

**The Expedition of Juan de Oñate to Quivira in 1601
as narrated in
The “True Report” and
the “Valverde Interrogatory”**

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Preface

The purpose of this revision of Craddock 1998 and 2002 is to bring out John H. R. Polt's translations of the "Relación cierta y verdadera" and the Valverde Interrogatory and to provide facsimiles of the documents edited in the two publications mentioned.

Craddock 1998 has been altered significantly, so that most of the introductory material, often polemical in nature, has been suppressed, and errors in the transcription corrected. The edition of the Valverde interrogatory is but little changed from its published form, except that the apparatus of variants has been pruned of all but the more significant items. Barbara De Marco discovered a number of variants overlooked in Craddock 2002, and they have been added here.

Among the facsimiles, the appearance of Enrique Martínez' 1602 map of New Mexico and Quivira, with transcriptions and translations of the texts that appear on the map and on the reverse of the map, constitutes a novelty. The map of Quivira drawn by the Indian Miguel appears here in full color, with transcriptions and translations of the textual notes it contains.

Barbara De Marco, as part of her work on the documents of Juan de Oñate's exploration and settlement of New Mexico, supported by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, has transcribed and published the second extant manuscript of the Valverde Interrogatory; see *Transcription of the second extant manuscript of the Valverde Interrogatory, concerning Juan de Oñate's expedition to Quivira, Bosque de Chapultepec, 22 abril 1602* (2013) <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1s5248rr>.

The authors wish to offer thanks to John Hayes, Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, for his careful proofreading of this combined edition. All errors which remain are the exclusive responsibility of the authors.

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Most recent revision: December 18, 2013.

Addendum: January 5, 2016. Barbara De Marco suggested some opportune corrections and emendations which have been adopted in this update.

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Juan de Oñate in Quivira

On Thursday, 23 June 1601, Juan de Oñate, governor of the fledgling colony of New Mexico which he founded in 1598, set out from his headquarters at the pueblo of San Gabriel¹ on an expedition to Quivira, a quasi-mythical land of indefinite boundaries including at least the present state of Kansas and surrounding areas (see Newcomb 2001:548-549, with map).² It was not a good time for the governor to absent himself from his restive colonists, most of whom decamped southward to more settled parts of New Spain before he returned on 24 November. However, Oñate had a legitimate pretext for the expedition: King Phillip II, upon naming Oñate in 1595 as captain general of the expedition to New Mexico, charged him with the mission of pursuing, arresting, and bringing back to Mexico City all members of an unauthorized expedition to New Mexico in 1593, led by captains Francisco Leyva de Bonilla and Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña.³

While Oñate's main camp was still located in the pueblo of San Juan Bautista, on the east bank of the Rio Grande just across the river from San Gabriel, the governor had received news of an unexpected visitor in the person of a Mexican Indian named Jusepe, who turned out to be a survivor of the Leyva and Humaña adventure. On 16 February 1599 Oñate took a formal deposition from Jusepe, a native of Culiacán in Nueva Galicia, who, as a servant of Gutiérrez de Humaña, shared the latter's cognomen of Gutiérrez. Jusepe apparently spoke little or no Spanish, so the interview was conducted with the assistance of an interpreter, Juan del Caso Barahona.⁴

¹ San Gabriel was the Tewa pueblo of Yunke, now abandoned, located on the west bank of the Rio Grande, just north of its junction with the Chama river (see Schroeder 1979b:250, with a map of abandoned pueblos on p. 239; and *When Cultures Meet* 1987). The modern Tewa pueblos, San Juan (de los Caballeros)-Oñate's first headquarters until he moved across the Rio Grande to San Gabriel-Nambe, Pojoaque, Tesuque, on the east bank, and Santa Clara and San Ildefonso, on the west bank, lie just northwest of Santa Fe (convenient map published by Eggan 1979:225). The Tewa language, together with Tiwa (Taos, Picuris, Sandia, Isleta) and Towa (Jemez), belongs to the Tanoan family of languages, see Campbell 1997:138-139; Goddard 1996:321.

² Upon Oñate's return to San Gabriel, an official report was prepared by one of the Franciscan friars who accompanied him, but preferred to remain anonymous. Known by its first words as the "Relación cierta y verdadera" or 'true and accurate account' of the expedition, the report was edited by Craddock (1998; concerning some attempts to determine the origin of the name Quivira, see 530-531, n. 4).

³ See Oñate's appointment as captain general and adelantado, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City (henceforth AGNMex), Ramo Civil 1988, fols. 226r-230v; transcribed and translated by Hammond (1938); revised translation in Hammond and Rey (1953, 1:59-64).

⁴ Jusepe's testimony is recorded in Archivo General de Indias, Seville (henceforth AGI), Patronato 22, ramo 13, fols. 1019r-1021r (with two additional copies, fols. 1195r-1196v,

Jusepe had a frightful tale to tell, but one which aroused considerable interest among his interrogators. Humaña and Leyva had explored far to the east of New Mexico and had come upon large sedentary populations in the land that was known as Quivira:

siguien- |10 do haçia la dereçera del norte, mientras mas yban en- | trando la tierra adentro, vian ganado en mucha mas | cantidad e que aviendo andado quince *dias* [m]as de | las *dichas* jornadas cortas, toparon dos rrios grandes | y adelante dellos muchas rrancherías muy pobladas |15 e mas adelante vn pueblo grandísimo poblado y asen- | tado en vn llano que seria de largor de diez leguas por- | que en dos *dias* de camino lo atrauesaron e que de | anchor deuia de tener como dos leguas poco mas o me- | nos. (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 13, fol. 1019v)

Continuing in a northerly direction, the farther they went on into the land, the greater quantity of livestock they saw, and having gone 15 days beyond the aforementioned short marches, they came upon two large rivers and on the nearer shore many well populated nomadic camps and farther along a huge settlement, populated and situated on a plain which has about 10 leagues in extent, since it took them two days to reach the end of it, and its width must be more or less two leagues.

For reasons that are not clear, and that Jusepe was evidently in no position to understand fully, Humaña murdered Leyva; thereupon Jusepe and four other servants fled from their masters:

Despues de auer salido del dicho *pueblo* grande a tres |5 jornadas, tubo cierta pesadumbre el *cappitan* Leyva | y el dicho *Antonio* Gutierrez de Vmaña, el qual estuvo | metido *en* su tienda escriuiendo solo vna tarde | o vna mañana, al cauo del qual el dicho Vmaña *enbio* | a llamar al dicho *capitan* Leyva con vn soldado llamado |10 Miguel Peres, el qual vino *en* camisa con vnos calço- | nes y antes que llegase a la *dicha* tienda, le salio a rre- | çevir el dicho *Antonio* Gutierrez de Vmaña y arrimando- | se a el, echo mano a vn cuchillo carniçero que traya | *en* la faldiquera y con el desnudo de la bajna, dio |15 dos puñaladas al dicho *cappitan* Leyva de que luego | de alli a poco murio y paso desta presente vida y luego | lo enterraron y despues saco el dicho *Antonio* Gutierrez de | Vmaña vnos papeles y los mostro a los demas con- | pañeros y este declarante oyo deçir que porqu'el dicho |20 *capitan* Leyva avia dicho que le auia de dar al dicho *Antonio* | Gutierrez de Vmaña con vn palo muchos palos le auia | muerto. (fol. 1020r)

After leaving behind the aforementioned large settlement a distance of three leagues, captain Leyva had a row with the aforesaid Anthony Gutiérrez de Humaña, who was in his tent by himself writing one afternoon or one morning; at the end of this time the aforesaid Humaña sent a soldier named Miguel Pérez to summon the aforesaid captain

1243v-1245v). See Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:416-419; 1966:48-50, 323-326.

Leyva, who came in his undershirt and britches, and before he reached the aforesaid tent, the aforesaid Antonio Gutiérrez de Humaña came out to receive him, and drawing close to him, pulled out a butcher's knife that he had in his pocket, and unsheathing it, stabbed the aforesaid captain Leyva twice, so that shortly afterward he died and departed from this present life and then they buried him. Some time later the aforesaid Anthony Gutiérrez de Humaña produced some papers and showed them to the remaining companions and this witness heard it said that because the aforesaid [Gutiérrez de Humaña] had declared that he [Leyva] was going to give the aforesaid Anthony Gutiérrez de Humaña a sound beating with a stick, the latter killed him.

The fugitives headed westward; three strayed from their fellows and disappeared, while Jusepe's last companion was killed by one of the tribes that lived on the plains. Jusepe himself was captured by the Apaches⁵ and lived among them for a year, but then escaped and made his way to Pecos pueblo.⁶ There he heard about the incursion of the Spaniards under Oñate into New Mexico and sought them out in San Juan.⁷

⁵Apaches who lived on the great plains, hunting bison, hence called *vaqueros* by the Spaniards, that is, hunters of the *vacas de Cíbola* (see Craddock and Polt 1999:27-28).

⁶Pecos was the easternmost of the *pueblos* and had maintained commercial relations with the plains Indians long before the Spanish period. Its language was *Towa*, also spoken at Jemez, well to the west of the Rio Grande. When Pecos was definitively abandoned in 1838, the survivors went to live at Jemez (see Kessell 1979; Schroeder 1979a).

