin of a set of responses for the Catastro de Ensenada, Spain, 1753. Part of the manuscript titled 'Autos, respuestas generales y estados de Santa Fe', 1752-1756, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Granada, D-LIB/1543.

drawn by Francisco Quintillán in 1777 (figure 11), for a project for the city's north ditch draining, featuring its distinctive urban structure, its ceremonial gates, and its central plaza (figure 12). This same plan is the one reproduced by Delfante and most other urban history manuals: a 18th-century source unrelated to any actual foundational plan of any Spanish settlement in Europe or the Americas. Given the abundance of urban imagery 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 a major printed media (Bonet Correa 1978: 32).

Although the debate regarding Santa Fe's trace is still ongoing, urban historians often depict this city as an uncontested model for Spanish urban practices in Europe and the Americas. Diverse authors have presented the trace of Santa Fe either as a re-enactment of the Roman *castrum*, a physical embodiment of Celestial Jerusalem, a derivative of the French *bastides*, and an exemplary application of Renaissance urbanism, all of them plausible but insufficient explanations. Disciplinary and geographical divides also affect the discourses surrounding Santa Fe. To Hispanic medievalists, Santa Fe is at the end of their chronology, a hint of what was to come in the early modern period. For Americanists, Santa Fe is a root with strong medieval flavors, indispensable for later urban developments but far from the baroque complexity of any major Latin American capital. In this way, Santa Fe has become one of those referents that many authors refer to only through what others said before. It sits in a very specific place at the fringes of different subfields, limiting its profound study to a limited group of scholars mostly based in Andalusia. As a response, the following pages provide a historiographical inquiry based on both local and international sources to portray how the debates surrounding Santa Fe have been represented in scholarly literature. It delves into the main arguments regarding Santa Fe's role as a referent for early modern urban practices, including notions of how it became regarded as a model, the impacts of such assumptions, and the diverse viewpoints questioning Santa Fe's actual role in the complex embroidery of influences across the early modern Iberian worlds.

Figure 11. Plan showing Santa Fe and its system of water ditches, Spain, 1777. Author: Francisco Quintillán, Spain. Source: Archivo Municipal de Santa Fe, folder 590/3, ES.1800280. AMSF/5.2./MPD, 0001.

Figure 12. Santa Fe's central square, featuring the church of Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación, by the renowned Madrid architect Ventura Rodríguez. Its construction began in 1774. Works were still ongoing when Quintillán traced his plan in 1777. Author.

Santa Fe as a militaristic global blueprint

The French inheritance of the urban history field is a key aspect on this regard, linked to authors like Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges (1864, 1947), Pierre Lavedan (1952), and Henri Pirenne (1969). They focused on Classic urban history, late medieval and early modern urban treatises, and their impacts on North and Central European urbanism. Their works informed later 20th century urban histories such as those by Erwin Anton Gutkind in the US (1964), Maurice Beresford in England (1967), Leonardo Benevolo in Italy (1971), and Yves Barel in France (1981). Texts such as the fourth volume of Gutkind's 1964 *International History of City Development* consolidated a morphologic approach towards Spanish urbanism that ended up becoming the mainstream for this kind of research. Most of Gutkind's arguments are still in use today: the Roman component of Spanish urbanism, the influence of French bastides on fortified new towns planted during the Reconquista, the legal precedents established by Alfonso X's legal code *Las Siete Partidas* (13th century), the long tradition of medieval *fueros* in Aragon and Navarra[14], and the implementation of urban typologies such as roofed arcades in major streets and *plazas mayores*. 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 Bidagor (1954), all well-aware of Granada's early modern history and Santa Fe's worldwide legacy. Additionally, Torres Balbás and Chueca Goitia, together with Julio González, edited the catalogue volume of Iberoamerican and Philippine city plans conserved at Archivo General de Indias (1951), which remains still today as the reference source for the AGI collection. The networked aspects of Iberoamerican cities were further explored by Antonio Bonet Correa (1978, 1991, 2007), who became a key influence for the new generation of Spanish art historians trained after the 1950s.

Most of these works have not been widely available outside of Spain for a very long time and many have never been translated. In their absence, the international narrative on Spanish urban history has been instead driven by English-written sources. One of the most internationally influential volumes on this regard is Anthony Edwin James Morris' *History of Urban Form* (1994), first published in 1972 and easily accessible thanks to its subsequent editions and Spanish translations (2018). Morris expanded the morphological approach, building his historical survey upon the works of many of the previously mentioned authors. In the brief section dedicated to Spanish medieval new towns, Morris presented Santa Fe as "one of the most regularly planned examples" for early modern Spanish cities, which he described 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 conquistadores in Latin America" (1994: 147).

In 1984, the first Spanish translation of Morris' volume added a new chapter titled *Spain and her Empire*, which was later adapted for the third English edition in 1994. The starting three pages of this section were

