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New World *civitas*, contested jurisdictions, and inter-cultural conversation in the construction of the Spanish Monarchy

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In the 1530s, the merchant and householder (*vecino*) Julián Gutiérrez resided in the small city of Acla, by the river Darién in the region of Castilla del Oro (today Panamá). In January 1535, the governor of Castilla del Oro described Gutiérrez as ‘the key to pacify all the land’ because ‘without him the Indians did not come’.¹ But how could a sole Castilian foment peace among tribes more often at war (Helms 1979, 31–37)? The governor of the neighboring region of Cartagena, Pedro de Heredia, offered the key element to understand the equation. In a letter of December 1534, Heredia claimed that he needed better translators (*lenguas*) in order to pacify the land. In particular, Heredia sought out the interpreter, Isabel Corral, because ‘the conquest and pacification of the land cannot be accomplished without her’.² Isabel Corral was an *india ladina*, the sister of an important *cacique* from the gulf of Urabá, and was married to Julián Gutiérrez. As the most prominent member of the *cacicazgo*, Corral ‘stood in’ for her whole kinship, to apply an anthropological concept (Sahlins 1985, 36), and her marriage to Gutiérrez incarnated an alliance between the elites of Castile and Urabá. Corral and Gutiérrez had travelled together, trading, along both sides of the gulf of Urabá from 1532 to 1536. Those travels, while facilitating commerce, also forged trust between the communities of Acla and the *cacicazgo* of Urabá and contributed, moreover, to the definition and redefinition of jurisdictional frontiers in the region. Isabel Corral, Julián Gutiérrez and Pedro de Heredia, as well as other agents considered in the following pages, illustrate how the Spanish Monarchy operated at the local level, through interactions among Castilians and, also, between Castilian and native populations. Following an interpretation of ‘agent’ as an individual or corporation that could engage in formal and informal relationships (Vermeir 2011), Isabel Corral became an indispensable informal agent of the Monarchy. A multiplicity of individual interests shaped the concept of common good at the local level, thus participating in a complex construction of loyalty and pertinence to the Monarchy. Isabel Corral did not occupy any official post in the administration or government, but her presence and intervention shaped new spaces of contact and relations that facilitated official endeavours in the region.

The Spanish Monarchy in the Indies was built upon the interlocked foundation of cities—most of the time with only legal, not physical, existence—whose jurisdictions constructed the monarchy’s political spaces from the bottom up. Considered in this way, the Spanish Monarchy does not refer to a monolithic institutional framework implemented by the Castilian Crown in the Indies. Instead, the Monarchy was a flexible

system of correlated political entities—in this case cities—that acted under the umbrella of the Crown, but that were also independent and developed enough agency to maintain relationships of their own, with both indigenous populations and other Castilian cities or governorships. This paper will argue that Castilla del Oro's urban communities constituted a source of power to the extent that they were capable of building and developing jurisdiction through multicultural relations with indigenous populations. Thus, cities, which have been considered the most 'rational' way to organize the society, control the population, and extend Castilian power in the Indies (Sanz Camañes 2004; Solano 1990), also comprised the basic functional units of the monarchy in the New World. Recently, the role of cities in the Spanish Empire has been compared to that of the 'constituent planets' of the 'Solar System' (Lucena 2014, 172). Taking this metaphor one step further, the early sixteenth-century expansion of cities in and beyond Castilla del Oro may be termed part of the 'big bang' that created the monarchy's system and defined its essential functioning and maintenance over time. This paper addresses Spanish early sixteenth-century imperial expansion into a strategically crucial American region with the objective of developing an alternative to traditional Castilian-centered, and even state-centered narratives of urban planification (Castillero 2006, 2; Céspedes del Castillo 1999, 2009; García-Gallo 1987).

Recent historiography has challenged the traditional theoretical bases of the Spanish Monarchy (Braun and Pérez-Magallon 2014; Cardim et al. 2012; Grafe 2012; Yun 2012), and indicates a need for attention to the role played by urban communities in forging and maintaining the Spanish Monarchy. The role of 'urban republics' and their autonomy as political agents in the definition of the monarchy in Castile (Aranda 2006; Centenero 2012; Espinosa 2009; Gil Pujol 2008; Nader 1990; Rey Castelao and Mantecón 2015) and Europe (Herrero 2017) is recently being revised. Cities in the New World, while a classic historiographical topic, have also inspired innovative approaches (Lucena Giraldo 2006; Musset 2002; Romero 2010; MacCormack 2009), inviting a more complex, bottom-up analysis of their role in the process of the occupation and construction of political space.

In the context of the New World, cities gained importance from their ability to embody political communities and capacity to expand a certain way of life. The traditional Aristotelian definition of a city was composed of two elements; on the one hand, the physical existence of the city (*urbs*) and, on the other, its communitarian spirit (*civitas*) that extended beyond the city's material existence. This role of *civitas* in the conceptualization of city, as Richard Kagan demonstrated, underlies the construction of the Spanish Monarchy (Kagan 1997, 1998, 2000). The city as *civitas*, without concrete physical existence, was meant to spread over the territory and expand to incorporate and to 'convert' all of the peoples around it, Europeans as well as natives, to 'buena policía', a term that encapsulated an urban-based way of living according to moral standards. The city interpreted as a *civitas*, with its emphasis on communitarian interactions, acted as the conceptual reference for the development and spread of 'buena policía' among its inhabitants. Thus, the concept of *civitas* provides a practical tool to describe the creation and maintenance of political spaces over time, defining interior frontiers and jurisdictional limits. In the New World, cities were born thanks to a series of pacts that involved Castilian communities as well as indigenous political and social structures.

Since the Spanish American city initially entailed a set of political interactions more than a concrete territory, jurisdiction became a contested category. The practical strength

of jurisdiction, conceptualized as an extended exercise of power (Costa 1969; Cardim 2008), emerged from its negotiated nature. Beyond traditional nation-state narratives, recent studies present the concept of territory in the configuration of political powers as a fluctuant category defined through political actions and negotiations (Barriera 2013; Benton 2010; Brett 2011; Hespanha 1989; Herzog 2002; Torre 2009, 2011; Wengrow 2015). In the same vein, instead of a top-down process, the configuration of jurisdictional frontiers has been analyzed as the object of complex, long-term interactions between different instances of power, both horizontal—between neighboring communities, local or foreign—and vertical—between different instances of power inside the same political structure (Benton 2001; Caselli 2016; Graubart 2015; Herzog 2015; Mantecón 2014). Thus, jurisdictions emerged involving multi-faceted interactions and through the aggregation of cities (Gil Pujol 2012). In short, political and cultural interactions are being identified as key elements in the construction of jurisdiction (Belmessous 2011; Benton and Ross 2013; Blockmans, Hostenstein, and Mathieu 2009; Flüchter and Richter 2012).