⁷Did Jusepe accompany Vicente de Zaldívar on his excursion to the buffalo plains 18 September-8 November 1598? After Jusepe's testimony was completed, the next day, 17 February 1599, Oñate summoned Zaldívar and several officers who had accompanied him on that expedition to verify that they had indeed found traces of Leyva and Humaña's trail. They were confident that they had made correct identifications, because they were assisted by a guide who had belonged to Leyva and Humaña's party: "se supo ser los | dichos parages de los suso dichos capitan Leyba y Antonio de | Vmaña porque se lo preguntaron a vn criado del dicho | Antonio de Vmaña que yba por guia con ellos y por | lengua e porque auia estercoladuras de cauillos |40 e señales de fuegos que auian ffecho" (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 13, fol. 1020v). If this guide was the selfsame Jusepe who had testified on the previous day, why didn't Zaldívar say so, or, for that matter, why didn't Jusepe himself mention this important service? Zaldívar gives the impression that he is talking about someone else, and it should be noted that the official report of the 1598 expedition, certified only days later, on 23 February 1599, names the guide "Clementillo" ("Jusepillo" in the uncertified copies of the report). See Craddock and Polt 1999:8-11, 28. I recently deduced another allusion to this Clementillo in the "Ytinerario" of the Oñate expedition (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Patronato 22, ramo 13, fols. 1151r-1159v, 1218r-1226v, cf. Pacheco and Cárdenas, 16 [1871]:228-276, Martín Rodríguez 2009:89-107, Hammond and Rey, 1953, 1:309-328). In the entry for September 23, 1598, the anonymous author states "luego llego el yndio de mentillo de quien supimos la muerte de Leyba". One of the most frequent scribal

However much Oñate may have been intrigued by the news Jusepe brought him concerning the great settlements of Quivira, two years elapsed before he departed on his eastward journey. In the meantime, reinforcements and supplies arrived from Mexico City in 1600 and the headquarters was moved across the Rio Grande to San Gabriel.

Thus on the eve of the feast of St. John the Baptist, 23 June 1601, the Franciscan missionaries, with all appropriate pomp and ceremony, besought divine guidance and protection for Oñate's troop of sixty soldiers, many servants, and considerable livestock, as they set out for the first stop, the pueblo of Pecos, where Oñate left a missionary and lay brother. They crossed the river that now bears the same name, but known then as the Rio Salado.⁸ They reached the Canadian River, which the Spaniards called the Magdalena,⁹ and followed its course to or near to its junction with the Arkansas, in the heart of Quivira.¹⁰ Along the way they met friendly Apaches with whom Jusepe could converse, observed the immense buffalo herds, and at some distance from the home grounds of the Apaches, came upon a large tepee camp (*ranchería*) of another nomadic nation, christened the “Escanxaques” by the Spaniards (further explained below).

The Spaniards at first got on well with the Escanxaques, who, upon learning of the Spaniards' ostensible purpose of finding out what happened to their countrymen in the Leyva and Humaña expedition, imagined that the Spaniards were bent on revenge, and eagerly offered their services as allies. The Escanxaques were inveterate enemies of the settled peoples of Quivira, and though Oñate attempted to discourage them, they followed the Spanish camp all the way to the outskirts of the first great community (“gran población”) the Spaniards came upon in Quivira.

The Quivirans, alarmed by the bellicosity of the Escanxaques, appeared at first in full war paint, but were won over by Oñate's demonstrations of pacific intent and his apparent ability to

misreadings involves the interpretation of the two letters “cl” as “d”, which I believe occurred in this case, and have emended the text to “[C]lementillo” in a forthcoming edition of the “Ytinerario” I have undertaken with Barbara De Marco.

⁸The Salado, or Pecos river is called the “Río de San Buenaventura” in the “Relación cierta y verdadera,” because the expedition came upon it on July 13, the eve of the feast of St. Bonaventure (cf. Craddock 1998:498, 516).

⁹The expedition reached the river on July 22, feast of St. Mary Magdalene; it was identified as the Canadian River by Bolton (cf. Craddock 1998:517), the largest tributary of the Arkansas River. However, it seems strange that the author of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” should take credit for the name, since it is almost certainly the same river that the Zaldívar party came upon already in 1598, and referred to as “el afamado Río de la Magdalena” (Craddock and Polt 1999:11, 28).

¹⁰The expedition reached the region of Quivira that lay just above the 37th parallel, at the junction of the Walnut River with the Arkansas, or, less likely, a bit further south at the junction of the Little Beaver Creek with the Arkansas, according to Vehik 1986. The two junctions lie south of Wichita, just north of the Kansas-Oklahoma border.

control the Escanxaques. Soon, however, this initial harmony was disrupted by Oñate's high-handed taking of hostages from the very group that brought him a peace offering of corn cakes. Through Jusepe, who was able to converse with some Apache captives in their midst (as noted by Juan de León in the Valverde interrogatory, fol. 179r20-22), the Escanxaques had transmitted to the Spaniards a self-serving and possibly fictional allegation that the Quivirans had attacked and destroyed the Leyva and Humaña party and were holding captive a Spaniard who had been badly wounded in the fray. Oñate intended to exchange his Quiviran hostages for the supposed captive, who was very likely no more than a character in an Escanxaque fiction. The Quivirans reacted strongly to the hostage-taking, and the hostages themselves seemed not to have the least idea of what the Spaniards were after. Fortunately for the Spaniards, one of the hostages was an important chieftain,¹¹ who calmed his tribesmen and averted an immediate conflict, though perhaps with the understanding that his people should prepare for a more general and organized assault on the Spaniards. The nearest settlement of the Quivirans was immediately evacuated by its inhabitants and the Spaniards lost forever any chance of learning firsthand anything about the society and customs of the Quivira Indians. The Spaniards searched the deserted settlement and prevented the Escanxaques, to their extreme disgust, from looting it and razing it to the ground. The Spaniards explored the immediate surroundings, and found that the settlement was of remarkable extent; several Escanxaques still engaged in looting were taken, and informed the Spaniards that this was but one of the smaller Quiviran communities. The sheer size of the population of Quivira, vastly greater than that of the New Mexican pueblos, discouraged the Spaniards. When it was reported by the ever helpful Escanxaques that within a matter of days the entire force of the Quivirans would fall upon the Spaniards, they lost heart and petitioned the governor to order a speedy withdrawal. Oñate regretfully acceded to his soldiers' importunity, and the Spaniards made their way back to the first Quiviran village they had come upon, only to find it fortified by the Escanxaques, who now seemed determined to carry out themselves the massacre they had predicted would be wreaked on the Spaniards by the Quivirans. A serious battle ensued, and ended in a stalemate, with a good number of Spanish casualties, though no deaths. The Spaniards took some captives, among them an Indian whom they named Miguel in honor of St. Michael Archangel, presumably because the battle took place on his feast day, 29 September. Miguel was to play an important role in the Valverde interrogatory, as will be shown below.

The remainder of the trip back to San Gabriel was uneventful, but upon reaching his headquarters, Oñate found it practically abandoned. Vicente de Zaldívar, Oñate's chief enforcer, was dispatched with a strong contingent to pursue the deserters, and bring them back to New Mexico to stand trial. This was largely foiled by the dispersal of the fugitives, so Zaldívar went to

¹¹According to the “Relación cierta y verdadera,” this chieftain was called a “catarax” in his own language (cf. Craddock 1998:504, 524; Newcomb 2001:549), a term not recorded in the Valverde interrogatory. According to Riley (1995:84, 272), “catarax” is a Wichita word for 'chief', and no doubt corresponds to the proper name “Tatarrax” attributed to a chieftain by Francisco López de Gomara (1555, fol. xcv) in his account of the first European explorer of Quivira, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. In Arikara, a Caddoan language related to Wichita, [ka:taráč] means 'axe' (Parks 1977:17), and might have been a plausible epithet for a war leader.

Mexico City in 1602 both to enlist the authority of the viceroy against the deserters and to answer the charges against Oñate that some of them had presented to the viceroy, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, conde de Monterrey.¹² Zaldívar carried with him Oñate's official report on the expedition to Quivira, the “Relación cierta y verdadera”, and was accompanied by a number of soldiers who had made the trek to Quivira, as well as the Indian Miguel. Their presence in Mexico City, while reams of official paper were being sacrificed to testimonials of the deserters and their accusers, led the viceroy to take advantage of the opportunity to find out more about the expedition to Quivira, or, as he called it, the sortie towards the north (“entrada hacia el norte”), by taking individual depositions from some of the participating soldiers as well as from the Indian captive whom the Spaniards called Miguel.¹³

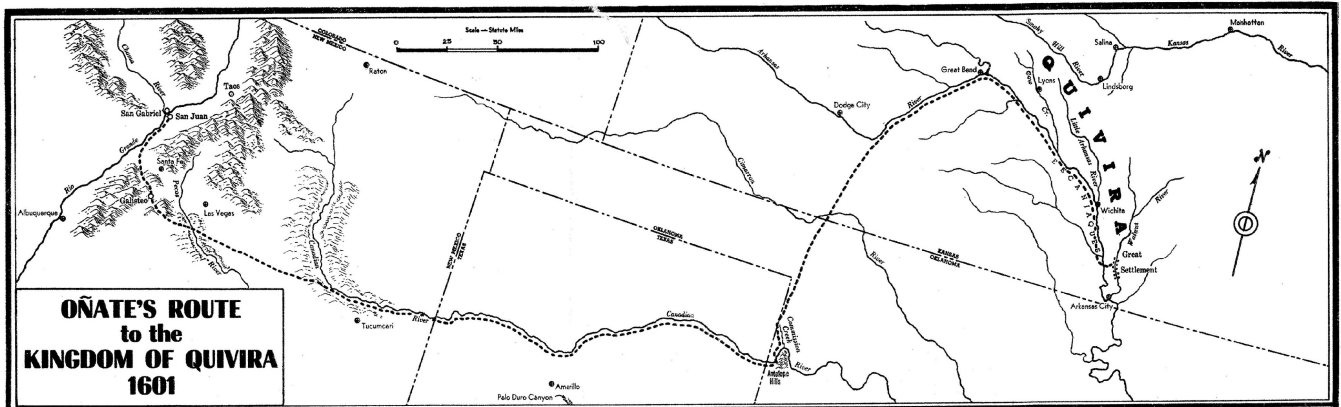
Thus two major documents record Oñate's Quivira expedition, the aforementioned “Relación cierta y verdadera”, and the official inquiry conducted by Francisco Valverde y Mercado in 1602, which I have labeled the Valverde Interrogatory.¹⁴

¹²See Simmons 1991:164-170; relevant documents in Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:672-689, translated from AGI, México 26, núm. 48-E (Hanke 1977, 2:83 §1410).