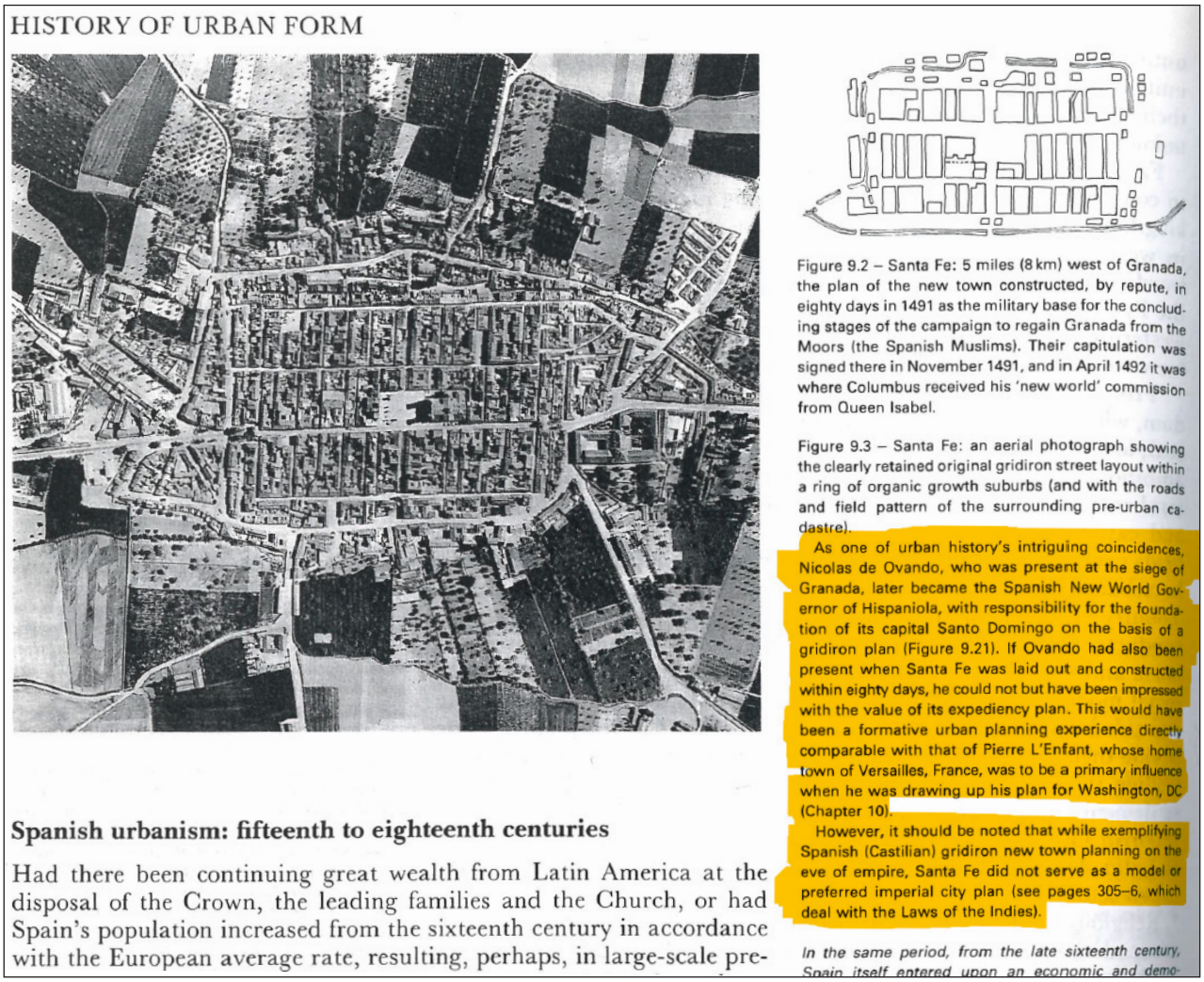

HISTORY OF URBAN FORM

Figure 9.2 – Santa Fe: 5 miles (8 km) west of Granada, the plan of the new town constructed, by repute, in eighty days in 1491 as the military base for the concluding stages of the campaign to regain Granada from the Moors (the Spanish Muslims). Their capitulation was signed there in November 1491, and in April 1492 it was where Columbus received his 'new world' commission from Queen Isabel.

Figure 9.3 – Santa Fe: an aerial photograph showing the clearly retained original gridiron street layout within a ring of organic growth suburbs (and with the roads and field pattern of the surrounding pre-urban cadastre).

As one of urban history's intriguing coincidences, Nicolas de Ovando, who was present at the siege of Granada, later became the Spanish New World Governor of Hispaniola, with responsibility for the foundation of its capital Santo Domingo on the basis of a gridiron plan (Figure 9.21). If Ovando had also been present when Santa Fe was laid out and constructed within eighty days, he could not but have been impressed with the value of its expediency plan. This would have been a formative urban planning experience directly comparable with that of Pierre L'Enfant, whose home town of Versailles, France, was to be a primary influence when he was drawing up his plan for Washington, DC (Chapter 10).

However, it should be noted that while exemplifying Spanish (Castilian) gridiron new town planning on the eve of empire, Santa Fe did not serve as a model or preferred imperial city plan (see pages 305–6, which deal with the Laws of the Indies).

Spanish urbanism: fifteenth to eighteenth centuries

Had there been continuing great wealth from Latin America at the disposal of the Crown, the leading families and the Church, or had Spain's population increased from the sixteenth century in accordance with the European average rate, resulting, perhaps, in large-scale pre-

In the same period, from the late sixteenth century, Spain itself entered upon an economic and demo-

Figure 13. Detail of Anthony Edwin James Morris' History of Urban Form 3rd edition (1994: 294), presenting a top-down view of Santa Fe and a simplified plan following Quintillán's 1777 depiction.

dedicated to Reconquista Spanish urbanism, insisting that medieval new towns acquainted "Castilian leaders of Latin American colonizing expeditions with the processes of new urban settlement" (Morris 1994: 293). Like in previous editions, Morris presented Santa Fe as the single exemplary highlight of this period. He described how Nicolás de Ovando, the Spanish conquistador who re-settled Santo Domingo in 1502, was present in Santa Fe in 1492, where he went through "a formative planning experience comparable with that of Pierre L'Enfant" (1994: 294) (figure 13). A sidenote warns: "Santa Fe did not serve as a model or preferred imperial city plan". The city is instead 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" (Morris 1994: 293). Later in the chapter, the author presents even more anachronistic arguments, such as the description of how Charles V, born in 1500, "petitioned the Pope for sole rights to the Indies" right after Columbus first return in 1493. The dates don't match. Nor does the terminology: Morris went as far as employing the term *plaza mayor* to describe spaces like *Plaza Birrambla* in Granada (1994: 302), one of the most unique market spaces in the Nasrid lower medina predating the Christian conquest of the city, hence much older than any early modern *plaza*[15]. A further problematic aspect to Morris' work is the comparison between Spanish and English colonialism. For Morris, Spaniards shown a militaristic approach to urbanism vastly distinct from the "individual adventuring" and "corporate enterprise" of the English colonists (1994: 330). His arguments are not far from Lewis Mumford's own biased suggestions: "If the Spanish colonial town in the New World was a military survival, the New England village was a happy mutation" (1989: 330).

Overall, Morris depicted Santa Fe as a militaristic urban model articulating south-Iberian local conflicts with the global conquest

of the Americas. The impact of his argument can be tracked through later authors referencing Morris such as Spiro Kostof (1991) and Leonardo Benevolo (1993a), who also drew upon wide historical categories to provide brief explanations for Ibero-American urban practices. Kostof went for the French option in his seminal monograph *The city shaped* (1991), where he introduced the Indies Laws as a "a genuine product of Renaissance thought" that should be interpreted as "a continuation of the long medieval history of bastides" (1991: 113). In *La città nella storia d'Europa*, Benevolo provided a quite nuanced argument regarding Spanish Medieval grid cities based on the works of Pierre Lavedan and Henri Pirenne. However, the book's later sections change to a more reductive view when discussing the wide application of the Spanish colonial grid, allegedly based on its connection to utopian urban models born from the Italian Renaissance (1993b: 125–129). Their works show how difficult is to navigate the divide between late-medieval and early modern urban history in their search for overarching arguments, a challenge shared by many authors then as well as today.

Santa Fe in the works of Hispanists and Latin-Americanists

In comparison to urban historians, specialized Hispanists and Latin-Americanist historians tend to keep a more restrained attitude in their considerations, simultaneously providing general insights as well as contrasting exceptions situated in their specific historical contexts that avoid generalization. John Elliott explained this approach in the introduction to his *Empires of the Atlantic World*, where he argued how comparative history should be a "fluctuating process" not unlike "playing the accordion" (2006: xix). Santa Fe appears in Elliot's volume as well, once again featured as the main link between Spanish grid-iron urbanism in Europe and the Americas. This author had explored the topic before in his widespread monograph *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (1998) where the Granada War appears featured in detail. Elliott's work presented Santa Fe as a unique case within a complicated network of relationships involving Nasrid Granada, Castile, and Aragon, further entangled as Spanish conflicts spread across North Africa, Italy, Germany, Flanders, and the Americas. Though Elliott' did not describe Santa Fe's morphology or its built environment, his historical narration is polyhedric, open to various possible interpretations and thus richer in meaning. Elliott's expertise in the Spanish Empire, along with his wide and complex approach, supported his more critical views on historical archetypes and stereotypes. Rather than surveying Santa Fe as a closed case, he presented it as a topic of investigation open to future inquiry. Similarly, Richard L. Kagan and Fernando Marías' 1998 compilation of Hispanic urban imagery mentions Santa Fe in reference to the diversity of debates about its historical roots (1998: 67).