Violence and coercion were undoubtedly present in Spanish imperial expansion both in Europe and the Indies (Escribano 2017; Ruiz Ibáñez and Sabatini 2009); however, as will be shown, that violence often took place among Castilians competing to come to peaceful terms with local indigenous populations. Negotiations and intercultural relationships have proven as definitive as violence and coercion to understand the outcome of the conquest (Daniels and Kennedy 2002; Kellogg and Ruiz Medrano 2010; Merluzzi 2008; Zuñiga 2013). Those intercultural contacts took place at the local level and among local agents, generating a reconceptualization of the classical, Aristotelian-based concept of ‘conversation’ as a central feature of the urban lifestyle. Merchants or *regidores*, participants and members of a city’s body politic, and indigenous translators and caciques acted as ‘cultural brokers’ (Escribano 2016a, 2016b; Rothman 2010) or ‘go-betweens’ (Gürkan 2015; Metcalf 2005) creating new zones of cultural understanding (White 2006) through the direct application of civic concepts and techniques of communication. The ‘pacification’ of a conflictive territory took place through relationships on the local level, using and adapting practices of classical and indigenous origin. In this way, New World political culture emerged as local agents’ practices defined and redefined traditional concepts.

The following pages will demonstrate how the foundation of cities constituted the monarchy in overseas territories and configured new political spaces from below through the creation of sources of power—namely ‘jurisdictions’—and the development of urban interactions—termed ‘conversation’. A. M. Hespanha defined political spaces as grounds for ‘plural and polyvalent’ relationships of power subject to constant reconfiguration (Hespanha 1993, 89). Grounded in this definition, the following pages explore the multiplicity of political processes involved in the foundation and development of urban communities to offer an urban-centered interpretation of the process of construction of the region of Castilla del Oro.

Civitas as depositories of the Republic

In the *History of the Foundation of Lima*, Bernabé Cobo described how the expedition commanded by Pizarro and Almagro established a juridical anchorage in the territory in 1535. Although aware that they would probably be forced to transplant the town, the

expeditionaries decided to create a political community in order to foster Castilian power in the territory. Cobo considered that the election of a *cabildo* [city council] and establishment of its jurisdiction generated a 'depository of the republic' (*depósito de la república*). It did not matter, according to Cobo, that after some time a new, magnificent city had been founded many kilometers away because for him the foundation's importance lay in what it implied in terms of the creation of jurisdiction linked to a political community. For Cobo, the definitive location of Lima, although often considered the city's 'real foundation', only represented 'a transfer of *consejo* and *cabildo*' (Cobo 1892).

Before founding the City of the Kings, Pizarro and Almagro had participated in the foundation of at least four settlements in Castilla del Oro.³ There they had learned, exercised and refined the techniques that they used when starting to lead their own expeditions, and had embraced operational changes in the construction of power and the city. As will be shown, many other participants in the same expeditions learned and contributed to the generation of a new urban political culture that their mobility would extend over the continent. Although the Crown conferred instructions that indicated the necessity of founding new settlements upon the first governors of Castilla del Oro in 1508 and 1514, the success of new foundations depended upon practices more than theories, the relevance of the foundations' communicentric character, and the importance of the *civitas* over the *urbs* as a jurisdictional marker.

The very conceptualization of the city and of the criteria that a town had to fulfill in order to acquire the title of city would change in the New World in order to facilitate a relatively small population's attempt to control a vast territory far from the metropolis. In early modern Castile, a town would become a city only after receiving a bishop or the title of city from the king, and normally only after establishing its worthiness by providing proof of its antiquity, nobility, the magnificence of its buildings, together with a whole list of other criteria (Fortea 2009). In Castilla del Oro, on the contrary, access to the category of city, if more urgent, would also become more flexible. This importance of being a city rather than a town derived from the traditional symbolic association of the city with its capacity to civilize its inhabitants—both Indians and Europeans—and with the extension of privileges that would convince them to remain in the settlement. The Crown and the town—and its inhabitants—collaborated to constitute cities as soon as possible because a city's capacity to spread and exercise jurisdiction was much greater than that of a town and its inhabitants thereby acquired symbolic and effective benefits. Accelerated access to the title of city in the New World of towns that did not meet the criteria traditionally required entailed an alteration of the concept of the city and reveals the importance of urban communities for the construction of power in the region (Díaz 2015).

Following these principles, Santa María del Antigua formally received its title of city in 1513, only three years after its foundation, and Panamá had to wait for only two years after its foundation in 1519. The rest of the settlements in Castilla del Oro—Nombre de Dios, Natá, and Acla—experienced different processes of access to the category of city, adapting traditional criteria that placed the community at the center of the change of *status*. Nombre de Dios, founded in 1518, started to present itself as a city around 1525, using the title of 'city' in documents in order to increase its strength in negotiations with the Crown.⁴ Only in November 1537 would Nombre de Dios receive its official title of city from the Crown, confirming the designation adopted as early as 1525 and based on

demographic criteria rarely applied in Castile.⁵ The case of Natá would have been extremely unusual in the context of early modern Castile, although less so in the New World. Natá, founded 30 leagues from Panamá in 1522, was born directly as a city.⁶ Just four months after its foundation, ‘the city of Natá asked for the concession of the title of city’, among other privileges that its council wanted to negotiate with the Crown.⁷ In consequence, the use of the title of ‘city’ would become more flexible in Castilla del Oro, the result of social accord and not exclusively, or even necessarily, by royal concession. A settlement did not need to be big, ancient or noble in order to become a city, but would have to present itself as such in order to obtain privileges from the Crown. Nombre de Dios and Natá started to use the title of city in official documents before the royal concession of the title in the assumption and representation of a ‘socially negotiated’ identity (Herzog 2003, 42). Thus, the definition and then the proclamation of a city could be generated from below and confirmed rather than awarded exclusively by the authorities.

The case of the city of Santa María del Antigua de Acla illustrates the importance of maintaining the *civitas* alive for the development of Spanish power in the Indies and as well as the practical implementation of theoretical principles in the New World. Santa María del Antigua del Darién, the first Spanish settlement in Castilla del Oro, usually has been considered to have disappeared in September 1524 when, allegedly, its last inhabitant left the city and natives tore it down (Fernández de Oviedo 1959). However, its physical disappearance did not mean the death of the city, which found new ways to survive. At the same time, one of the city’s *vecinos* was at court negotiating new measures to improve the conditions of life for settlers in Castilla del Oro. One of the things he proposed in a memorial dated around 1525 was precisely the fusion of Santa María and the small town of Acla in order to sustain both of them. Each of the settlements would contribute something: Santa María the title of city and the privileges derived from its antiquity and symbolic importance in the region; Acla would provide its inhabitants and, supposedly, the specific site for the new city.⁸ Apparently these recommendations were followed. Although there is no official record of the moment in which both Acla and Santa María del Darién united, in the early 1530s the council of Acla started to identify itself with a city named Santa María del Antigua de Acla.⁹ This fusion enabled both Santa María and Acla to survive and, most importantly, maintained continuity in Spain’s political and juridical presence in the region, keeping and increasing the ‘depositories of the republic’.