¹³Zaldívar had already delivered to the viceroy the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. P22 fol. 160r14-15), so no doubt he sought corroboration of the statements made in it, as well as additional details of the expedition. Viceroy Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo (1595-1603) composed a “Discurso y proposición” (undated but probably written in 1602) concerning Oñate's efforts to settle New Mexico (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fols. 51r-60v; *CDI* 16 [1871]:38-66; Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:906-924), whose fourth section contains a brief resume of the expedition to Quivira (fols. 55r-58r). Vicente de Zaldívar's “Memorial sobre el descubrimiento de Nuevo México” (undated, but likewise written in 1602; AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fols. 578r-590r; *CDI* 16 [1871]:188-227; Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:925-953) also summarizes the expedition to Quivira (fols. 582r-v, 589r-v). Fray Gerónimo Zárate Salmerón's rather fanciful “Relaciones de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo México se han visto y sabido” presents an account of the expedition (¶¶37-43; *Documentos para servir* 1962:113-204, at 154-61; cf. Milich 1966, who states in the frontispiece of her translation that the “Relaciones” are “purported to have been written about 1626 or 1627”) with details not provided in any other source. Zárate Salmerón's account was excerpted for José Antonio Pichardo's *Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* written between 1808 and 1812 (Hackett 1931-1946, 1:v, 2:304-8). The secondary literature I have consulted includes Bolton 1916:205; Hackett 1923-1937, 1:211-12; Hammond 1927:136-39; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:24-26; Brandon 1990:65-73, 268-70; Simmons 1991:160-64; Chávez 1992:13-16; Weber 1992:82, 391. Schroeder 1962 and Vehik 1986 attempt to reconstruct Oñate's route.

¹⁴This edition is published as part of the “Cíbola Project,” devoted to publishing the documents of the Hispanic Southwest in the original Spanish, under the auspices of the Research Center for Romance Studies, Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley. A mission statement of the project is available on-line, <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/3jt748vt> as well as a “Progress Report”

Oñate's route to Quivira, reproduced from Hammond and Rey 1953, with permission.



<http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/6g50g2vn> which includes a census of texts pertinent to the project as well as a bibliography of publications and work in progress. The initial transcription of the Valverde Interrogatory was carried out by Anna More, while working as a graduate student research assistant; she is now a professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Los Angeles. The facsimile of Miguel's map is published with the permission of the Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

The two editions published in the two source articles were immeasurably improved by Barbara De Marco, Principal Editor of the Research Center for Romance Studies, and Project Manager of the "Cíbola Project." Brian Imhoff, Texas A&M University, and Helen Nader, University of Arizona, both consultants to the project, brought to my attention numerous errata, as did John Polt, University of California, Berkeley, who has also agreed to be a consultant, chiefly as translator. I am much indebted to John Hayes and Kathleen Tandy for much work in proofreading the texts and for valuable suggestions with regard to formatting the editions. Juan A. Sempere Martínez, California State University, San Jose, sent me useful linguistic observations. I am, of course, exclusively responsible for all errors that remain.

The “Relación cierta y verdadera”

The text of the “Relación” is extant in two copies: Archivo General de Indias [AGI], Patronato 22, ramo 4, fols. 151r/107r-158v/114v, and ramo 12, fols. 946r-952r (if the original has survived, I am unaware of its location), referred to hereinafter with the sigla R4 and R12, resp. R4 and R12 have some mistakes in common, but the differences between them are sufficient to make it unlikely that either was copied from the other; consequently, they constitute independent textual witnesses to the missing original. In my edition I have used R4 as basis since I believe that except at the very beginning, it presents a slightly superior text to that of R12. I draw upon the latter to justify the very few editorial interventions I have carried out in the text of the former.

In a typewritten table of contents of Patronato 22, the purpose of ramo 4 is explained as follows: “Expediente formado en México a instancias del maestro de campo Vicente de Zaldívar, en nombre propio y en el de... Juan de Oñate, sobre cierto socorro que solicitan para su descubrimiento... Fols. 41-591.” Fols. 41r-42r contain a table of contents and *sumario* of ramo 4, followed by an undated cover leaf (43r) with the legend “Viçente de Çalduar Mendoça maes- | tre de campo de la jornada del | Nueuo Mexico por si, y en nombre | de don Joan de Oñate adelantado | gouernador y cappitan general de los Reynos | del Nueuo Mexico | sobre | que se le de çierto socorro que pide.” Fol. 44r contains an undated cover letter by Vicente de Zaldívar, followed by the “parecer” of the Audiencia de México dated May 14, 1602 (fols. 45r-46r). Ramo 4 contains materials on all the explorations of New Mexico up to that date, but particularly those that took place from 1581 onward; within that ramo, R4 immediately precedes the inquiry (i.e., the Valverde Interrogatory) that was carried out in Mexico City, April 22-May 11, 1602, and edited in this volume. The text of R4 occupies 7 folios, with a final cover sheet (fol. 158r-v) bearing the legend on the verso: “Relaçion de lo sueçedido [*sic*] en la entrada | que hiço el gouernador don Juan de Oñate desde | las primeras poblaciones del Nueuo Mexico | hazia la parte del norte el año | de 1601.”

The strip of paper that identifies ramo 12 of Patronato 22 (unfoliated; corresponds to fol. 914r) reads: “1596. Papeles pertenecientes á las capitulaciones *que* hizo | con *su magestad* don Pedro Ponce de Leon, Señor de Baylen, | sobre el descubrimiento y conquista del Nuevo | Mexico en 1596. Estan reunidos otros papeles | pertenecientes á el asiento *que* hizo don Juan de | Oñate con el Virrey de Nueva España *sobre* lo mismo | en 1595.” In the left margin: “Nueva España. | Descubrimientos.” R12 is the last document of these “papeles,” and occupies fols. 946r-952r. It is not clear to me why a document dated 1601 (the “Relación cierta y verdadera”) appears among materials relating to the years (1595-1596) in which Oñate faced stiff competition from Pedro Ponce de León in his bid to lead the expedition to New Mexico (see Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:11-12). R12 also occupies 7 folios with no final cover sheet; on the verso of the last leaf one finds the label “Nueva Mexico 1601.”

R4 and R12 are copies of the certified copy (“treslado” R4 156v34) drawn up by captain Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra, “secretario de gouernaçion” (R4 156v31), at the command of governor Oñate. Both R4 (156v30-157r2) and R12 (952r32-40) bear Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra’s certification of the “treslado,” but in both cases his name appears without a rubric. Nor are the individual pages rubricated beneath the last line, at the center of the page, with a line extended to the margin on each side of the rubric, as was done with originals and certified copies. R4, unlike

R12, bears a few of the double slash marks “//” which signal significant transitions in the document, and are added after the copy has been written, as one can tell from the way the slashes overlie the letters of the text. Neither copy contains any marginalia. According to the criteria presented by Chapman (1919:25) and Cortés Alonso (1986:51-53), R4 and R12 constitute “ordinary,” that is, uncertified copies of a certified copy. Though undated, the lost certified copy of the “Relación” probably was prepared the same day that the original was attested to: December 14, 1601 (R4 156r14). The original was placed in the “archiuo de gouernaçon” (R4 156v35). The author is a “persona de mucha fidelidad y confiança” (R4 156r8-9), chosen by Oñate for the purpose of preparing a report to the King; why he is not named is not certain (cf. Bolton 1916:265, n. 2 “It has not been determined who wrote it”). The tone and rhetoric of the “Relación” often suggest the hand of a cleric, but of the two Franciscans, Francisco de Velasco and Pedro de Vergara (for bibliographical data on both friars see Ayer 1916:199-200) who accompanied the expedition (R4 151r33-35), only the former was literate. Thus by elimination, one feels inclined to accept the tentative attribution to Francisco de Velasco offered by Hammond and Rey (1953, 1:24).

The “Relación” offers detailed and fascinating descriptions of both nomadic and sedentary Indians, as well as of the fauna (principally the bison) and flora, while, in accordance with the patently propagandistic purposes of the “Relación,” the accounts of the bounty of the land are little short of Edenic. Nevertheless, in this narration there is no mention of the great cities, huge palaces, magnificent temples, or native potentates bejewelled with gold, silver, and pearls, that so beguiled the fevered imagination of Coronado and his men. Coronado’s and Oñate’s disappointments nevertheless failed to dispel this fantasy for yet many years to come; indeed, the captive Miguel did his best to inflame the gold lust of his captors.

The text was published by Pérez (1916) from R4, and twice translated, by Bolton (1916:250-267) and Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:746-60), who based their work on R12. For a detailed critique of these efforts, see Craddock 1998.

Editorial Criteria

The foliation of R4 is indicated in square brackets; the modern pencil foliation I have adopted as standard does not appear in older films, so I have also indicated the contemporaneous foliation that appears in ink.

The original spelling has been scrupulously maintained. The *ç* with cedilla appears regularly before the front vowels *i* and *e*, where the cedilla is superfluous; the cedilla is usually separated from the body of the letter, sometimes so far that it can be obliterated by the writing on the line below. The cedilla is occasionally omitted where it is needed, i.e., before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*. In such cases I have inserted the cedilla tacitly if the corresponding form in R12 is spelled with *ç* and have noted the cedilla-less forms in the list of variants. Capitalization and punctuation have been modernized. In order to be consistent it was necessary to replace *R* with *rr* except where a capital letter is called for by our own standards; conversely *rr* is capitalized as *R*. The latter never represents single *r*, that is, in phonetic terms, the flap [r] as opposed to the trill [r̄]; in fact, what appears to be a capital *R* is in many instances a digraph representing double *rr*. It is somewhat anachronistic to speak of “capital” letters in the documents of this epoch.