This more methodical approach has found fertile ground among Latin American urban historians. In 1996, the Colombian architect Jaime Salcedo Salcedo developed a complex survey of Spanish colonial cities and their morphologies deeply rooted on Latin American literature (figure 14). He proposed the classification of colonial cities in two groups. First, fortified cities with long blocks, narrow streets, and imperfect grids, related to the castrum model and typically found in the Caribbean region. Second, open cities with squared blocks and wide streets, related to the Catholic ideal for a perfect city. Cities following this later model were mostly founded after the 1530s in the inner territories of the continent, especially in Andean regions where the Spaniards did not face any enemy artillery (Salcedo Salcedo 1996). Salcedo connected both groups to earlier medieval experiences, including the *castramentatio* rule by Alfonso X in the 13th century and the ideal city by Francesc de Eiximenis in the

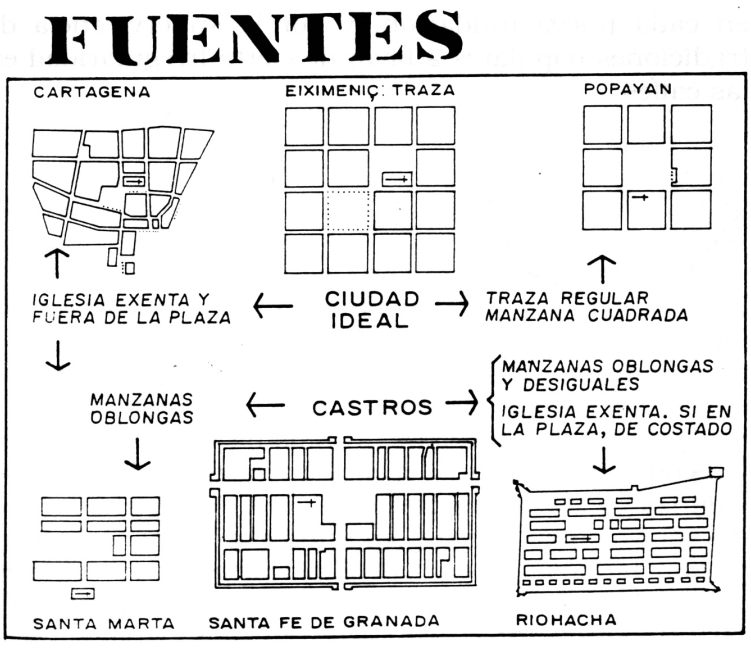


Figure 14. Diagrams by Jaime Salcedo Salcedo showing the connections between different urban models and their application in colonial America (1996: 45).

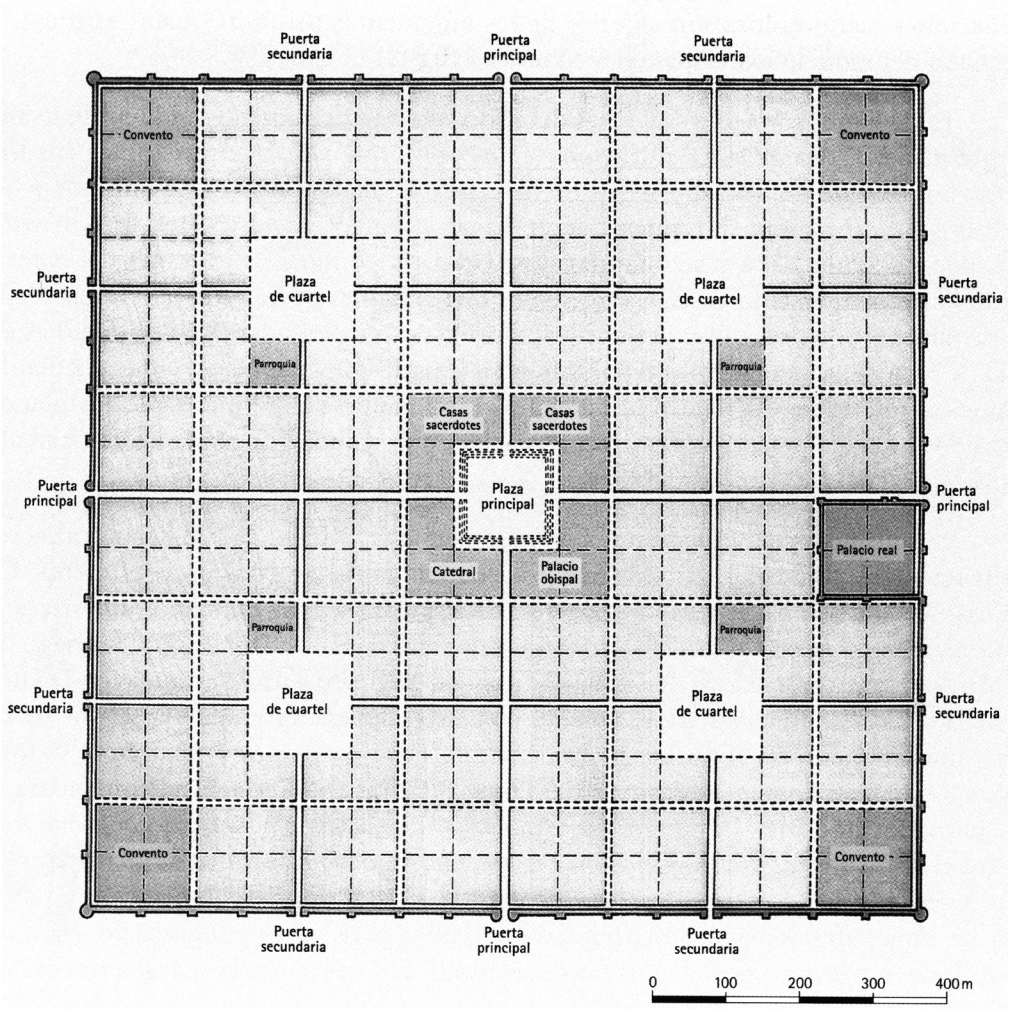


Figure 15. Plan of Eiximenis ideal town by Vicente Bielza de Ory (2003: 309).

15th century (1996: 44–46) (figure 15). Santa Fe was of course a key link for this chain of urban referents. Salcedo proposed an innovative argument delving into how Santa Fe became more influential as an idea than as a direct formal rule. In his opinion, Santa Fe was a shared referent across Spanish colonists because it embodied a perfect *vida en policía*, that is, the ideal way of living under Spanish law. For Salcedo, Santa Fe still is the main overseas link, but his view on the consequences of this connection shows a richer diversity in time and space, unique for each colonial city echoing Santa Fe.

Salcedo was preceded by figures such as Carlos Martínez, who explored the urban models applied all over Colombia with emphasis on Santa Fe de Bogotá (1967, 1973); and Alberto Corradine —in collaboration with his wife Helga Mora de Corradine— (1986, 1989), who studied the colonial architecture of Colombia and published the foundational plan of Villa de Leyva for the first time. Today, one of the main referents for the urban history of Santa Fe de Bogotá is Germán Mejía, who compiled a historical cartography of the city in collaboration with Marcela Cuéllar (2007), and later provided the most comprehensive study to date about the years of its foundation (2012). All these authors mention Santa Fe de Granada in their works, a particularly necessary reference given the Granadian origin of Bogotá's founder Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Although Mejía built upon the arguments of Martínez and Salcedo, he is not an architect but an historian, hence his approach is less dependent on morphology than his predecessors. In his narration of Bogotá's settlement process, Mejía focused on the city's politics, symbolic dimensions, and period urban legislation, relating his work to the developments of Spanish historians such as Manuel Lucena Giraldo (2006). Their arguments diverge from those of Morris and other precedents such as Jorge Enrique Hardoy, Richard Paul Schaedel, and Nora Scott-Kinzer, who in 1978 affirmed that the "pompous title of city" of Spanish colonial settlements "was

a legal figment, not a physical reality" (1978: 1–26). In contrast, Mejía and Lucena dive into the inner workings of that "legal figment" and so evaluate the impacts of its associated protocols and hierarchies, never underestimating the material foundations of cities that, like Lima, Cartagena de Indias and specially Mexico City, would become global hubs for the baroque world.