After the first town—Santa María del Antigua—was established in Castilla del Oro in 1510, the rest of the settlements of the region sprang from it and could be considered to derive from its original, local jurisdiction. Each of these settlements maintained its own personality and, joined together, formed the governorship of Castilla del Oro.¹⁰ The foundation of Santa María del Antigua del Darién responded to the pattern of the communal pact, carried out through a series of symbolic enactments by the community that constituted itself and then elected its government according to communal traditions.¹¹ Although governors or captains traditionally have received the credit for urban foundations, the process required the participation and accord of the whole community.¹² In fact, when the *conquistadores* or their descendants recorded their participation in different episodes of the conquest to solicit royal grants or privileges, having participated in a new foundation was one of the main claims that most of them included (Córdoba Ochoa 2009; MacLeod 1998). Thus, there emerged a voluminous record of individuals’ participation,

with different levels of implication, in Castilla del Oro's different foundations. The men who participated in these foundations subsequently moved to other regions, especially Peru, and carried with them their experiences and political culture.¹³ In addition, the descendants of the first conquistadors also invoked their ancestors' foundation of cities as inherited capital to apply for posts or ennoblement, reinforcing the transmission and expansion of political cultures both geographically and chronologically.¹⁴

The extended consideration of city foundation as a communal pact shaped an adaptation of Castilian political culture, thus creating a very specific one in Castilla del Oro that, with the movement of the participants, spread throughout the continent. Individual participation in local affairs informed a tendency to independence and self-government in urban communities that would soon emerge in Castilla del Oro's cities. These cities, quite aware of their importance in the configuration of the monarchy and of the strategic geographical situation of Castilla del Oro as a vector of the imperial system, negotiated their own privileges¹⁵ with the Crown without counting on intermediate governments and were very conscious of their own importance as constituent parts of the monarchy.¹⁶ The very cities, although most of them barely had a physical presence, argued that their disappearance would cause major damage to the structure of the monarchy as a whole, no matter how small or sparsely populated they were. Faced with the risk of the disappearance of Acla, a *vecino* commented in 1534, 'your majesty would lose the rents and gold *quintos* that you always get from this town and its jurisdiction ...', even if at that moment it only had 'six or seven *vecinos*'.¹⁷ In the context of a limited number of Christians, Castilian urban tradition offered the possibility of controlling a territory with a few settlers by attracting the natives and filling the land with jurisdiction. In this way, from the very beginning of a Spanish presence in the Indies, cities became the actual source of power and legitimacy in the territory, and contributed to the definition of political spaces through negotiations, which sometimes included violent conflict.

Contested jurisdictions, contested spaces

In the New World, a new city could disappear, move or be transformed into something different. This essence, however, is key to understanding the role played by the city in the definition of frontiers between royal tribunals, governorships and, eventually, vice-royalties. Since power was created and maintained through cities, their survival or destruction had the effect of defining larger political spaces around them and even provoking the creation or extinction of new jurisdictions. The foundation of a town not only allowed its founders to claim jurisdiction in the name of the king but actually generated that jurisdiction. In the process of creating and maintaining new jurisdictions, the relationship with indigenous populations would prove crucial and the best argument for a post hoc justification of the occupation of the territory. Castilians had to obtain the caciques' consent in order to remain in certain territories and, eventually, the new cities would use that consent as an argument to claim jurisdiction in conflicts with other cities.

On 18 May 1525, an expedition founded the town of Trujillo in the Gulf and Land of Higuera, that theoretically belonged to the kingdom of New Spain at the time (see [Map 1](#)). Almost exactly one year later, in May 1526, an expedition to the south departed from Trujillo in order to populate the Valle de Ulancho, a big and undefined territory commonly considered a major source of gold on the Spanish Main. In that territory, on 12 May, the



Map 1. Region of Nicaragua with the presence of Trujillo, León and Granada and the whole region of Valle de Ulancho in the central section of the map, c. 1716. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo General de Indias, MP Guatemala 17.

expedition founded the town of Cáceres de la Frontera, and developed all of the elements to secure jurisdiction: the erection of pillory and gallows, the election of local government, and the development of relations with the Indians in order to permit ‘the naturals of the land to come to the real knowledge of our holy faith’.¹⁸ The process of possession and establishment of Cáceres de la Frontera lasted most of the month of May, although no record of the construction of buildings or churches exists. The acts performed allowed the expedition to claim jurisdiction ‘*con mero y mixto imperio*’ and to place the Valle de Ulancho within the territories of New Spain governed by Hernán Cortés.

However, this assertion of jurisdiction would be challenged by the appearance on the outskirts of Cáceres de la Frontera, just one month later, of an expedition of 80 men sent from Castilla del Oro with orders from its governor, Pedrarias Dávila, to ‘depopulate’ the new town. The governor of Castilla del Oro claimed that the Valle de Ulancho fell within his jurisdiction since he had sent a previous expedition to explore it, and had discovered and taken possession of it and placed crosses in different places. The leader of the troops from Castilla del Oro also alleged that Hernán Cortés did not have authority to nominate *alcaldes* and *regidores* ‘in his [own] jurisdiction, much less in someone else’s’ and questioned the very existence of Cáceres by saying that it was no more than three or four *bohios*—Indian huts—and ten people, ‘and almost all of them injured’.¹⁹ However, the most important allegation, besides the jurisdictional claim, was that certain caciques had complained that the Spaniards in Cáceres mistreated them, making the foundation more negative than positive for the region.

When the troops from Castilla del Oro reached Cáceres de la Frontera, the town council denied them the right to enter the town, alleging that doing so would provoke 'great damage to God and his majesty and destruction and racket, and upsetting of the natives of the land'.²⁰ The expedition's leader not only presented himself as an envoy of Castilla del Oro, but claimed additional authority as one of the founders of Villa Hermosa, another settlement established in the Valle de Ulancho in 1525, and alleged that Cáceres had been founded unlawfully within its jurisdictional limits. Thus, the expeditionaries' claims for authority over Cáceres emanated from the previous existence of an urban foundation that had created the rights to claim the territory around it.