There is no consistent use of large letters to signal proper names, or beginnings of sentences or even of paragraphs (rather sections, since paragraphs were another form of punctuation largely, or completely, ignored in manuscript documents). Large letters are almost always purely ornamental and occur in a range of sizes that often defeats any attempt to represent them consistently.

Abbreviations are resolved with italic characters. I have modernized word division except where separation would produce truncated forms as in R4 151r35 “questorbaron”; in such cases I found the apostrophe the most convenient solution “qu’estorbaron.” Within the text and in the list of variants, parentheses “()” enclose editorial deletions and square brackets “[]” editorial additions; if the deletions and additions are scribal a caret “^” appears inside the opening parenthesis or bracket. The very few notes in the margins of the manuscript appear enclosed in slashes “/ /.” Double slashes “//” represent those that appear in the manuscript, added after it had been written, to signal important sections of the text; the function of these double slashes often duplicates that of the marginal checks or cues which I have represented with “¶.” The lines of each manuscript page have been numbered to facilitate location of passages referred to in the introduction and notes, and, indeed, comparison to the original (some of these criteria are adapted from those promulgated in Mackenzie 1986).

RELACIÓN CIERTA Y VERDADERA

Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 22, ramo 4, ff. 151r/107r-158v/114v
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[fol. 151r/107r]

¶ Relación cierta y verdadera de los subcesos que vuo | en la entrada que hizo el adelantado y
gouernador don Juan de | Oñate en nonbre de su magestad, desde estas primeras poblaciones del
|Nueuo Mexico hazia la parte del norte, en este año de mill y |5 seiscientos y vno.

¶ // Con particular cuidado, digo, acuerdo y consejo, assi de *nuestro padre* co- | missario fray
Juan d'Escalona y de los demas padres | que rresiden en estos rreynos en la ocupacion y
ministerio | de las almas, como tambien de los oficiales del |10 rreal exerçito que su magestad
tiene en ellos, auiendo precedido mu- | chas rrogatiuas, sufraxios y sacrificios y oraçiones a Dios
nuestro señor | para que su magestad diuina rrebelase su diuina voluntad, sabiendo que la | de
nuestro muy catolico rrey y señor don Felipe, a quien Dios guarde | ynfinitos años, a sido y es que
en estos rreynos suyos se publique el san- |15 tissimo nonbre de Dios y su sagrado evangelio se
predique a estas | barbaras naçiones poseydas del poder del enemigo del vmanal | linage Satanas,
// se determino el gouernador y adelanta- | do don Juan de Oñate hazer vna entrada desde el
puesto destas | primeras poblaciones, donde al presente esta poblado este rreal de su |20
magestad, a la tierra adentro por la derrota y rrunbo del norte, assi por | las noticias grandiosas
que los naturales desta tierra dauan, como por | lo que vn yndio que habla la lengua mexicana
nacido y criado en | la Nueva España llamado Jusepe bio yendo en conpañia del cappitan |
Vmaña, y dispuestas las cosas mas nessesarias para ella y la copia de |25 bastimentos y armas,
municiones y los demas pertrechos belicos que | heran menester, con numero de mas de setenta
hombres escoxidos | para el biaje, todos muy bien adereçados, y mas de seteçientos caua- | llos y
mulas y seis carros de mulas y dos que lleuauan quatro pieças de | artilleria y l[o]s tiraban bueyes,
co[n] la gente de seruicio para lleuar |30 el vagaje que bastaua, se començo el biaje este año de
mill | y seiscientos y vno, yendo por cabeça del el sobredicho adelan- | tado don Juan de Oñate,
gouernador y cappitan general, y por su maese de canpo | y sargento mayor Viçente de Çalduar
Mendoça y dos rreligiosos de | la horden de *nuestro padre san Francisco*, fray Francisco de
Velasco saçerdote y |35 fray Pedro de Uergara frayle lego, y por causas qu'estorbaron no poder
salir toda | la gente junta, fue forçosso que vnos saliesen primeros que otros a vn | puesto
acomodado adonde todos se juntasen y los primeros salieron deste | rreal de *san Gabriel* a
v[^einte] y tres del mes de junio, vispera del | benditissimo precursor *san Juan Bautista*, y
auiendo caminado quatro dias, [fol. 151v/107v] llegaron a el puesto o pueblo que llaman
Galisteo, que es vno de | los destas primeras poblaciones, y en el se junto en çinco o seis dias la |
mayor parte de la gente y de alli començo a marchar por la parte del | oriente y avnque la
dificultad de vna sierra grande que auia |5 dos leguas deste puesto se oponia para temer la
tuuie[se]n los ca- | rros, fue *nuestro señor* seruido de bencerla con abrir camino por donde
pasaron | muy bien. Auiendo andado çinco dias llegamos todos a vn rrio | de claras y apaçibles
aguas, muy poblado de arboledas frescas de | algunas frutas y mucho y muy buen pescado, y por

llegar a el la vis- |10 pera del doctor y serafico *san* Buena Ventura, le pusimos por nonbre rrio | de san Buena Ventura y otro dia pasamos adelante por vnos llanos es- | paçiosos y muy abundantes de pastos a otro rrio que llaman de los Bagres | y con rrazon por los muchos que en el ay y despues de auerse rre- | formado la caballada, proseguimos nuestro biaje llevando sienpre el |15 oriente por nuestra guia y en tres dias llegamos a otro rrio que le pusimos | por nonbre de la Madalena por auerle tomado en su dia y avnque | al principio no parecio bien por auerle visto en parte [^donde] yba aoçinado | entre vnas peñas y ser poco apaçibles sus rriberas por esta ocassion, | otro dia y los demas que por el andubimos, le hallamos tan berde, apaçible |20 y aconpañado de viñas por todas partes y otras frutas que conocimos | claro ser vno de los buenos rrios que auiamos visto en todas | las Yndias. Aqui nos salieron vnos yndios de la naçion llamada Apachi | con muestras de paz. Regalolos tanto el gouernador y la demas gente | que con el benian que les obligo, abiendo benido pocos al prinçipio a bernos, |25 a que a poco rrato biniesen hombres y mugeres y niños a nuestro rreal, | confirmando, con lebanar las manos al sol que es la cerimonia que e- | llos vsan de amistad, la *nuestra*, trayendonos de vna frutilla negra | y amarilla de que ay mucha en todo aquel rrio, del tamaño de | vnos tomatillos, que tenia tanto de gustosa como de sana porque |30 con comerse a cargas a nadie hizo mal. Despedimoslos con gusto y lle- | bandole de la gran mejora de la tierra que cada dia biamos, pasamos a- | delante siguiendo las corrientes deste rrio y aunque se nos ofreçie- | ron vnas bocas de peña medio ataxada, que son las que diuiden las | serranias desta tierra entrando en los llanos que se llaman Çibola o Çebola, |35 que para pasar los carros pusieron en cuidado, con la buena diligençia de | los buenos soldados que yban con ellos, pasaron este tranco tan dificul- | toso muy bien y salieron a vnos muy espaçiosos y apaçibles llanos, | donde cassi no se bia ninguna [serrania] como las pasadas y sabiendo de [fol. 152r/108r] la guia que lleuauamos que toda la tierra era ya llana, co- | men[ça]mos a caminar con mas priesa y contento, auendonosle dado la | llegada del maese de canpo con la demas gente que quedaua atras, | con que pasamos adelante arrimados sienpre al rrio y avnque |5 este dia nos estoruo la jornada vn reçissimo aguaçero tal qual les | suelen caer muy de hordinario por aquellos llanos, el siguiente | y los demas fuimos caminando badeando algunas vezes el rrio por | muy buenos bados. Cada dia hera mejor la tierra por donde ybamos y el | rregalo de mucho pescado del rrio alibiaba mucho el trauajo del |10 camino y no era menor el de las frutas y en particular de çirueltas de | çient mill maneras y diferençias, tan saçonadas buenas y dulçes como | las que se dan y crian en guertos muy rregalados en nuestra tierra, | y es la bondad della[s] tanta que aunque se comieron a millaradas, nunca hi- | zieron a ninguna persona daño. Los arboles heran pequeños pero su fruto |15 hera mas que sus hojas y la cantidad del tan grande que en mas de | çiento y çinquenta leguas casi ningun dia dexo de auer montes dellos | ni de parras ni biñas que avnque yncultas, en muchas partes dauan muy | dulçes y sabrosas vbas. |