Similar arguments have been published by scholars specialized on other Latin American contexts. Ramón Gutiérrez, founder of *Centro de Documentación de Arquitectura Latinoamericana* (CEDODAL) in Argentina, briefly mentions Santa Fe in his survey *Arquitectura y urbanismo en Iberoamérica* (1983). He critically referred to how Spanish planning practices have been tracked back to the French bastides and to Santa Fe as the "precise model for the 'new urban order' in America", shedding doubt on the direct link between the Granadian grid town and Nicolás de Ovando. Indeed, Gutiérrez's survey is one of the very few that do not include any plan or visual reference for Santa Fe, advising against the pursuit of one-directional formal genealogies. In his words: "the qualities of the city conceived 'a priori' in reference to a model was something absolutely new to the [then] current urban practice, which was based on spontaneous growth from generating cores (church, castle, market square, etc.)".

Mario Sartor, an Italian expert on Mesoamerica, built upon the works of Hardoy, Chueca, Muratore, and Benevolo to provide a broad historical overview that included both Spanish urban practices and pre-Columbian built environments (1981). Like many other scholars, Sartor's account refers to the common pattern of Hispanic cities, including references to the *castramentatio* rule and the French *bastides*. Like Morris, Benevolo and others, Sartor depiction of Santa Fe is also based on its 1777 plan, featured in association to other European grid cities like Monpezier, Villareal, and Briviesca, some of which can be found in the works of Gutkind and Salcedo (figure 16).

Something similar happens in *Historia urbana del reino de Chile* by Gabriel Guarda, one the most influential surveys of Chilean urban history (1978). Its introduction includes a brief mention to Santa Fe along with other prototypical examples such as Puente la Reina and Eiximenis' ideal city, supported by a figure simply labeled "Plan of Santa Fe

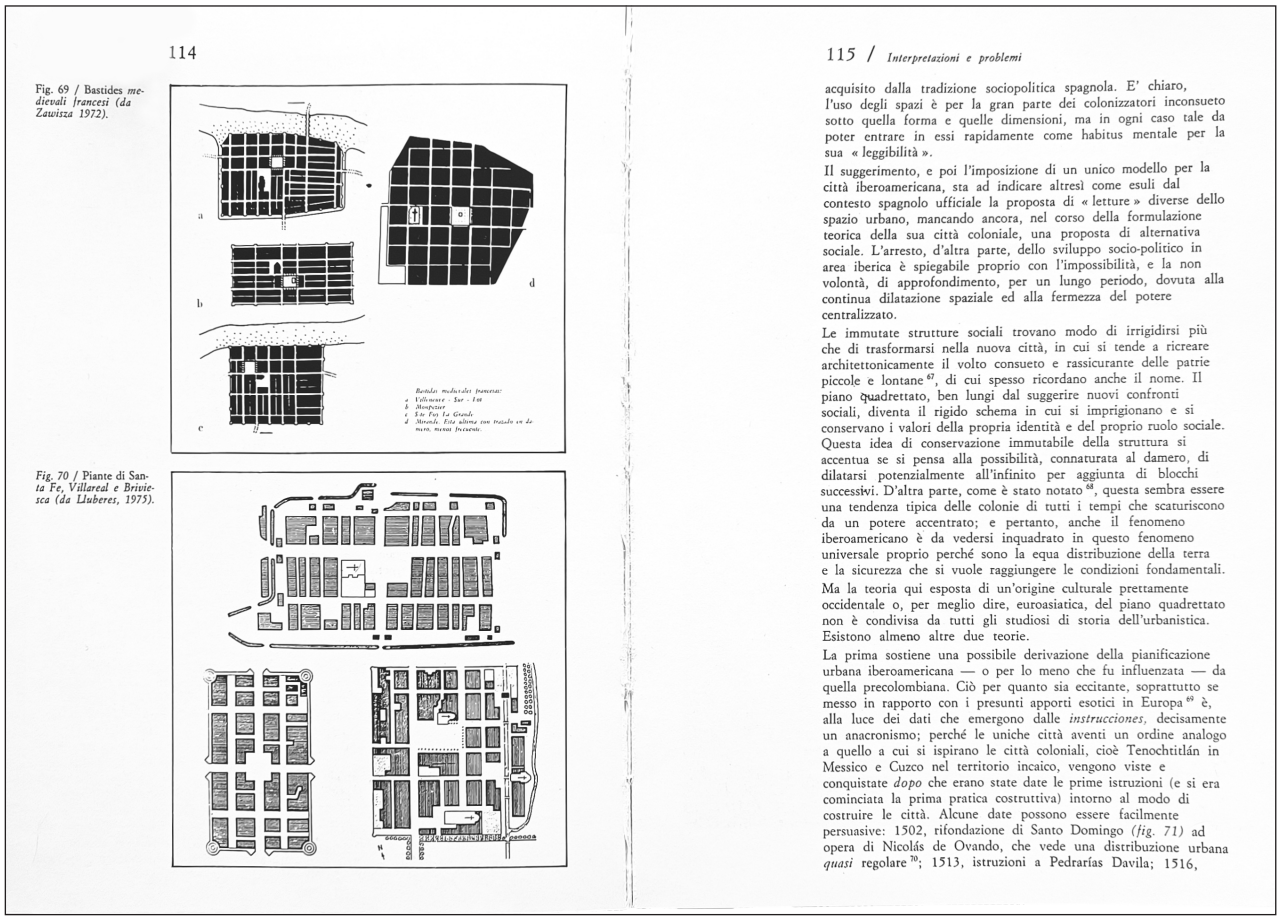
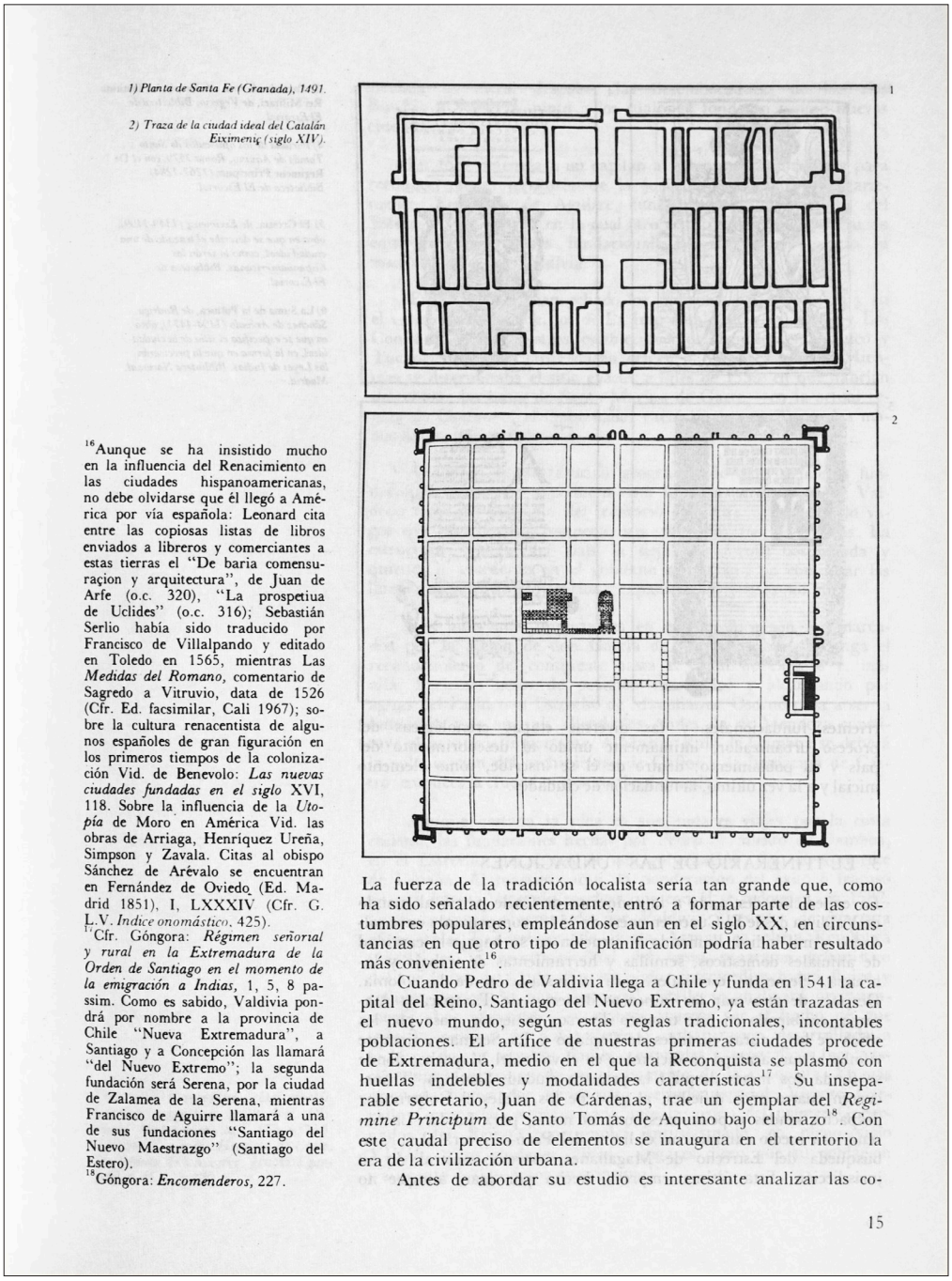