The *cabildo* of Cáceres and the expeditionaries shared the same claims, both considering that their opponents had usurped previous jurisdiction and violated the rights of the king by founding a town in the area: either Cáceres or Villa Hermosa, depending upon their loyalties.²¹ The *regidores* of Cáceres agreed that entering with 'the baton of justice into someone else's jurisdiction' constituted a major affront to royal authority. For the same reason, the expeditionaries urged the council of Cáceres de la Frontera to leave the town in one day or, otherwise, insisted that they would be forced to take further measures in order to empty it. In turn, the council argued that Cáceres could not be abandoned due to the responsibilities acquired by settling the town, which they could only be forced to leave by force of arms or law. The arguments of both sides of the conflict followed the same lines and placed the supposed welfare of the indigenous populations at the center of the debate. Both cities, Cáceres and Villa Hermosa, claimed to have started to pacify their jurisdictions, presenting themselves as uniquely capable of carrying out such a policy and each other of putting it at risk. According to their arguments, the pacification process actually justified the creation and defense of each jurisdiction.

In the morning of 27 July 1526, a group of armed men surprised a meeting of the council of Cáceres de la Frontera and arrested its members, as they protested the violation of the council and the consequent usurpation of royal authority. A struggle ensued and two members of the council lost their lives. Its surviving members were sent back to Trujillo, where the governor of Honduras received the news and requested an explanation from Pedrarias Dávila, urging him to order the invaders to leave the Valle del Ulancho and to let the council return to Cáceres de la Frontera. Dávila's answer highlighted the legal basis of his defense. First, he claimed that he had a right to the valley based on an expedition that he had sent to Puerto de Honduras in 1523, allegedly taking possession of the territory 'long before Cortés had left Mexico' (Aram 2008, 182–89). For a town to be effective, Pedrarias argued that it had to exercise power over the terrain. In theory, for the purposes of claiming jurisdiction, the act of creating a political structure should be enough. However, in practice, as Pedrarias emphasized, a town should develop relations with the area's indigenous populations. He asserted that the settlers in Cáceres were not contributing to the natives' 'pacification', in contrast to the previous expedition that had established agreements with the caciques, making it, moreover, illicit for Cortés to enter the area and to negotiate with them.

Although Cáceres de la Frontera was finally depopulated, its ephemeral existence had contributed to create a new jurisdiction—the Valle de Ulancho—that became an object of conflict and contestation. Conflict in this valley demonstrates that power to construct political space emanated from the foundation of settlements and their capacity to act upon the area. The complete territory of the Valle de Ulancho was defined by the existence or lack of

a town within its limits and remained uncertain until a decision was taken. The creation of a new governorship depended upon the previous foundation of a settlement that, with the addition of others, expanded its jurisdiction. In theory, all of the land belonged to the king's realm but jurisdiction had to be gained and claimed by new foundations and their impact on the territory. Cities' creation and contestation altered frontiers and also generated long-term conflicts between Spaniards that were unraveled at different levels. The governor of Castilla del Oro, Pedrarias, solved the original conflict by applying justice in the first instance, while requesting arbitration in another conflict with a 'peer', Hernán Cortés. The new order—with the creation of two new governorships²²—that resulted from this confrontation reveals that political space was a voluble and porous category that was built from below through the interaction of urban communities and was subject to conflicts and negotiations among Spaniards. The Crown and the *audiencias* in general were only able to sanction or condemn what had been already negotiated over the terrain (Aram 2012). Bigger spaces, such as governorships, were created from the agreement or disagreement of smaller entities such as cities or towns, as was the case with Cáceres de la Frontera. Indigenous populations played a central role in all those conflicts, contributing to the emergence of an ideal of jurisdiction based on local Indian-Spanish relationships. The disappearance of Cáceres shows that peaceful interactions with the natives were very important to maintain settlements and their jurisdictions. Those relationships involved a range of diverse practices that required the participation of actors of different origins, connected in local *conversation*.

Jurisdiction through conversation with the natives

Once a city was established, a political space and a stable source of power had theoretically been created. However, for that power to be effective, the city had to exercise a degree of authority over the peoples—both Castilian and indigenous—that populated the territory and conferred legitimacy on that power (Beetham 1990; Braddick 2000). The exercise of authority, which could be contested or negotiated, was carried out through political actions that implied interactions between different entities and that offered a dynamic platform for the exercise and maintenance of power. One of those practices consisted in consented urban interaction—exemplified here in the application of the concept of *conversation*—contributing to the underpinning of the Castilian political community, through its relationship with the natives.

On 27 August 1532, the city council of Acla decided to begin an engagement with the neighboring *cacicazgo* of Urabá. Castilian knowledge about this region dated from the exploration led by Alonso de Ojeda in 1508. Following reports of cannibalism and violence in the region, Urabá proved to be a complex society composed of cognate peoples sharing the same territory with commercial as well as familiar relationships (Sauer 1966, 266–67). In order to try to reinforce ties and fortify the peace, the municipal government was convoked and, with the accord of the governor, sent a trader and *vecino*, Julián Gutiérrez, to pursue an alliance that would allow for 'peace and friendship' between the Indians and the whole region of Castilla del Oro but especially the city of Acla.²³ Around the same date, Gutiérrez married Isabel Corral and the couple started to embody the relationships between the two sides of the Gulf of Urabá. Isabel was a prominent member of the *cacicazgo* of Urabá and was the leader of a group of *naborias*²⁴ who had been assigned to Diego

Corral, one of the first inhabitants of Castilla del Oro. As the sister of an important cacique—even called ‘*cacica*’ by a Castilian veteran²⁵—according to her fame, Isabel Corral was the only person who could facilitate the conversion—through conversation—of the Indians of the gulf of Urabá.²⁶ Upon Diego Corral’s death, his *naborias* were assigned to his *mestizo* daughter, Ana Corral, who also died shortly after. Thus, a group of six *naborias*, who had become translators, considered key for the pacification of the land, and led by Isabel Corral, were subject to a dispute among Castilians. Julián Gutiérrez defended his right to keep managing this group of *naborias* thanks to his marriage to Isabel Corral, emphasizing their importance as cultural connectors between Urabá and Acla. In fact, the rest of the *naborias* were said to ‘belong’ to Isabel Corral and, thus, Julián Gutiérrez only had access to them as Corral’s husband.²⁷ Corral’s agency was based on her double authority, as a principal member of the *cacicazgo* of Urabá but also connected to the most prominent Castilians in Acla. The marriage between Corral and Gutiérrez in itself symbolized the trust between the neighboring communities of Acla and Urabá and guaranteed the success of commercial and cultural exchanges about to begin.