¶ Yba con esto la gente muy alentada y gustosa y como a buenos soldados |20 y deseosos de seruir a Dios *nuestro señor* y a su *magestad*, no los desmayo la ausençia | de quatro o çinco soldados cobardes que como bisoños les espanto el tra- | uajo de la soldadesca y le bolbieron las espaldas quando mas viuas | yban las esperanças de ver cosas grandiosas porque la tierra | las prometia, y por yr cada dia baxando parecia mas caliente y sin duda |25 lo era que la de las poblazones de donde salimos. Era forçosso algunas | vezes apartarnos del rrio prinçipal por buscar passo a los carros y a- | vnque te[m]iamos la falta de agujajes *para* el ganado, son tantos

los *que* | ay en toda esta tierra que a tres o quatro leguas en todo el biaje | huuo sienpre aguas
 suficientes para el ganado y la gente y en muchas |30 partes heran de manantiales de muy buenas
 aguas y arboledas. Topamos en | algunos parajes gente rrancheada de la naçion apache que es la
 que | poseen estos llanos y sin tener lugar ni sitio propio o señalado se anda | con el quel ganado
 muda, siguiendole sienpre. No tuuimos della nin- | gun alboroto con estar en su tierra ni huuo
 yndio que se desmandase |35 a hazernos perjuizio en cosa, merced que Dios *nuestro señor* quiso
 hazernos, | con que no cesauamos de alabarle y darle mill gracias, en cuyo rre- | conoçimiento
 toda la mas de la gente procuro disponer las cosas de | su conçeñcia y alma, y lleuandonos Dios
nuestro señor el dia de la Por- [fol. 152v/108v] sinqula qu'es a dos de agosto a vn paraje que de
 atras tenia por non- | bre el rrio de *san* Françisco, con particularissima devoçion del ben- |
 ditissimo confesor, confesaron y comulgaron los mas del exercito, | y pasando adelante el dia del
 glorioso lebita y martir *san* |5 Laurençio fue Dios seruido se començase a ver el mostruosissimo |
 ganado de Cibola y avnque ligerissimo, se mataron este dia qua- | tro o cinco toros con que fue
 muy particular el rreguçixo del, | y el siguiente pasando adelante, parecian ya atajos grandes de
 toros | y vacas y de alli adelante fue tanta la multitud que biamos *que* se |10 puede creer mal si no
 se ve, porque al juizio de todos los que yba- | mos en el exerçito, todos los mas dias por
 dondequiera que ybamos | se via tanto ganado como ay en las mayores estanças de la | Nueva
 España y su ma[n]sedunbre era tanta que las mas vezes | si no le corrian o espantauan, se estaua
 quedo y no huya. Es muy buena |15 la carne deste ganado y aventaxadissima a la de nuestras
 vacas | y todo el a vna mano es muy gordo y en particular las vacas y cassi to- | das tienen
 muchissima manteca y por expiriencia bimos que ni en[p]a- | laga como la *nuestra* ni de ninguna
 manera es dañosa. Es todo el ganado de | vn color pardo y por cosa de gran marauilla en tanta
 multitud de |20 ganado se bio vn toro blanco. Es espantable su figura y tanto que no se | dexa
 entender otra cosa sino que es de mezcla de diuersos anima- | les. Los toros y las vacas son
 yndiferentemente xibados y corcobados por | todo el [l]omo hasta ençima de los braçuelos y
 avnque en todo el | cuerpo tienen mucha lana, en la corcoba desde la mitad del cuerpo |25 hasta
 [^toda] la cabeça, pechos y braços, hasta ençima de la rrodilla, es mu- | cha mas la que tienen y
 tan amorosa y blanda que se podria hilar y | texer como la de las obejas castellanas. Es ganado
 muy brabo. | Es sin conparaçion mayor que el *nuestro*, avnque al parecer parece peque- | ño y
 causa esto el ser corto de pies y manos. El cuero es del gro- |30 sor del *nuestro* ganado y son los
 yndios naturales tan grandes maestros | de adobarlos que los buelben tan amorosos como blandas
 gamuças y ca- | ssi todos sin diferençia andan bestidos dellos. Esta todo este rrio | por todas
 partes pobladissimo deste ganado y de otro no de menor | admiraçion de vnos benados tan
 grandes como grandes cauillos que |35 andan en manadas de duçientos y treçientos y su
 disformidad haze | dudar si sean benados v otros animales. |

¶ Aviendo andado hasta este paraje çiento y onze leguas, fue | forçoso dexar el rrio por parecer
 adelante algunos medanos | de arena y desbiandonos de la *parte* oriental a la del norte, |40
 caminamos por vn arroyuelo arriba hasta descubrir vnos [fol. 153r/109r] grandes llanos cubiertos
 de ynumerable numero de ganado, | yendo sienpre descubriendo mejor camino y tierra tal que sin
 ningun | ynpedimento o trauajo yban por el los carros y avnque se ofre- | çian algunas grandes
 barrancas y quebradas, que cerros por *ninguna* |5 *parte* los auia, por la que los carros auian de
 passar hera toda llana | y muy andable. Lleuonos por esta derrota algunos dias y en dos rria- |

chuelos pequeños que corrian como el de atras hazia el oriente, | perdio algo el tino que lleuaua y no nos espanto mucho por ser la tierra | tan llana que cada dia se perdia la gente en ella apartandose muy poco |10 de nosotros y asi fue forçosso que de algunos parajes se fuese a rrastror por | la tierra, con que fue el rreal marchando por el camino mas | derecho que auia y para asegurarnos mas, acordo el gouernador y ade- | lantado de ynbiar el maese de canpo adelante con algunos conpañe- | ros y con la buena estrella que en todo tiene, muy en brebe dio la buelta |15 con auer hallado mucho rrastror de gente y la tierra llena de pastos | *que* hera lo que mas cuidado daua por auer auido algunos dias fal- | ta dellos y que en muchas leguas no auia en los campos sino flores | de mill maneras tan espesas que aogauan los pastos y deuia de comerlas el | ganado desta tierra mejor que el nuestro, porque donde las auia |20 hera mucha la multitud del. Fue grande el rreçoixo que a | todos dio esta buena nueua por lo que se deseaua y con el aperçuimiento | y cuidado que el maese de canpo como tan buen soldado tenia sienpre | en las cosas de la guerra, hizo prebenir su gente y hordenalla | para qualquiera subcesso que pudiese ofrezerse. Yendo todos juntos pro- |25 seguimos nuestro biaje y camino y llegamos a vn rriachuelo de | poca agua pero de tanta arboleda que sus rriberas pareçian montañas es- | pesas. Aqui hallamos muchos nogales cargados de nuezes que heran cassi tan | buenas como las de nuestra tierra y los arboles mas altos y copados y | tan llena la tierra de pastos que no se pareçia. Auiendo dormido vna noche |30 en este apaçible puesto, pasamos otro dia a otro, tres leguas distante | deste, donde corria vn rrio de mas agua que el pasado y mucho | pescado y de mas arboleda, assi de nogales como de rroble y de otras made- | ras de estimaçion. Hera la tierra mejor que la que hasta aqui | auiamos visto y tan buena que todos dixeron no auerla visto |35 mejor en su vida. El ganado hera tanto que no podia numerarse y de | toda caça auia gran multitud, perdiçes de castilla, gallinas, be- | nados y liebres. Desde este puesto bolbio a explorar la tierra el maese de | campo y auiendo caminado tres leguas, descubrio vna rrancheria grande | de mas de çinco mill almas y avnque la gente hera belicossa como |40 despues pareçio y al prinçipio se començo a poner en horden de [fol. 153v/109v] querer pelear, con señales de paz entendieron que no eramos | gente de guerra y se hizieron tan amigos nuestros que algunos dellos | binieron aquella noche a *nuestro rreal* y nos la entretubieron bien con las | grandiosas noticias que nos dieron de la gente que auia adelante, |5 con cuya rrelaçion en amaneyendo otro dia, marchó todo el rreal | por esta buena tierra, çercada por vna parte y otra de rrios fres- | quissimos y agradables arboledas, y a las tres de la tarde lle- | gamos vn tiro de arcabuz desta rrancheria y en vnos charcos | que alli auia paramos con el rretrato y aperçuimiento que conbenia y |10 de alli fue el gouernador y los rreligiosos con mas de treinta | soldados armados, hombres de a cauallo, a rreconocer la gente | y rrancheria y toda en buen horden puesta delante de sus rranchos, co- | mençaron a leuantar las palmas de las manos hazia el sol que es | la señal de paz entre ellos y asegurandoles nosotros de que la queria- |15 mos, lleuó toda la gente de mugeres y niños, grandes y chiquitos, | adonde estauamos y consintieron que viesemos sus rranchos que | heran todos de rrama de mas de estado y medio, puestos en çircuito | y algunos tan anchos que tenian nouenta pies de latitud. Auia en | los mas dellos puestos cueros adobados *que* los hazian pareçer tien- |20 das. No hera gente que senbraba ni cogia y solo del ganado se susten- | taua. Regianse y gouernauanse por capitanes y como gente de | beetria los obedecian poco. Tenian gran cantidad de cueros que rre- | bueltos al cuerpo les [ser]bian de bestido, avnque por ser el tiempo ca- | liente andauan cassi todos desnudos los hombres y las mugeres bestidas |25 de la çintura abaxo. Vsauan