Figure 16. Plans of French bastides and Spanish grid towns in Mario Sartor's La città e la Conquista (1981: 114): Villeneuve sur lot, Mirande, Monpezier, Sainte-Foy-La-Grande, Santa Fe, Villareal, Briviesca. Previously published by Leszek M. Zawisza (1972) and Pedro Lluberes (1975) in Boletín del CIHE.



1) Planta de Santa Fe (Granada), 1491.

2) Traza de la ciudad ideal del Catalán Eximenic (siglo XIV).

[16]Aunque se ha insistido mucho en la influencia del Renacimiento en las ciudades hispanoamericanas, no debe olvidarse que él llegó a América por vía española: Leonard cita entre las copiosas listas de libros enviados a libreros y comerciantes a estas tierras el "De baria comensuraçion y arquitectura", de Juan de Arfe (o.c. 320), "La prospetiua de Uclides" (o.c. 316); Sebastián Serlio había sido traducido por Francisco de Villalpando y editado en Toledo en 1565, mientras Las *Medidas del Romano*, comentario de Sagredo a Vitruvio, data de 1526 (Cfr. Ed. facsimilar, Cali 1967); sobre la cultura renacentista de algunos españoles de gran figuración en los primeros tiempos de la colonización Vid. de Benevolo: *Las nuevas ciudades fundadas en el siglo* XVI, 118. Sobre la influencia de la *Utopía* de Moro en América Vid. las obras de Arriaga, Henríquez Ureña, Simpson y Zavala. Citas al obispo Sánchez de Arévalo se encuentran en Fernández de Oviedo (Ed. Madrid 1851), I, LXXXIV (Cfr. G. L.V. *Indice onomástico*, 425).

[17]Cfr. Góngora: *Régimen señorial y rural en la Extremadura de la Orden de Santiago en el momento de la emigración a Indias*, 1, 5, 8 passim. Como es sabido, Valdivia pondrá por nombre a la provincia de Chile "Nueva Extremadura", a Santiago y a Concepción las llamará "del Nuevo Extremo"; la segunda fundación será Serena, por la ciudad de Zalamea de la Serena, mientras Francisco de Aguirre llamará a una de sus fundaciones "Santiago del Nuevo Maestrazgo" (Santiago del Estero).

[18]Góngora: *Encomenderos*, 227.

La fuerza de la tradición localista sería tan grande que, como ha sido señalado recientemente, entró a formar parte de las costumbres populares, empleándose aun en el siglo XX, en circunstancias en que otro tipo de planificación podría haber resultado más conveniente[16].

Cuando Pedro de Valdivia llega a Chile y funda en 1541 la capital del Reino, Santiago del Nuevo Extremo, ya están trazadas en el nuevo mundo, según estas reglas tradicionales, incontables poblaciones. El artífice de nuestras primeras ciudades procede de Extremadura, medio en el que la Reconquista se plasmó con huellas indelebles y modalidades características[17]. Su inseparable secretario, Juan de Cárdenas, trae un ejemplar del *Regimine Principum* de Santo Tomás de Aquino bajo el brazo[18]. Con este caudal preciso de elementos se inaugura en el territorio la era de la civilización urbana.

Antes de abordar su estudio es interesante analizar las co-

15

Figure 17. Plan of Santa Fe featured as the very first figure in Gabriel Guarda's Historia urbana del reino de Chile (1978: 14).

(Granada), 1491" (figure 17). Apart from the early foundation date[16], the plan is very similar —if not the exact same— to the one featured by Morris, Benevolo, and many others. Despite Guarda's meticulous approach to historical sources, in this case he made no reference to Francisco Quintillán as the engineer who authored the plan in 1777 or the fact that its development had no relation to Santa Fe's foundation.

More recent surveys have added new layers to the interpretation of Santa Fe in association with a great diversity of historical arguments. Alain Musset, of French origin but closely related to Mexican academia, proposed a unique exploration of how the institutional bodies of colonial cities were, in many cases, more resilient than their built structure (2011). He sought examples of relocated cities, labeling them *ciudades nómadas* [nomad cities] as they changed places without losing their identity. Granada's Santa Fe does not fit this category, limiting Musset's description to presenting it as a precedent for the Spanish grid model. He named the same usual historical references and influences, namely Renaissance ideal cities like Thomas More's *Utopia* and its trace designed according to the principles of the Roman *castrum* (2011: 48).

In her 2001 text *La città del primo Rinascimento*, Donatella Calabi presented Santa Fe as part of a "policy for interior colonization" [*politica di colonizzazione interna*] 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), and Granada itself (1505-1528) (2001: 24, 106). The urban transformations of the former Nasrid capital after its conquest are indeed a topic favored by more contemporary historical approaches, including authors such as Alicia Cámara and Begoña Alonso. Alonso described Santa Fe as a "*simulacro de ciudad*" (2015), a category later used by Cámara to address the Vitruvian roots of its geometry and the direct application of its orthogonal trace to the Spanish transformation of Tenochtitlan (2020). In fact, the idea of *simulacro* has a strong resonance in the urban history of Christian Granada. After the conquest, the city became a failed project of imperial capital for Charles V and a focus of instability during the Morisco rebellions of 1499 and 1568-1571. The Crown reacted in many ways, such as the establishment of Phillip II court in Madrid in 1561 and the final expulsion of the Spanish Morisco community in 1609[17]. A strong Counter Reformation sentiment grew in Granada and influenced the reimagination of its own Andalusian identity, inspiring wide urban operations of great impact that generated new sceneries enforcing the Catholic image of power. According to Granadian expert José Luis Orozco, the traces and geometries used in these transformations had a complex symbolic dimension comprised of layered religious and political meanings not thoroughly understood by scholars (1985)[18]. This argument is still valid today. Orozco argued that, while the trace of Santa Fe was, for practical purposes, a mere reproduction of the Roman *castrum*, its real importance resided in its role as a devoted Christian city and its a ritual urban structure charged with strong symbolism (1985: 70). Santa Fe's generic morphology supported unique, powerful meanings related to Catholic theology and the convoluted clashes occurring in Granada between different religious interpretations. Such comparative arguments between urban *structures* and *meanings* have also been instrumental in international scholarship, widespread after the publication works of Tony Atkin and Joseh Rykwert's *Structure and meaning in human settlements* (2005). Their discussion on how urban form may embody a sheer variety of spiritual, religious, ideological, and political meanings are directly related to Santa Fe's history, elevating the discussion over any simplistic morphological analogies and advancing towards more comprehensive approaches.