The agreement accepted by the council of Acla entailed a program of exchanges with the *cacicazgo* of Urabá; first, the council of Acla decided, as a token of good will, to return all of the natives captured in the course of a previous expedition. After that, they argued, the caciques would begin to exchange goods. The council even asked Gutiérrez to invite some Indians to the city to ‘enjoy themselves’ (*holgarse*), get to know the city and meet the Christians, ‘to more perpetuate peace and amity with them’. Less than a month after the city council reached this agreement, an embassy of members of the *cacicazgo* of Urabá arrived at Acla. Accompanied by Julián Gutiérrez, Isabel Corral and other translators, a group of eight Indians arrived at Acla, where they met the governor and the city council. The ambassadors carried bows and arrows and wore golden tiaras, necklaces and earrings. Right after their arrival they attended mass, where they followed the instructions given by Isabel, although after the first time that they had to kneel, ‘they did the same without anybody telling them to do so’. During the lunch that followed mass, the Urabá Indians mentioned through Isabel that they loved dancing, singing and playing music. There ensued a succession of improvised concerts and dances involving the participation of almost all the members of the community, including black slaves whose singing the Indians particularly enjoyed. During the rest of the days that the Indians remained in Acla, there were all kinds of celebrations, including horse races, daytrips to the neighboring isle of Pina, traditional Castilian games, a reenactment of a battle against the Moors involving Saint James, and also a sort of bullfight. The governor—to whom the caciques referred as ‘*tiba*’, the equivalent authority of the *cacicazgo*—offered all kinds of presents to the emissaries and even ordered the city’s Castilian women to sing and show themselves to the Indians. The governor’s disposition for amity was so expressive that, when visiting the city jail, the Indians complained about the cruelty of keeping people enchained. Although the governor explained the motives for their imprisonment, the caciques insisted so much that he decided to temporarily liberate the prisoners to show a receptive attitude towards his guests.

The relationship between Urabá’s emissaries and Acla’s *vecinos* had been articulated through the adaptation of the civic concept of *conversation*. Traditionally associated with the Aristotelian-based definition of city as a center devoted to social interaction

with the pursuit of happiness as its final objective, the concept of conversation changed in the New World and was oriented to define the relationship—based on rituals, trade, and other forms of cultural exchange—that the Spaniards should develop with the Indians. In Castile, the concept of conversation was included in Aristotelian literature from the fourteenth century onwards (García de Castrogeriz 1494; Sánchez de Arévalo 1944), and found its most refined formulation in the works of Alonso del Castrillo. Castrillo, who wrote a *Tractado de Republica* in the midst of the Comunero revolt against Habsburg rule of Castile (1520–1521), considered conversation the city’s most important goal (Castrillo 1958; Gil Pujol 2014). Its sole presence had a transformative effect on the city’s inhabitants because it implied the development of some of the most important human relations. The existence of a city and its *vecinos*’ implication in its social life would permit a real communitarian existence based on virtue. This was the concept of *conversatio* that was transported across the ocean and adapted to relationships with the Indians.²⁸ Indeed, a *cédula* emanated from the court in 1519 emphasized that Spaniards had to engage in conversation with the natives, basically consisting in the pursuit of commerce and exchange, which would open the door for their conversion to Christianity and incorporation, via the city, into a particular way of life (Herrerros and Díaz 2013). Conversation with the Indians became the main argument in favor of the foundation of new settlements, since the sole existence of a town supposedly encouraged the Indians to cease to live ‘spilled out’ (*derramados*) and to start to engage in *buena policía* through conversation with the Spaniards (Mantecón 2015; Quiroga 2002). Thus, in the first phases of the conquest, the conversion of the natives was understood as more than an exclusively a religious enterprise, carried out by priests or missionaries. Nor was it solely the result of unilateral violence or of the implementation of ‘protocols for conquest’ (Seed 1995, 69–99). Instead, conversion and conversation developed through intercultural relationships and urban-based processes in which local, daily interactions would ideally lead to indigenous knowledge of the word of God.

In this context, the role of the *lenguas* went beyond that of mere translators because the very essence of the term ‘conversation’ transcended its linguistic implications towards a more cultural relationship, including elements that eluded translation (Adorno 1994; Puente Luna 2014; Yannakakis and Schrader-Kniffki 2016). The mass, the reenactment of a battle against the Moors or traditional games and songs provided vehicles for cultural transmission and generated shared experience. *Lenguas*, who translated words and acts, could even embody the relations and agreements established between parties and proved crucial to the creation and development of *buena policía* and concord between Spaniards and the natives.²⁹ Isabel Corral’s role as the region’s most important translator went beyond her linguistic capacity. While the Panamá–Nombre de Dios axis gained importance in Castilla del Oro, the role of Isabel Corral remained key for the control of the Gulf of Urabá and the coast of Cartagena, thus developing a new area of influence. She was capable of altering the polarity of the region and reshaping jurisdictional claims towards a whole territory. Her conversational capabilities, then, transcended orality, and her very presence embodied trust and acted as a source of knowledge of the land.

After almost a week, the caciques’ visit to Acla concluded. The governor offered them canoes to return home and Gutiérrez and Corral began regular visits to the cacique of Urabá. During those trips, he offered the various indigenous populations tokens of good will and started a relationship of diplomacy based on the individual activities of

actors in the frontiers of the monarchy. Following the natives' requests, he planted crosses on the coast so that any European who reached the territory would understand that its natives had been converted to Catholicism; in the same vein, he left letters to show in case 'by chance any Christians would arrive', to warn potential intruders that the Indians of that region were already under the sovereignty of the king of Castile through their relationship with Santa María del Antigua de Acla. The couple undertook at least seven voyages between the two sides of the river and initiated an intense campaign of exchanges of all sort of goods with the natives, especially trading axes and knives for gold (Matilla Tascón 1945). News about this ongoing commerce between the two sides of the Gulf of Urabá spread and, soon, jurisdictional conflict emerged in a violent fashion.