yndiferentemente arcos y flecha[s] | de que heran muy diestros. Aqui supimos qu'esta naçion traya guerra | con la gente qu'estaua ocho leguas de aqui la tierra adentro poblada y el | entender ellos que nosotros ybamos a tomar bengança de la muerte | de los españoles que auian entrado con Vmaña, deuio de ser oca- |30 sion para que la tomasen de achacarsela a sus enemigos y dezir- | nos que ellos los auian muerto y pensando que ybamos a solo esto, rre- | cibieron mucho contento y se ofreçieron a yr en *nuestra* conpañia y sin po- | derlo estoruar por no causar en ellos alboroto lo hizieron y nos | guiaron hasta vn rrio qu'esta seis o siete leguas deste paraje, |35 de admirables rriberas y aunque llanas, tan montuosas que sus ar- | boledas hazian espessisimos y anchos montes. Aqui hallamos vna fru- | tilla del tamaño de peruetanos o chicoçapotes amarilla de muy buen | gusto. El rrio tenia mucho y muy buen pescado y avnque por algunas | partes tenia buenos bados, por otra hera profundissimo y podian andar |40 muy bien barcos. Sus corrientes yban derechas a el oriente [fol. 154r/110r] y sus aguas heran sabrosas y dulçes. Hera aqui la tierra gruesa | y mejor mucho que la pasada con ser tan buena. Los pastos estauan | tan creçidos que en muchas partes cubrian vn cauallo. Los yndios | *que* benian con nosotros en este puesto hizieron con gran presteza |5 en muy pocas oras vna rrancheria tan fundada como la de atras, | que no causo poca admiraçion en todos, con animo de aguardar | alli el subçesso de *nuestro* biaje o de aguardarnos a nosotros con mala | yntençion como despues pareçio, quando quitaron el belo a la suya des- | bergonçandose a hazernos guerra. Deste paraje salimos otro dia y apartan- |10 donos del rrio por vnos apaçibles llanos, auiendo andado quatro leguas, | començamos a descubrir gente que pareçia en vnos visos que en vna | loma hazia. Avnque, enemiga desta naçion, se adelanto conbidandonos | a batalla y guerra lebandando alaridos y hechando tierra en alto | que es la señal que en toda esta se vssa de pregonar cruel guerra, nos |15 aguardaron de paz treçientas o quatrocientas personas y por | las señas que los vnos a los otros pudieron hazer, huuo seguro | della y estandolo, alguna desta gente se lleo a nosotros y hechando | algunas quenteçuelas que trayan al cuello en los nuestros, se nos dieron por | amigos y nos conbidaron a que fuesemos a sus casas y aquel dia por ser tarde |20 no pudo ser esto y fue forçosso [??] a la orilla del rrio grande llamado | el rrio de *san Francisco*, cuyas orillas por esta parte estauan | vistossisimas y llenas de morales y otros arboles frutales de | gran gusto. Mucha fue la gente que yba y benia a vernos cada rrato, | trayendo algunas maçorcas de mayz que fueron las primeras que |25 vimos en esta buena tierra y vnos panes rredondos tan grandes como | vnas adargas de tres o quatro dedos de grueso, hechos del mesmo ma- | yz. Toda aquella noche estuuimos con el cuidado y rrecato que hera *nessesario* | y otro dia la gente que se nos auia dado por amiga amanuçio en *nuestra* | rretaguardia en muy gran multitud, hechando mas rretos |30 que pudiera vn Roldan contra la otra naçion, aguardando su lance | para hazerle en ellos, y tomando nueva notiçia de la tierra, nos la | dieron de que en esta auian muerto a los españoles, çercandolos con | fuego y abrasandolos a todos y que vno que auia escapado tullido | del fuego le tenian consigo, y tomado consejo y parezer de lo que |35 en negoçio tan ynportante se haria, se acordo de prender algunos yndios | ansi para que fuesen nuestras guias como *para* verificar lo que sus ene- | migos deçian y fue en tan buena coyuntura que açerto d'estar alli | la cabeça o *cappitan* dellos a quien ellos llaman "catarax" y como gente | mas conçertada, quieta y poblada, hera notable cosa ver como le obe- |40 deçian y seruian y basta por prueua desto que pudiendose al- [fol. 154v/110v] borotar con su prission, no lo hizieron solo por auerles hecho señal | que se rretirasen. Lleuamosle con nosotros, haziendole el buen tratamiento | que hera justo y por proseguir nuestro

yntento pasamos el rrio por | vn muy buen bado y auiendo andado media legua, llegamos a vna |5 poblazon de mas de mill y duçientas casas, todas asentadas a la orilla | de otro rrio no pequeño que benia a juntarse con el grande. Heran todas | rredondas de orcones de madera ceñidos con baras y por la parte | de fuera cubiertas hasta el suelo de paxa y dentro tenian por | los lados vnos cañiços que le[s] serbian de camas o barbacoas en que dor- |10 mian y las mas dellas hera[n] tan grandes que cabian en ellas ocho | o diez personas. Heran de dos lanças en alto y todas tenian vn sobrado | o açotea que les deuia de seruir para el verano, de vn estado de | alto, donde cabian tres o quatro personas y entrauan en el por vna | porteçuela de paxa bien a proposito para tomar el ayre. Subian a este |15 alto por vna escalera lebadiça de madera y no auia ninguna cassa que | no la tuuiese. Hallamos despoblado el pueblo todo y no de mayz que | tenia mucho y muy bueno y esto fue ocassion para que la gente enemiga qui- | siese saquearlo, pero no se les consintio de ninguna manera ni que hi- | ziesen mas daño que llevar algun poco de mayz, con que los despidio el gouernador |20 y mando espressamente se fuesen a su rancheria. Hizieronlo assi y no- | sotros nos destr[a]yimos vn dia en este agradable puesto, lleno | de todas partes de millpas y sementeras de los yndios y las cañas | de mayz heran tan altas como las de la Nueva España y en muchas partes | mayores. La bondad de la tierra era tanta que con acabarse de |25 coxer en ella el mayz, auia otro naçido de vn jeme y todo en vna | mesma tierra sin otro benefiço en mucha parte della ni otra labor | mas que arrancada la yerua y hecho vn oyo donde senbraban el | mayz. Auia muchos frisoles y algunas calabaças y entre las sementeras | algunos çiruelos y los frutos no eran de rriego sino de ten- |30 poral, que segun vimos deuen de ser certissimos los de aquella tierra por- | que por el mes de octubre llouia como en la Nueva España por el de | agosto. Tuuose por sin duda que tocua en tierra caliente y ansi la gente | que vimos anda[ua] desnuda avnque vsaua de cueros. Como los o- | tros yndios rrancheados, partiçipan del ganado en gran multitud |35 y es yncreyble lo que ay en toda aquella tierra. Aqui tomamos nueva | notiçia del yndio que pareçia de los caçiques o señores della | de lo que auia adelante y nos la dio de que el rrio arriba auia muchisima | gente poblada como esta y que a vn lado auia otro rrio caudalosso que | se diuidia en seis o siete braços y que por todos ellos abitauan muchedunbre |40 de gente y que la que Vmaña auia traydo se le auian muerto [fol. 155r/111r] diez y ocho jornadas deste paraje. Confirmamos estos yndios con otros que de la | rancheria auian quedado en nuestra conpañia y sin discrepar vn punto de- | çian lo mesmo, añadiendo que tambien el rrio abaxo, yendo de- | rechos a el oriente, estaua todo poblado de gente y ansi nos persuadian a |5 que por ningun casso pasasemos adelante, diçiendo que la gente que se | auia rretirado desta poblaçion era para conbocar dentro de tercero dia | a sus amigos que heran tantos que en vn dia natural no acabarian de salir | de sus casas y que sin duda, siendo nosotros tan pocos, nos acabarian muy en | brebe sin que escapase persona y avnque esto nos puso espuelas para pa- |10 sar adelante, biendo otro dia que auiamos andado tres leguas y | todo por poblado y que la caseria se continuaba mas y sabiendo de çierto | la gran junta de gente que nos esperaua, fue forçoosso tomar parecer de lo | que se auia de hazer y viendo que los cauillos y mulas con las muchas | leguas yban cansados y fatigados y quel prinçipal yntento de nuestro bia- |15 je se auia conseguido y que su magestad seria mas seruido en saber las grande- | zas desta tierra para dar el horden mas nessesario para su rreal seruiço y açe- | leraçion del bien destas almas y que hera temeridad, donde heran nessesarias | mas de treçientas personas, pasar adelante las pocas que ybamos y se determino | entre todos meter vna petiçion ante el gouernador y adelantado, rre- |20 pressentandole las causas justas que concurrían

para no pasar adelante, sini- | ficandole quanto mayor seruiçio hera el que se hazia a su *magestad*
en | darle auisso de la bondad de la tierra y de la mucha gente, de la rriqueza | del ynumerable
ganado tan sin numero que solo basta a enriquezer millones | de hombres con sebo, manteca y
corambre, de la buena dispusiçion *para* poblar mu- |25 chas poblaciones de ynportancia con la
obra grande de todos los materiales nesse- | sarios *para* ellas y sobre todo, de la grande
ynportançia que auia de que el rrey | *nuestro seõor* supiese lo que tanto se a deseado saber en todo
el mundo con preste- | za *para* que [la] huuiese en poner por obra lo que su *magestad* mandase y
avnque [a] | buen animo y balor del *gouernador* pareçio cosa dura [e] hizo notable sentimiento
|30 por ynterrupir su biaje, vista la justifiçacion de lo que se pedia en *nonbre* de | su *magestad*,
lo concedio auiendo andado hasta este puesto mas de duçientas y *veinte* | leguas. Dispusieronse
luego las cosas diferentemente *para* dar la buelta por | lo que ynportaua la brebedad en ella y
llegando a el puesto de donde el dia antes | auiamos salido, que hera el desta primera poblazon,
bien desymaxinados de la |35 trayçion, hallamos en el a los yndios que al prinçipio se nos auian
dado por a- | migos bueltos crueles enemigos y trincheados en las mismas casas y aperçebi- | dos
en ellas *para* poner en execuçion su mal yntento y siendo tan contrario | a el *nuestro* el suyo, se
adelanto media legua el maese de canpo con vna | dozena de conpañeros sin prebenir la malicia a
rreconocer la tierra y en lle- |40 gando adonde estaua la gente, dexaron de salirle con muestras de
paz | y puestos en ala, començaron a çercarle a el y a sus conpañeros con [fol. 155v/111v] arcos y
flechas en las manos y como tan buen soldado no les dio lugar a esto, | porque rretirandose con
buen horden salio de entre ellos sin mas daõo de | sacar vn cauallo v dos flechados. Vista la
trayçion y que hera fuerça | pasar por donde ellos estauan o muy çerca, mando el *gouernador* se
aperçibiese |5 toda la gente de cauillos de armas, que en sus personas sienpre lo yban, y hor- |
denandoles su maese de canpo lo que auian de hazer, marchó el *rreal* | todo adelante con expresso
mandato de que todos entrasen de paz, pues | no yban a hazer daõo a nadie y avnque todos lo
hizieron y entraron con | la seõal que ellos vsaban que hera lebanar las manos en alto en seõal de
paz, |10 ellos que querian mas la guerra la començaron con grandissima furia, ofre- | çiendo de
primera ystançia mas de mill y quinientas personas que puestos | en horden en media luna,
arremetieron con gran balor e ynpito y biendo | el *gouernador* que no çessaua el suyo y la
flecheria hera muchissima y *que* | no hazian por seõas, la hizo a su gente de que se defendiesen y
traua- |15 da la batalla de anbas partes, quiso Dios *nuestro seõor* hazer la nuestra, | que sin este
socorro fuera cassi ynposible segun multiplicaua la gente, | y mostrando los balientes soldados
sobrado balor y esfuerço, a poco rrato | rretiraron el golpe de la gente, matando y yriendo
muchos, a vnas | peñas qu'estauan sobre vn arroyo, sin que de la nuestra huuiese mas de |20 dos
soldados heridos, pero prosiguiendose la batalla y enbrabeçidos | los yndios mas que al prinçipio,
la sustentaron mas de dos oras con gran- | dissimo balor y avnque a costa suya, pues prouaron el
de nuestra naçion | española y al cauo deste tienpo, aunque la mayor parte de nuestra gente | salio
herida sin ninguna herida de rriesgo, biendo el gran barba- |25 rismo de *nuestros* enemigos y que
los muertos heran muchos y no heran | parte *para* espantarlos y dexar de hazernos rrostro, mando
el adelanta- | do y *gouernador* que se rretirase su gente y soltandoles algunas mugeres | que auian
presso los soldados, no consintio se les hiziese mas daõo, sacando | solos algunos muchachos a
petiçion de los rreligiosos *para* ynstruyrlos en |30 las cosas de nuestra *santa ffee* catolica y vn
yndio que las de toda esta tierra | pudiese dar notiçia. Con esto nos bolbimos a dormir a el *rreal* y
curada la gente, | otro dia caminamos con el cuidado que sienpre y en çinquenta y nueue dias |