Open paths for a critical reading of Santa Fe and its influence

Santa Fe poses both a challenge and an opportunity for future avenues of research and discussion. A challenge because it is a unique case in its kind that resists simplification, comparable to many others but never quite similar to them. An opportunity as the sources dealing with both its formal and symbolic dimensions are rich and accessible. 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 Giorgio Muratore's *La città rinascimentale* (1975), together with other studies on the Celestial Jerusalem and its simulacra like Titus Burckhardt's (1980). The symbolic dimension of art and space has spread to a multitude of visual disciplines, as shown in Adrian Frutiger's work *Signs and Symbols* (1998)[19].

Back in the field of architectural history, Joseph Rykwert's approach to the discussions regarding the origin of architecture (1972)[20] was expanded to urban history in his seminal work *The Idea of a Town* (1976)[21], where Rykwert developed a theory on urban foundational practices based on the Etruscan myth and applied to a diverse selection of case studies in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. In his final chapter, Rykwert presented a series of potential lines for later studies, one of them being the history of the Spanish grid model through medieval cases like the abovementioned city of Briviesca (1985: 249). Although Santa Fe is not directly mentioned by Rykwert, many of his observations can be applied to the analysis of its early modern significance and religious resonances. The most prominent one might be Rykwert's famed Biblical quote referring to city gates and the transcendental experience of passing through them: "I am the door. If anyone enters by Me, he will be saved, and will go in and out and find pasture" (John 10:9). The transformation of Santa Fe's fortified gates into a set of elevated chapels beautifully matches

Rykwert's argument. Contemporary authors such as Keith D. Lilley have further expanded this exploration of symbolism urban and its role in medieval philosophy. His work *City and Cosmos* focuses on France, England, Italy, and Flanders, while also including some Spanish examples such as Petra, planted in 1300 as the first Aragonese colonial settlement in the Balearic Islands; and Puente la Reina, a Navarre town transformed in 1122 with strong connections to the *Camino de Santiago* (2009: 51, 63). Lilley situated these settlements alongside other European cities to highlight how their geometries correlated with precise symbolic structures and cosmogonies.

To conclude, it is worth mentioning at least two more scholars who explore the symbolic and cultural significance of Spanish colonial structures from fields other than architecture and urban planning, and so provide methodologies and conceptual frameworks that might help de-mythicize the stereotypical idea of Santa Fe. One of them is Patricia Seed, whose 1996 monograph focused on European ceremonies of colonial possession applied in the Americas. Her Spanish chapter unpacked the *requerimiento*, a highly regulated protocol that Spaniard conquerors were obligated to perform when contacting indigenous groups (1996). *Requerimientos* worked as "declarations of domination" per Castilian legislative tradition, involving meanings that had developed during 800 years of medieval territorial claims, accords, and conflicts against Al-Andalus. Seed deftly delves into the details of this norm, its Islamic influences, its medieval evolution, and its impacts on how colonialism was conceptualized by Castilian people taking elements from their Catholic and Hispanic-Islamic background. Although Seed approach has been expanded through more nuanced studies of *requerimientos* (Gómez-Rivas 2018) and wider accounts of colonial urban legislation, her take on the transposition and transmutation of Iberian medieval mindsets during the first decades of the early modern period opened lines of research worth exploring. This idea is also central to Ricardo Padrón's *The Spacious World* (2004), a study looking closely at historical cartographies and written sources to develop a better understanding of how colonial agents modified their own worldview to include that new overseas landmass later known as "America", seen for decades as a strange territory full of unknowns that was not even considered an independent continent until the late 16th century. In this monograph, Padrón explored the mental processes of Hernán Cortes through his personal correspondence, identifying the weight of medieval Castilian culture on his accounts and rationalizations of his actions. Padrón also dedicated 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 monopolized by Aragon and Castile during the last decades of the Reconquista (2004: 111–112). Most global history authors would fall into the assumption that Spain was, during this era, a cohesive entity rather than a problematic national identity, unclear until the 19th century and still debated. Thankfully, Padrón did not.

Even though the approaches of Seed and Padrón are not urban, their work mentions Santa Fe and discusses the implication of its existence, if not directly, at least through the extended impacts of Spanish urban planning. Their takes on the medieval roots of early modern Spanish colonialism are complex and multidimensional, stressing spatial and territorial implications with potential applications to the study of *ex novo* settlements throughout the 16th century. Their exploration of primary sources and early modern conceptual frameworks allows a more rigorous understanding of history, far from absolute considerations and generic, exchangeable premises. Their approaches facilitate the integration of Santa Fe's latest historical findings made by local scholars, bringing them to bear on an international scholarly community that unfortunately still overuses stereotypical, shallow, and almost mythical depictions of Santa Fe's role in the early modern period. More detailed depictions are needed, tackling the nuances of Santa Fe's prototypical role, the innovations applied in its settling and fortification, and their connection to the imperial Habsburg context as studied by scholars such as Jesús Escobar (2004, 2016, 2022) and Laura Fernández-González (2021). It is time for scholars to move away from the temptation of becoming *cazadores de antecedentes*, in Terán words, as oversimplification prevents rigorous findings from taking root.[22]

Notes

1. After the conquest of Granada, Ramiro López was put in charge of reinforcing the walled perimeter of the Alhambra, using D-shaped bastions similar to those in Santa Fe. These are considered some of the earliest modern defensive buildings in the Spanish Empire designed for the permanent placement of artillery (De Castro Fernández and Cuadrado Basas, 2012).
2. Representatives of the Spanish Crown who led military operations and held judicial and administrative powers in the New World. This title had been in use since the medieval period under the complete formula *adelantado de frontera*, widely used in the Andalusian border since the 13th century.
3. At least six cities named Santa Fe located in New Mexico, Florida, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, and California.
4. 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.
5. At least three of them in La Habana, Isla de la Juventud, and Pinar del Río.
6. At least two of them in Colón and Ocotepeque.
7. At least two of them in Darién and Veraguas.
8. At least two of them: the capital Santa Fe de Bogotá and Santa Fe de Antioquía.
9. At least three of them in Falcón, Sucre, and Miranda.
10. At least four of them in Paraná, Minas Grais, Sao Paulo, and Tocantins.
11. At least one, Santa Fe de Yapacaní, in the Department of Santa Cruz.
12. At least one of them, part of Los Ángeles, in Biobio.
13. At least one of them, Santa Fe de la Vera Cruz.
14. The earliest of them are the fueros of Jaca (1076) and Estella/Lizarra (1077), both enacted by Sancho I, king of Aragon and Navarra (Bielza de Ory, 2003).
15. 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 correct use of this term has been widely discussed. Antonio Bonet Correa identified Valladolid's plaza mayor (1561) as the first true public space of this kind in Castile (1978: 38).
16. It is not uncommon to find Santa Fe dated as 1490-1491, referring to when the royal encampment was settled, and even 1482, taking by mistake the starting date of the War of Granada as the same as the beginning of the siege of Granada, which happened 8 years later.
17. Including those in Granada and other realms within the Iberian Peninsula (García-Arenal 2013, Vincent 2015).
18. Francisco García Pérez's has expanded these arguments through his PhD dissertation Visiones de la No-Granada (2014) and his later publication Re-foundational Syncretism between Christianity and Islam: the Cartographies of the Grenadian Sacromonte, XVI and XVII centuries (2020).
19. Published in Spanish the year after by Gustavo Gili with the more ample title: Signos, símbolos, marcas, señales (Frutiger 1981).
20. The Spanish translation was published by Gustavo Gili three years later (Rykwert 1975).
21. First published in 1962 in Forum, the architectural journal edited by Aldo van Eyck at the time. Its Spanish translation became available in 1985, while the English version is still distributed globally thanks to its 1988 reprint by MIT Press (Rykwert 1985, 1988).
22. This term appears in 'La cuadrícula en la ciudad hispanoamericana' (1994), where Terán criticized the spread of studies solely focused over morphological genealogy. Terán's latest work *Atlas histórico del urbanismo español* develops this same argument and expands it over a long durée narrative from pre-history to the 21st century (2023).