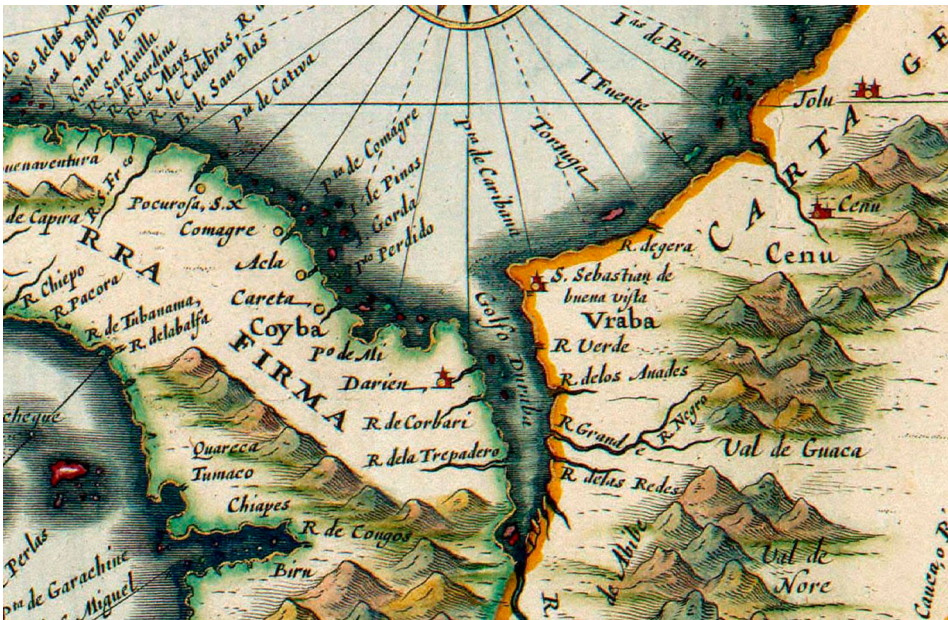
Acla's successful conversation with the Indians led to an attack on the city by an envoy of the governor of Cartagena with eighty armed men commanded by a certain Alonso de Cáceres in October 1534. This expedition had been sent from the governorship of Santa Marta–Cartagena, with the declared objective of kidnapping Isabel Corral and Julián Gutiérrez, and seizing all the money that could be found in their house. The expedition arrived in the middle of the night and led to an uproar in town when the *alcalde mayor*, the highest municipal authority, impeded their progress toward the home of Gutiérrez and challenged his entry into 'someone else's jurisdiction'. Considering Acla's lack of defensive capacity at that moment, the *alcalde mayor* decided to let Cáceres do as he wished in order to avoid 'the death of people and scorn of royal justice'. Thus, the attack continued. Julián Gutiérrez and Isabel Corral were seized along with 1500 pesos that they had traded in their latest expedition to the Gulf of Urabá, and which belonged to the community as a whole since every *vecino* had contributed funds to finance the expedition. Alonso de Cáceres expected bigger booty, and therefore decided not to leave immediately. Instead, the attackers, divided in groups of six, roamed the city, molesting all of the women they found willing to take them back to Cartagena with them. Gutiérrez and Corral were taken to an isle in front of Acla's bay; meanwhile, in town, the city council began an urgent meeting to decide what to do, since the attack, beyond the actual robbery, entailed an assault on the town's communal rights, independence and exercise of justice. All of the neighbors' complaints compiled after the attack addressed the question of the diminution of Acla's jurisdiction and the difficult situation—close to depopulation—in which the attack left the city and its inhabitants. Some of the *vecinos* claimed that the governor of Castilla del Oro should pay more attention to the city, considering all the benefits it was bringing to the region as a whole, while others threatened to leave town.³⁰ Acla's loss of population, they argued, would have very negative consequences for Castilla del Oro, which would lose its most important connection and source of commerce with the indigenous populations of the Gulf of Urabá.

Unlike the governorship of Castilla del Oro, that of Santa Marta and Cartagena entailed no salary and therefore depended on revenues generated from exchanges with the natives.³¹ Interpreting his agreement with the Crown, the governor of Cartagena argued that the territory of the Gulf of Urabá belonged to his governance and, therefore, that the voyages made from Acla invaded his jurisdiction. Despite his claims on the region, the governor was repeatedly urged to remain outside Acla's territory and not to enter 'with baton of justice in someone else's jurisdiction'.³² A royal edict of January 1533 reconfirmed that the Gulf of Urabá belonged to Castilla del Oro, precisely because the '*vecinos e pobladores*' of Castilla del Oro 'have traded and still trade' with the Indians of Urabá and

kept them at peace. The same royal letter reminded Heredia, and any other Castilians, not to enter into the region.³³

Everything changed after Julián Gutiérrez and Isabel Corral were kidnapped in October 1534. During their captivity, Heredia was even accused of trying to rape Isabel Corral. In his defense, Heredia claimed that he only wanted to initiate intimate conversation in order to make Corral ‘love him’ (*tomarle amor*) so that she would ‘unveil’ to him ‘the secrets of the land’.³⁴ The Audiencia of Santo Domingo ordered Heredia to liberate Gutiérrez and Corral and confirmed that Urabá belonged to Castilla del Oro,³⁵ yet Heredia retained Corral—although she managed to escape shortly after and return to Acla—and even made Gutiérrez participate in expeditions down the river. One such mission—from which Gutiérrez deserted to also go back to Acla (Gómez Pérez 1984)—founded a new settlement called San Sebastián de Buenavista in March 1535³⁶ (see [Map 2](#)). It was born directly with the title of city. Thanks to that foundation, according to the governor of Cartagena, at least 22 caciques became ‘pacified’, trading with the Spaniards and therefore ‘understanding vassalage to your majesty’.³⁷ In this case, the use of the appellation of city from the settlement’s very foundation emphasized its importance in the area and especially its role in facilitating ‘conversation’ with the natives as well as their conversion.

The disturbance that the foundation of San Sebastián caused in the region of Castilla del Oro and, in particular, in the city of Acla was so intense that an expedition of 150 armed men from Acla, including Julián Gutiérrez himself as its leader, attacked the new city in September 1535. This expedition protested that the neighbors of San Sebastián were doing business with the Indians in the same way that Acla’s had before them.³⁸ Although the Audiencia of Santo Domingo had decreed Urabá to be part of Castilla del Oro, the council of San Sebastián appealed this decision to the Crown, arguing that its settlers



Map 2. *Terra firma et Novum Regnum Granatense et Popayan*. Detail of the contested territory of the Gulf of Urabá with the presence of Acla and San Sebastián de Buenavista, c. 1635 (commons.wikimedia.org).

had won the right to remain in the city and to initiate relationships with the caciques, therefore acquiring jurisdiction. Precisely, due to alleged advances in the natives' conversion thanks to San Sebastián's activity, and despite the interest showed by Castilla del Oro's governor—as member of the commission that sent Gutiérrez and Corral in the first place—in keeping the region within its jurisdictional limits, the Crown declared the whole Gulf of Urabá part of the governance of Cartagena in March 1536.³⁹

Common interpretations of the royal decision to include Urabá in the governance of Santa Marta have emphasized that it corrected a 'miscalculation' in the official geographical provisions (Acosta 2015; Matilla Tascón 1945). However, 'juridical' existence required a claim over the territory achieved through the creation of a jurisdiction. For that purpose, in order to carry out that claim through conversation with the natives, the existence of an urban foundation was absolutely essential. After a foundation, a territory started to *exist*. In that context, San Sebastián de Buenavista had managed to achieve and secure jurisdiction in a disputed territory. Its jurisdiction was created and power enacted through relationships with the natives, starting a flow of commerce and interactions that justified control of the surroundings and influenced decisions taken at court. Hence, local experience informed the delimitations of frontiers between governorships and kingdoms. Local political communities, able to communicate and interact with the natives, could establish jurisdictional claims and justify the limits between the contested frontiers of the governorships of Castilla del Oro and Cartagena–Santa Marta. Pedro de Heredia's claims to the Gulf of Urabá were rejected until the foundation of San Sebastián de Buenavista, which provided a way of controlling that territory and its inhabitants through a local community capable of developing fluent relationships with the indigenous populations.