llegamos a este rreal de | *san Grauiel*, auiedo gastado en todo el biaje desde *veinte* y tres de junio hasta |35 veinte y quatro de nouienbre. Fueron muy bien los carros hasta las pobla- | zones y segun la dispusicion de la tierra, puderian pasar hasta la mar | del norte que no es pusible estar muy lexos, porque algunos yndios tra- | yan conchas en la frente traydas della. Dios nuestro *señor* sea por todo bendito y | quiera açelerar el rremedio de tantas almas y se duela desta tierra para |40 que en ella se publique su santissimo euangelio y en ella se rremedien | muchos pobres que segun lo que hemos visto, a de ser rrefuxio [fol. 156r/112r] dellos y enriquezer a muchos. |

/Auto/ ¶ // En el pueblo de *san Grabiél* de la Nueva Mexico el *señor* | don Juan de Oñate, *gouernador cappitan general* y adelantado deste rreyno de la Nueva | Mexico, // dixo que por quanto su *señoría* salio deste rreal para hazer |5 la jornada de la gran poblazon qu'esta hazia la parte del norte en | la qual tardo çinco meses de yda y buelta y a la yda para poder dar *quenta* | de todo lo que se descubriese o subcediese al rrey *nuestro señor* y a quien con- | biniese, // encomendo el hazer la rrelaçion de suso a persona de mucha fide- | lidad y confiança, el qual la hizo y para que se bea y entienda si lo en ella con- |10 tenido es verdad o si ay que quitar o añadir para que con mas çerteça se de | a su *magestad* aviso, // mando que a todas las personas que fueron con su *señoría* a | la dicha jornada se les lea, los quales con juramento aclaren si es verda- | dera y esto hecho proueer a lo que convenga y asi lo mando y firmo; | ffecho a catorze de dizienbre de mill y seisçientos y vn años, don |15 Juan de Oñate, ante mi Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, *secretario*. |

¶ // En este dicho dia el dicho *señor gouernador* // pidio a el *rreuerendo* | padre fray Francisco de Velasco, guardian del conuento deste pueblo | y comissario que fue en la dicha jornada, // y al padre fray Pedro de Uergara lego, | que ansi mismo [fue] a la dicha jornada, que declaren conforme del auto de |20 arriba y en conformidad dello, el dicho fray Francisco de Velasco | juro, poniendo la mano en el pecho yn berbo sacerdot[is] como es costunbre, | y el dicho fray Pedro de Vergara por Dios y por vna cruz en forma de *derecho* | y prometieron de dezir verdad y auiedo visto la rrelaçion | de suso toda ella, // dixeron qu'es todo lo qu'esta en ella verdad y lo que paso |25 y vieron en la jornada que hizieron con el *señor gouernador* y no ay | en ella cosa viçiossa por auer pasado todo lo en ella contenido y lo fir- | mo el dicho *rreuerendo padre* fray Francisco de Velasco y no firmo el | dicho fray Pedro de Bergara por no saber y esto dixeron con *licencia* del muy | *rreuerendo padre* fray Juan de Escalona su comissario *general*, la qual les dio en mi |30 presençia de que doy ffee, fray Francisco de Velasco, ante mi | Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, *secretario*. |

¶ // En este dicho dia, mes y año dicho, auiedo mandado el dicho | *señor gouernador* que todos los capitanes y soldados que con el fueron a la | dicha jornada se junten y estando juntos todos, yo el presente *secretario* |35 ley toda esta rrelaçion de berbo ad berbun y les pregunte si era ver- | dadera porque lo auian de jurar y todos juntos // dixeron que la dicha | rrelaçion en lo que toca a la notiçia de la mucha gente de a- | delante, estaua corta porque todos los yndios pintaron las poblazones en | esta forma, que siendo su rrancheria de mas de cinco o seis mill almas, [fol. 156v/112v] las señalaron haziendo vn çerco rredondo con diez y siete granos | de mayz y las poblazones de adelante en muchas dellas ponian | muchos granos de mayz en cada vna y en

particular pusieron a vna | setecientos y veinte granos de mayz que a la cuenta que todos o los
mas |5 de los que estauan pressentes les pareçio serian duçientas mill | personas o mas y esto en
sola vna de las muchas poblazo- | nes que señalauan, y esto dixeran faltar en la dicha rrela- | çion
y ser todo la verdad della y esto so cargo del juramento | que en fforma de derecho hizieron, y
que en los rrios |10 donde estaua esta gente auia mucha cantidad de çumaque | y otras cosas que
benefiçandose serian de mucho prouecho y | lo firmaron los que supieron, y por los que no, vn |
testigo, siendo testigo[s] a todo lo dicho el cappitan *Bartolome* | Romero y el capitan Alonso
Gomez Montesinos |15 y Alonso Naranjo e yo el dicho secretario que dello | doy ffee, Vicente de
[Ç]alduar Mendoça, Juan de Vitoria | Caruajal, Juan Moreno de la Rua, Gaspar Lopez de
Tauora, Juan | Martinez de Montoya, Bartolome Gonçalez de Almaguer, | don Pedro de Truxillo
Gallegos, Ffrancisco |20 Garçia, Juan Muñoz, Diego Martin de Gueuara, Juan de | Mallea,
Francisco Vido, don Xpistoual de Oñate, Pedro Ba- | rela, Juan de la Cruz, Simon de la Paz, Juan
| Rodriguez, Rodrigo Çapata, Miguel de Villauçiõ- | sa, Miguel Montero de Castro, Juan
Belarde, Alonso Nuñez |25 Hinojossa, Alonso Robledo, Juan Ranxel, Ffrancisco | Rascon, Juan
de Leon. Soy testigo Alonso Gomez Monte- | sinos, Balteçar Martinez Coxedor, Alonso
Sanchez, Y- | sidro Xuarez de Figueroa, ante mi Juan Gu- | tierrez Bocanegra, secretario; don
Juan de Oñate.

|30 ¶ E yo Juan Gutierrez de Bocanegra, cappitan por el | rrey *nuestro señor* y secretario de
gouernaçion deste rreyno, | fui pressente a lo que pareçiere firmado de mi nonbre | y de
mandamiento de el gouernador | que aqui firmo su nonbre, saque este treslado del |35 original
que queda en el archiuo de gouerna- [fol. 157r/113r] çion y va çierto y verdadero y en testimonio
de verdad | lo firme Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, secretario.

Variants and paleographic notes

(a full list of variants appeared in Craddock 1998; here only the more significant are retained)

R4 151r3-4 del | nueuo: R12 946r3 de la nueua
R4 151r7-8 padres (^comisario) | que: R12 946r5 padres que
R4 151r8 rresiden: R12 946r5 rresidian
R4 151r8-9 ministerio de (la | ocupacion de) las almas: R12 946r6 ministerio de las almas
R4 151r9 como tan bien (como) de los oficiales: R12 946r6 como tamuien de los oficiales
R4 151r18 hazer: R12 946r14 de hazer
R4 151r21 los naturales: R12 946r17 los yndios naturales
R4 151r25 bastimentos y armas municiones: R12 946r21 bastimentos armas y municiónes
R4 151r27 adereçados: R12 946r23 adrezados
R4 151r29 las tiraban: R12 946r25 los tirauan
R4 151r29 como: R12 946r25 con
R4 151r31 cabeça del el sobre dicho: R12 946r27 caueça de el dicho
R4 151r36 primeros: R12 946r32 primero

R4 151v1 llaman galisteo: R12 964v2 llaman de galisteo
R4 151v5 tuuieran: R12 946v6 tuuiesen
R4 151v8 de claras y apaçibles: R12 946v8 de vn claro y apaçibles
R4 151v9 y mucho: *om.* R12 946v9
R4 151v15 pusimos: R12 946v16 posimos
R4 151v16 madalena: R12 946v16 *magdalena*
R4 151v17 donde: *added above the line*
R4 151v17 aocinado: R12 946v18 oçinado
R4 151v24 les: R12 946v24 le
R4 151v25 a que a poco: R12 946v25 que ha poco
R4 151v27 la *nuestra*: *om.* R12946v27
R4 151v29 gustosa: R12 946v29 gusto
R4 151v34 que se llaman çibola: R12 946v34 que llaman de çibola
R4 151v38 serrania: *illegible in R4*