Bibliography

ALONSO RUIZ, B. 2015. Restaurar y mejorar Granada en religión, gobierno y edificios. Las transformaciones urbanas tras la conquista castellana. In: Truchuelo García, S, López Vela, R and Torres Arce, M; (eds.), *'Civitas': expresiones de la ciudad en la Edad Moderna*. Santander: Editorial de la Universidad de Cantabria. 73–108.

ATKIN, Tony and RYKWERT, Joseph (eds.). 2005. *Structure and meaning in human settlements*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

BAREL, Yves. 1981. *La ciudad medieval: sistema social-sistema urbano*. Serie Hombre, sociedad, ciudad, vol. 4. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local.

BENEVOLO, Leonardo. 1971. *The origins of modern town planning*. Cambridge, Massachusets: MIT Press.

BENEVOLO, Leonardo. 1993a. *La città nella storia d'Europa*. Roma Bari: Laterza.

BENEVOLO, Leonardo. 1993b. *La ciudad europea*. Barcelona: Crítica.

BERESFORD, Maurice. 1967. *New Towns of the Middle Ages*. London: Lutterworth.

BERNÁLDEZ, A. 1995. Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos que escribía el bachiller Andrés Bernaldez, Cura de Los Palacios. In: Peinado Santaella, R G (ed.), *La fundación de Santa Fe (1491-1520). Estudios y documentos*. Granada: Universidad de Granada. 326.

Bielza de Ory, V. 2003. El Fuero de Jaca, el Camino de Santiago y el urbanismo ortogonal. In: Arnal Purroy, M L and Molho, M (eds.), *El Fuero de Jaca*. Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, Escuela de Estudios Medievales. 269–318.

Bonet Correa, Antonio. 1978. *Morfología y ciudad: urbanismo y arquitectura durante el Antiguo Régimen en España*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

Bonet Correa, Antonio. 1991. *El urbanismo en España e Hispanoamérica*. Madrid: Cátedra.

Bonet Correa, A. 2007. Reflexiones en torno a las Plazas Mayores españolas, hispanoamericanas y filipinas. In: Museo Nacional del Prado (eds.), *Sapientia libertas: escritos en homenaje al profesor Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez*. Madrid, Sevilla: Museo Nacional del Prado, Fundación Focus-Abengoa. 807–814.

Burckhardt, Titus. 1980. *Símbolos*. Sophia Perennis, vol. 90. Palma de Mallorca: José J. de Olañeta.

Calabi, Donatella. 2001. *La città del primo Rinascimento*. Bari, Roma: Editori Laterza.

Cámara, A. 2020. Vitruvio y el geómetra en la ciudad de la Edad Moderna. In: Cámara, A, Molina, A and Vázquez Manassero, M A (eds.), *La ciudad de los saberes en la Edad Moderna*. Gijón: Ediciones Trea. 17–36.

Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. 1985. *Los relieves de la guerra de Granada en la sillería del coro de la catedral de Toledo*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

De Castro Fernández, J J and Cuadrado Basas, Á. 2012. Las fortificaciones de la corona hispánica en el Mediterráneo durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1492-1700). In: Asociación Española de Amigos de los Castillos (eds.), *Actas del IV congreso de castellología*, Madrid: Asociación Española de Amigos de los Castillos. 143–200.

Chueca Goitia, Fernando, Torres Balbás, Leopoldo and González, Julio. 1951. *Planos de ciudades iberoamericanas y filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local.

Corradine Angulo, A .1986. Fundación de Villa de Leyva y su Desarrollo. In: Restrepo Uribe, F, *Villa de Leyva: Huella de los siglos*. Bogotá: Editorial A. Sandri y Cía. 64–100.

Corradine Angulo, Alberto and Mora de Corradine, Helga. 1989. *Historia de la arquitectura colombiana*. 2 vols. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

Cuéllar Sánchez, Marcela and Mejía Pavony, Germán Rodrigo. 2007. *Atlas histórico de Bogotá. Cartografía 1791-2007*. Bogotá: Instituto Distrital de Patrimonio Cultural.

De Terán, Fernando. 2023. *Atlas histórico del urbanismo español*. Madrid: Fundación Arquia FQ.

Delfante, Charles. 1997. *Grande histoire de la ville: de la Mésopotamie aux États-Unis*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Delfante, Charles. 2006. *Gran historia de la ciudad: de Mesopotamia a Estados Unidos*. Madrid: Abada.

Elliott, John Huxtable. 1998. *La España Imperial: 1469-1716*. 5ª ed., 6ª reimp. Barcelona: Alianza Editorial.

Elliott, John Huxtable. 2006. *Imperios del mundo atlántico: España y Gran Bretaña en América*. Madrid: Taurus.

Escobar, Jesús. 2004. *The Plaza Mayor and the shaping of Baroque Madrid*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Escobar, Jesús. 2016. Architecture in the Age of the Spanish Habsburgs. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 75 (3): 258–262.

Escobar, Jesús. 2022. *Habsburg Madrid: architecture and the Spanish monarchy*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Fernández-González, Laura. 2021. *Philip II of Spain and the Architecture of Empire*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Frutiger, Adrian. 1981. *Signos, símbolos, marcas, señales*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

Frutiger, Adrian. 1998. *Signs and Symbols: Their Design and Meaning*. Watson-Guptill Publications.

Fustel de Coulanges, Numa Denis. 1864. *La cité antique: étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome*. Paris: Durand.

Fustel de Coulanges, Numa Denis. 1947. *La ciudad antigua*. Madrid: Editorial Plus Ultra.

García Pérez, Francisco Antionio. 2014. *Visiones de la No-Granada. Imágenes acuáticas y subterráneas en la ciudad contrarreformista y burguesa*. Tesis doctoral. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

García Pérez, Francisco Antonio. 2020. Re-foundational Syncretism between Christianity and Islam: the Cartographies of the Grenadian Sacromonte, XVI and XVII centuries. *DISEGNARECON*, 13 (25): 15-15.11.

García Pulido, Luis José and Orihuela Uzal, Antonio. 2004. La imagen de Santa Fe (Granada) en la sillería del coro bajo de la catedral de Toledo. *Archivo Español de Arte*, 77 (307): 247–266.

García Pulido, Luis José and Orihuela Uzal, Antonio. 2005. Nuevas aportaciones sobre las murallas y el sistema defensivo de Santa Fe (Granada). *Archivo Español de Arte*, 78 (309): 23–43.

García y Bellido, Antonio, Torres Balbás, Leopoldo, Cervera, Luis, Chueca, Fernando, Bidagor, Pedro. 1954. *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en españa*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local.