Conclusions

The disputed foundation of Cáceres de la Frontera and territorial jurisdiction over the Gulf of Urabá reveal how power was created and exercised on the local level. The ensuing relations affected the structure, nature and morphology of the Spanish Monarchy, as well as its administrative decisions. During the first decades of Spanish presence in the New World, the case studies examined in this article suggest that the exercise of extensive and concrete power depended upon local communities. Among the panoply of characteristics of the exercise of jurisdiction, the capability to converse, or interact peacefully, with indigenous populations appears especially crucial. It was this contact, representing the most tangible incarnation of the exercise of jurisdiction, that allowed cities to claim their own territory and that informed conflicts between different cities to control the land.

The New World has traditionally been considered to belong to the Crown of Castile from the moment it was 'discovered' and, especially, after the bulls of donation by Alexander VI (1493) and the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). The implementation of those norms and their imposition upon indigenous populations was, according to traditional narratives, enacted through the reading of the *Requerimiento* and the reduction of the indigenous to the *encomienda*. However, specific case studies illustrate that territory and conversion were contested categories. Even if the territory belonged to the king, the jurisdiction of every agent was challenged and had to be negotiated. This negotiation did not end with the reading of legal requisitions but, instead, continued over extended periods of time and drew upon a complex array of practices. Although power could be

established through a city's juridical incarnation, authority had to be enacted and permanently renewed through political practices, including communication and conversion, in order to be effective. Norms proved useless without the implementation of political practices on the terrain that ensured the legitimation of power. Those practices shaped and marked the very structure of the Spanish Monarchy during the colonial period. Only the interaction of local actors, including natives, could effectively maintain the monarchy.

The Castilian and indigenous actors involved defined criteria for interactions that only could be practiced with reference to an urban environment. Jurisdiction appeared and disappeared depending on the existence of a community that was capable of creating and maintaining it. The political communities that founded new cities invoked jurisdictional claims through the exercise of power. In moments and places when and where the source of authority was not clearly defined, those claims could be contested by other communities at the same level or invoking higher authorities. In these cases, power became a subject of conflict, sometimes violent, and/or negotiation while the foundation of cities created territory and defined jurisdictions and frontiers. The enactment of political space in the Indies and the subsequent division of the territory proved very dynamic processes resulting from constant negotiations with indigenous populations as well as with different Spanish authorities.

In the New World the proliferation of *civitas*, whose strength resided in their communitarian origins, defined political spaces that entailed a contested and negotiated patchwork of jurisdictions. Urban 'conversation' between Castilians and natives became the source of power necessary to claim, maintain and territorialize jurisdiction. These processes allow, in conclusion, reconsideration of the factors involved in the foundation of Spanish American cities. Far from a unilateral imposition of Iberian models, the process occurred with reference to indigenous populations and could even depend upon their involvement. Thus, the foundation of cities proved more than a *tool* used by the monarchy to occupy American territories, and also entailed processes for the definition of space as well as the enactment of power and authority. It relied upon conversational capabilities that emerged in and articulated constellations of cities in the New World.

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Biographical note

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Notes

1. 'la llabe para apaziguar la tierra [...] porque syn el los yndios no venian', 30 January 1535, Carta de Francisco de Barrionuevo a Su Majestad, Nombre de Dios (Archivo General de Indias [Hereafter AGI], Patronato 194, R. 34).
2. 'el pudiese paçificar e conquistar esta tierra', 12 December 1534, Información del gobernador Pedro de Heredia sobre puntos del real servicio (AGI, Patronato 193, N. 21, 263).
3. Relación sobre el descubrimiento y población de las provincias del Perú (Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 28, R. 10).
4. 6 October 1525, Real cédula a los oficiales de la Casa de Contratación (AGI, Indiferente 420, L. 10, f. 102v).
5. Real Provisión, a petición del puerto de Nombre de Dios, por la que se le concede el título de ciudad (AGI, Panamá 235, L. 6, f. 134). The official reason for the concession of the title of city to Nombre de Dios was the increase of its population and its relationship with its 'nobility'. The demographic argument would not become common in Europe to justify the access to the category of city until the 19th century (Gelabert 2008).
6. The foundation act of Natá is the oldest conserved for continental America; it was published for the first time in 1972 by Alfredo Castellero.
7. Solicitud del cabildo de la ciudad de Nata en Castilla del Oro, a Su majestad, pidiendo ciertas gracias (AGI, Patronato 185, R. 1).
8. Relación de lo que conviene proveer para el Darién, dado por el bachiller Corral (Real Academia de la Historia [hereafter RAH] Col. Muñoz, t. 60, f. 27).
9. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Juan Gutiérrez, vecino de Santa María la Antigua de Acla (AGI, Guadalajara, 46, N. 2).
10. In recalling of his father's (bachiller Enciso) participation in the founding of Santa María del Darién, Rodrigo de Rebolledo considered that from that first foundation 'had spread the population of this reign' (Rodrigo de Rebolledo, alguacil mayor de Panamá, contra el licenciado Pedro Vázquez, AGI, Justicia 341, N. 1).
11. Bethany Aram has analyzed the example of the foundation of Santa María followed by Hernán Cortés and his *hueste* in la Villa Rica de la Veracruz (Aram 2008, 253); for the actions of Hernán Cortés, see Frankl 1962.
12. In his famous *Historia verdadera de la conquista de México*, Bernal Díaz del Castillo had already emphasized the collective character against individual-centered narratives such as Gomara's (Restall 2003).
13. The record of participants in different foundations is long. For example, before moving to Peru and Nicaragua, Alonso Martín de don Benito had participated in the founding of Santa María, Acla, Panamá, and Nombre de Dios (1535, Información de los méritos y servicios de Alonso Martín de Don Benito, AGI, Patronato, 93, N.5, R.1). Juan de Castañeda was also part of the original foundational community of both Santa María, Acla and Panamá (1534, Información de los méritos y servicios de Juan de Castañeda, AGI, Patronato, 150, N. 6, R. 3). Rodrigo de Lozano actively participated in the foundation of Panamá and Natá, and for that reason received a coat of arms. Later in his life, he drew upon his previous experience as one of the first settlers of Trujillo (1537, Información de los méritos y servicios de Rodrigo de Lozano, AGI, Patronato, 93, N. 8, R. 1); for the concession of his coat of arms, see Archivo Ducal de Alba [hereafter ADA] box 238, n° 1 [64]. Hernando de Montenegro was part of the expedition commanded by Pizarro, but had participated previously in the