García-Arenal, M. 2013. Los moriscos en Marruecos: de la emigración de los granadinos a los hornacheros de Salé. In: García-Arenal, M and Wiegers, G (eds.), *Los moriscos:*

expulsión y diáspora; una perspectiva internacional. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia. 275–311.

GÓMEZ-RIVAS, Camilo. 2018. The Islamic Roots of Spanish Protocols of Possession: The Requerimiento as Dialogue of Legal-Political Cultures with a Missing Interlocutor. *Republics of Letters. A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, 5 (3): 1–16.

GUARDA, Gabriel. 1978. Historia urbana del reino de Chile. Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello.

GUILLÉN MARCOS, Esperanza. 2003. *Granada. Guías de Historia y Arte. Santa Fe*. Serie Los Libros de la estrella, vol. 16. Granada: Diputación de Granada.

GUTKIND, Erwin Anton. 1964. *International history of city development*. New York, London: Free Press Collier-Macmillan.

HARDOY, J E, SCHAEDEL, R P and SCOTT-KINZER, N. 1978. Two Thousand Years of Urbanization in the Americas. In: Hardoy, J E and Schaedel, R P (eds.), *Urbanization in the Americas from its Beginning to the Present*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. 1–26.

KAGAN, Richard L and MARÍAS, Fernando. 1998. *Imágenes urbanas del mundo hispánico 1493-1780*. Madrid: El Viso.

KOSTOF, Spiro. 1991. *The city shaped: urban patterns and meanings through history*. London: Thames and Hudson.

LAVEDAN, Pierre. 1952. *Histoire de l'urbanisme*. Paris: Henri Laurens.

LILLEY, Keith D. 2009. *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form*. London: Reaktion Books.

LLUBERES, Pedro. 1975. El damero y su evolución en el mundo occidental. *Boletín del C.I.H.E.*, 21: 9–66.

LUCENA GIRALDO, Manuel. 2006. *A los cuatro vientos: las ciudades de la América hispánica*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.

MARINEO SICULO, Lucio. 1539. *De las cosas memorables de España / compuesta por Lucio Marineo Siculo, coronista de sus maiestades*. Alcalá de Henares: Casa Juan de Brocar.

MARTÍNEZ, Carlos. 1967. *Apuntes sobre el urbanismo en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*. Santa Fe de Bogotá: Talleres gráficos del Banco de la República.

MARTÍNEZ, Carlos. 1973. *Reseña urbanística sobre la fundación de Santafé en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*. Bogotá: Litografía Colombia.

MEJÍA PAVONY, Germán Rodrigo. 2012. *La ciudad de los conquistadores: 1536-1604*. Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

MORRIS, A.E.J. 1972. *History of urban form before the industrial revolution*. London: George Godwin Limited.

MORRIS, A.E.J. 1994. *History of urban form before the industrial revolutions*. 3rd ed. London New York Toronto: Prentice Hall.

MORRIS, A.E.J. 2018. *Historia de la forma urbana. Desde sus orígenes hasta la revolución industrial*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

MUMFORD, Lewis. 1989. *The city in history: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace.

MURATORE, Giorgio. 1975. *La città rinascimentale: tipi e modelli attraverso i trattati*. Milano: Mazzotta.

MUSSET, Alain. 2011. *Ciudades nómadas del nuevo mundo*. Ciudad de México: Fondo De Cultura Económica.

NAVARRO SEGURA, María Isabel. 2006. Las fundaciones de ciudades y el pensamiento urbanístico hispano en la era del Descubrimiento. *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales*, 10.

OROZCO PARDO, José Luis. 1985. *Christianópolis: urbanismo y contrarreforma en Granada del seiscientos*. Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada.

PADRÓN, Ricardo. 2004. *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

PASSINI, Jean. 1984. *Villes medievales du chemin de Saint-Jacques-de- Compostelle (de Pampelune a Burgos): villes de fondation et villes d'origine romaine*. Mémoire vol. 47 Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civiliations.

PASSINI, Jean. 1988. *Aragón: Los núcleos urbanos del Camino de Santiago*. Zaragoza: Delegación del Gobierno de Aragón.

PIRENNE, Henri. 1969. *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

PULGAR, Fernando del. 1780. *Crónica de los Señores Reyes Católicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel de Castilla y de Aragón*. Valencia: en la Imprenta de Benito Monfort.

RYKWERT, Joseph. 1972. *On Adam's house in Paradise: the idea of the primitive hut in architectural history*. New York Chicago: Museum of modern art Graham Foundation.

RYKWERT, Joseph. 1975. *La casa de Adán en el Paraíso*. Barcelona: Gustavo Gili.

RYKWERT, Joseph. 1976. *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

RYKWERT, Joseph. 1985. *La idea de ciudad: antropología de la forma urbana en el mundo antiguo*. Madrid: Hermann Blume.

RYKWERT, Joseph. 1988. *The idea of a town: the anthropology of urban form in Rome, Italy and the ancient world*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: MIT Press.

SALCEDO SALCEDO, Jaime. 1996. *Urbanismo hispano-americano siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII: el modelo urbano aplicado a la América española, su génesis y su desarrollo teórico y práctico*. Santafé de Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana.

SÁNCHEZ RAMOS, Valeriano. 1995. Repoblación y defensa en el Reino de Granada: campesinos-soldados y soldados-campesinos. *Chronica Nova*, 22: 357–388.

Sartor, Mario. 1981. *La città e la conquista: mappe e documenti sulla transformazione urbana e territoriale nell'America Centrale del 500.* Interpretazioni e Documenti, vol. 1. Reggio Calabria: Gangemi.

Seed, Patricia. 1996. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Terán, Fernando. 1989. *La ciudad hispanoamericana. El sueño de un orden.* Madrid: Ministerio de Fomento.

Terán, F. 1994. La cuadrícula en la ciudad hispanoamericana. ¿Un modelo urbano permanente? In: Rosso del Brenna, G (ed.), *La Costruzione di un nuovo mondo. Territorio città architettura tra Europa e America Latina dal XVI al XVIII secolo.* Genova: Sagep Editrice. 105–111.

Terán, Fernando. 2023. *Atlas histórico del urbanismo español.* Madrid: Fundación Arquia FQ.

Vincent, Bernard. 2015, *El río morisco.* Biblioteca de Estudios Moriscos, vol. 2. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada.

Zawisza, Leszek M. (1972) Fundación de las ciudades hispanoamericanas. *Boletín del C.I.H.E.*, 13: 88–128.

Acknowledgements

This publication is part of the grant project JDC2022-049477-I, funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and the European Union 'NextGenerationEU'/PRTR fund. The first draft of this article was originally developed as part of the PhD dissertation *Siblings Overseas* at Politecnico di Torino (Italy) and Universidad de Granada (Spain), supervised by professors Sergio Pace and Juan Calatrava and winner of the Extraordinary PhD Dissertation Award 2021-2022 from Universidad de Granada. The article also contains materials taken during archival and field work developed in 2015 thanks to the support of Universidad de los Andes (Colombia). A revised draft was peer reviewed and accepted in 2020 to become a chapter in the edited volume *On the Uses and Abuses of Early Modern Spanish Culture,* coordinated by Prof. Chad Leahy (University of Denver), which never came to fruition. I would like to thank the editorial team at *Cuaderno de Notas* and their anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful revisions and suggestions. My gratitude extends to Manuel Lucena, Juan Luis Burke, and Gregorio Astengo, who shared early drafts of this manuscript with students in English-speaking settings and encouraged its development as an article specifically directed to international audiences.

Fecha final recepción artículos: 24/04/2025
Fecha aceptación: 22/07/2025

Artículo sometido a revisión por dos revisores independientes por el método doble ciego.