- establishment of Santa María del Antigua and Acla (1586, Información de servicios del capitán Hernando de Montenegro, AGI, Patronato 129, R. 1). Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz was a member of the first communities of four cities in Castilla del Oro between 1514 and 1522, an experience that informed his participation in the expedition commanded by Francisco Pizarro to Peru and earned him a coat of arms in 1540 (1540, Real provisión a Hernán Sánchez de Badajoz, AGI, Patronato 169, N. 2, A. 1540, R. 2).
14. Garcí Ortiz de Espinosa recalled in 1552 in Lima the participation of his father, Gaspar de Espinosa, in the foundation of Panamá and Natá when applying for the post of *alguacil mayor* of Cuzco; later the grandson of Espinosa would recall as well his grandfather's merits to ask for permission to travel to the Indies from Seville in 1575 (Información de los méritos y servicios del licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa, AGI, Patronato 98A, N. 2, R. 1); Rodrigo Lozano's son would apply in 1573 for a post in Santiago de Guayaquil using his father's participation in the foundations of Castilla del Oro as his main argument (Información de los méritos y servicios de Rodrigo Lozano, AGI, Patronato 95A, R. 1).
 15. Very soon after their foundation, cities and towns started to send representatives to the Court to negotiate and define their privileges. For example, around 1520, right after its foundation, Panamá had already sent its first *procurador*, Francisco de Lizaur, to negotiate (Real cédula al concejo, justicia y regidores de la ciudad de Panamá, AGI Panamá 233, L. 1, f. 296v).
 16. For example, in 1546, the city of Nombre de Dios complained to the Crown about the interference of the governor into local affairs, particularly in the election of *alcaldes mayores* (first instance judges), appealing to the defense of their 'immemorial privileges', and tracing them back to the moment of their foundation, defending with them their self-government capacity vis-à-vis the governor and his lieutenants (Con las ciudades de Panamá y Nombre de Dios sobre elección de alcaldes ordinarios, AGI, Justicia 1048, N. 8, R. 1).
 17. Another reason offered by this *vecino* to emphasize the importance of Acla in the region was the fact that, at that moment, Acla was the oldest town in Castilla del Oro, after its merging with Santa María del Antigua del Darién (Informaciones de oficio y parte: Juan Gutiérrez, vecino de Santa María la Antigua de Acla, AGI, Guadalajara, 46, N. 2).
 18. 1526, Testimonio de la fundación de la villa de la Frontera de Cáceres (AGI, Patronato 20, N. 4, R. 2).
 19. 1526, Expediente sobre la población y despoblación de la villa de la Frontera de Cáceres (AGI, Patronato 20, N. 5, R. 2).
 20. Time would actually give him reason since, after the attack on Cáceres de la Frontera by Benito de Hurtado, Hurtado himself was killed in an indigenous rising whose causes were attributed to the lack of control over the population that the town was already exercising (1528, Expediente seguido a petición del gobernador contra Hernando de Saavedra, AGI, Patronato 20, N. 4, R. 3).
 21. 1526, Expediente sobre la población y despoblación de la villa de la Frontera de Cáceres (AGI, Patronato 20, N. 5, R. 2): 'I, therefore, said captain Benito de Hurtado require those with the same requirement that they made of me and with the same allegation because they were there as people out of any obedience to the service of His Majesty.'
 22. September 1526, Título de gobernador de Higuera a favor de Diego López de Salcedo (AGI, Patronato 193, R. 11).
 23. The document of this agreement (*asiento*) has been published twice before (Matilla Tascón 1945; Friede 1955, 287–97 and 299–315). However, I quote from the original, 19 August 1532, Testimonio de autos sobre el viaje que debía hacer Julián Gutiérrez (AGI Patronato 193, R. 17).
 24. Naborias have been defined recently as a 'type of servants previously uprooted' (Aram and Obando 2017, 137).
 25. 26 July 1536, Carta de Pascual de Andagoya al rey (AGI, Patronato 194, R. 32).
 26. Pedro de Heredia even claimed that 'the conquest and pacification of this land cannot be accomplished without Isabel Corral' (12 December 1534, Información de Pedro de Heredia sobre puntos del real servicio, AGI, Patronato 193, R. 21, f. 264); on the other hand, Barrionuevo, the governor of Castilla del Oro, considered the marriage of Gutiérrez

- and Corral ‘the key to pacify the land’ (30 January 1535, Carta de Francisco Barrionuevo al Rey, AGI, Patronato 194, R. 30).
27. ‘le pertenesçer como pertenescan las dichas naborias a la dicha mi muger e a mi en su nombre’, 30-04-1533, Pedimiento e proveymiento sobre lo del casamiento de la yndia que fue del licenciado Corral y encomienda de sus naborias a su marido Julian Gutierrez (AGI, Panamá 39, N. 3e, f. 23).
 28. In the 17th century, particularly following the publication of Stefano Guazzo’s *La conversatione civile* (1574), the concept of conversation changed towards a more courtly centered conception, leaving aside its more humanistic characteristics.
 29. 8 May 1560, Criminal y autos sobre el registro de los yndios e yndias de serviçio ladinos de la çidad de Cartagena (Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá [hereafter AGN], Caciques e Indios, leg. 1, doc. 32, ff. 722–78).
 30. Informaciones de oficio y parte: Juan Gutiérrez, vecino de Santa María la Antigua de Acla (AGI, Guadalajara, 46, N. 2).
 31. 5 August 1532, Real Cédula de capitulación con Pedro de Heredia (AGI, Indiferente 415, L. 1, ff. 69–71).
 32. 24 December 1534, Real Cédula a Pedro de Heredia (AGI, Panamá 234, L. 5, f. 186).
 33. 16 February 1533, Real provisión por la que declara que Urabá sea de la gobernación de Tierra Firme (AGI, Panamá 234, L. 5, f. 97v).
 34. 1535, Residencia a Pedro de Heredia (AGI, Justicia 521, f. 51).
 35. On 24 Dec. 1534 he received another order not to enter in Acla (AGI, Panamá 234, L. 5, f. 186); on 31 May 1535 he was ordered to set Gutiérrez and Isabel free and let them return to the city of Acla where they belonged, and also to return all the money he had taken, the 1500 *pesos de oro*, to the city council in order to distribute it to the *vecinos* (AGI, Panamá 234, L. 5, ff. 211v–13v).
 36. Actually, it was a refoundation of one of the first settlements in Tierra Firme, San Sebastián de Urabá, that was founded by Alonso de Ojeda around 1509 (Saldarriaga 2012).
 37. 26 November 1535, Carta del cabildo de Cartagena (AGI, Santa Fe 62, N. 1, f. 1v).
 38. 26 November 1535, Carta de Alonso de Montalbán procurador y regidor de San Sebastián de Buenavista (AGI, Santa Fe 62, N. 108).
 39. 17 March 1536, Real provisión al gobernador de Castilla del Oro (AGI, Santa Fe 987, ff. 124–25).

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