R4 152r5 les: R12 947r8 le
R4 152r11 y diferençias: R12 947r13 de diferençias
R4 152r17 yncultas: R12 947r20 ocultas
R4 152r20 la ausençia: R12 947r24 el *aussencia*
R4 152r21 les: R12 947r25 los
R4 152r22 le: *om.* R12 947r25
R4 152r23 yban las esperanças: R12 947r26 las esperanças yban
R4 152r27 teniamos: R12 947r30 temiamos
R4 152r32 poseen: R12 947r35 posee
R4 152r36 darle: R12 947v3 *om.* le

R4 152r38 lleuando: R12 947v5 llegando

R4 152v5 laurençio: R12 947v9 lorenzo

R4 152v5 seruido se: R12 947v9 seruido que se

R4 152v6 avnque ligerissimo: R12 947v10 aunque es ligerisimo

R4 152v7 rreguçixo del: R12 947v11 Regoçijo; *om.* del

R4 152v9 multitud: R12 947v13 moltitud

R4 152v12 se via: R12 947v16 salia

R4 152v13 masedunbre: R12 947v17 masedumbre

R4 152v17 experiencia: R12 947v21 espiriençia

R4 152v17-18 enla | laga: R12 947v22 enpalaga

R4 152v18 el ganado: R12 947v23 este ganado

R4 152v19 vn color: R12 947v24 vna color

R4 152v23, R12 947v27 como

R4 152v25 toda *added above the line*

R4 152v29-30 del gro- | sor del *nuestro*: R12 948r1 del grosor de *nuestro*

R4 152v31 de adobarlos que: R12 948r2 *om.* los

R4 152v31 gamuças: R12 948r3 camuças

R4 152v32 dellos: R12 948r4 dellas

R4 152v35 disformidad: R12 948r7 desformidad

R4 152v37 hasta (aste) este: R12 948r8 tras este

R4 153r1 llanos de cubiertos: R12 948r11 llanos cubiertos

R4 153r3 o trabajo: R12 948r13 y trabajo

R4 153r9 cada: R12 948r18 ca

R4 153r10 forcosso: R12 948r20 forçoso

R4 153r13 ynbiar el maese: R12 948r23 emuiar al maese

R4 153r15 con: R12 948r25 por

R4 153r17 sino: *om.* R12 948r28

R4 153r23 hordenalla: R12 948r34 ordenarla

R4 153r31 y mucho: R12 948v4 de mucho

R4 153r32 de rrobles: R12 948v5 de (^arboles) rrobles

R4 153r36 gallinas (^??)

R4 153v1 eramos: R12 948v16 hera

R4 153v4 adelante: R12 948v19 delante

R4 153v12 buen horden: R12 948v25-26 buena | orden

R4 153v23 çebian: R12 948v35 seruian

R4 153v34 vn rrio qu'esta: R12 949r7 vn rrio qu'estaua

R4 154r5 fundada: uncertain reading confirmed by R12 949r17

R4 154r12 conbidandonos: R12 949r25 conuidandos (*last letter uncertain*)

R4 154r16 que los vnos: R12 949r28 que (^por) los vnos
R4 154r17 llego: R12 949r29 llegaron
R4 154r19 y nos: *om.* y R12 949r31
R4 154r28 rretos: R12 949v2 rrectos
R4 154r32 çercandolos: R12 949v5 çercando çercandolos

R4 154v9 le serbian: R12 949v21 les seruian
R4 154v10 hera: R12 949v22 heran
R4 154v18 saquearlo: R12 949v30 saquearla
R4 154v19 algun poco: R12 949v31 vn poco
R4 154v21 destr?y mos: R12 949v33 detubimos
R4 154v21-22 lleno | de: R12 949v34 llenos por
R4 154v22 sementer as: R12 949v34 simenteras
R4 154v23 de mayz: R12 949v35 del maiz
R4 154v33 anda: R12 950r8 andaua
R4 154v25-26 y todo en vna | mesma tierra: R12 950r1 *om.* y todo
R4 154v29 y los frutos: R12 950r4 los fructos
R4 154v38 y que: R12 950r14 y de que
R4 154v39 abitauan: R12 950r16 hauia

R4 155r8 acabarian: R12 950r26 acauaria
R4 155r20-21 sini- | ficandole: R12 950v3 significandole
R4 155r22 tierra y: *om.* y R12 950v5
R4 155r23 millones: R12 950v6 millares
R4 155r28 que huuiese: R12 950v12 que la huuiese
R4 155r30 ynterrunpir: R12 950v14 ynterronper

R4 155v3 v dos: R12 950v30 o dos
R4 155v8 todos lo: R12 950v36 todo eso
R4 155v11 ystançia: R12 951r3 estancia
R4 155v12 ynpito: R12 951r5 ympitu
R4 155v14 defendiessen: R12 951r7 defendiese.
R4 155v16 segun: R12 951r9 sigun
R4 155v18 y yriendo: R12 951r13 e yriendo
R4 155v20 enbrabeçidos: R12 951r15 enbrabeçiendose
R4 155v32 y nueue: R12 951r32 e nuebe
R4 155v33 *dittography rreal* (y curada la gente caminamos con el cuidado) de: R12 951r32-33
rreal (y curada | la gente caminamos con el cuidado) de

R4 156r7 subçediese: R12 951v5 suçediese
R4 156r10 añadir: R12 951v9 añedir
R4 156r16: R12 951v17 *has in the left margin* Aclaraçion

R4 156r19 ansimismo a la: R12 951v20-21 ansimismo fue | a la
R4 156r21 yn berbo sacerdote: R12 951v23-24 yn | berbis sacerdotis
R4 156r35 de berbon: R12 951v41 de berbo
R4 156r39 o seis: R12 951v47 v seis

R4 156v4 veinte granos: R12 952r4 veinte y siete granos
R4 156v6 o mas: R12 952r7 y mas
R4 156v8 la verdad della: R12 952r9-10 la verdad | ella
R4 156v10 cumaque: R12 952r12 çumaque
R4 156v14 alonso: R12 952r16 antonio
R4 156v17 caruajal: R12 952r19 carauaxal
R4 156v21 ma(^??)llea: R12 952r23 mallea
R4 156v27 balteçar: R12 952r30 baltasar
R4 156v29 don juan de oñate: *om.* R12 952r32
R4 156v30 yo juan: R12 952r32 yo el dicho juan
R4 156v30 de bocanegra: *om.* de R12 952r33
R4 156v33 de el gouernador: R12 952r36 del *señor* gobernador
R4 156v35 original: R12 952r37 orexinal

R4 157r1 y va çierto: *om.* y R12 952r38
R4 157r2 firme juan: R12 952r39-40 firme don juan de oñate | juan

Commentary

These observations are designed to make the text accessible to all those capable of reading scholarly literature in Spanish, assuming they have armed themselves with a good dictionary. They should be aware of some “false friends” (words that have changed meaning considerably, or have lost meanings current in the Golden Age) that I do not comment on specifically below, e.g., R4 151r19 “rreal” ‘encampment, headquarters’, R4 151r20 “derrota” ‘route’ (not ‘defeat, rout’), R4 151r31 “cabeça” ‘chief, leader’; R4 151r33 “sargento mayor” was a more important rank than sergeant major, while R4 151r32 “maese de campo” was not so grand as a ‘field marshal’ (both terms are usually left untranslated). Naturally, further “false friends” will appear in the notes below. Some comments deal with linguistic and stylistic matters, and some with my efforts to make out as clearly as possible the meaning of the text. There remains an entire level of commentary that could and should be undertaken, since the notes that accompany the translations of Bolton 1916:250-67 and Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:746-60 are sparse indeed, dealing almost exclusively with matters of geography: at the very least, ethnography (almost nothing but a few sketchy tribal identifications occur in the translators’ annotations), but also botany (what are the fruits described in the passages R4 151v27-30 “trayendonos de vna frutilla negra y amarilla de que ay mucha en todo aquel rrio del tamaño de vnos tomatillos que tenia tanto de gustosa como de sana porque con comerse a cargas a nadie hizo mal” and R4 153v36-38 “aqui hallamos vna frutilla del tamaño de peruetanos o chicoçapotes amarilla de muy buen gusto,” which failed to excite the curiosity of the translators?), and Amerindian linguistics (can the term R4 154r38 “catarax” ‘chieftain’ be securely identified and analyzed in terms of some language spoken in Quivira?).

R4 151r6 “digo,” colloquially, ‘that is, I mean’: “With particular care, that is, agreement and advice...” (Bolton 1916:250).

R4 151r8-9 garbles this passage with two repetitions not present in R12 “en la ocupacion y ministerio (de la ocupacion) de las almas como tan bien (como) de los oficiales”; “ocupacion” has the sense of ‘taking possession’, i.e., in this context, ‘conversion’. Real Academia Española 1726-1739 [*Diccionario de autoridades*], s.v. *ocupar*: ‘tomar posesión o apoderarse de una cosa’. Bolton 1916:250 is off the track with “occupied with ministering to souls”; Hammond and Rey omit the passage.

R4 151r11 “rrogatias” ‘particularmente la oración pública hecha a Dios para conseguir el remedio de alguna grave necesidad, especialmente pública’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. *rogativa*); “sufraxios” (‘cualquier obra buena que se aplica por las almas de los difuntos’, id., s.v. *sufragio*); “sacrifiçios” (‘el [sacrificio] que hace el sacerdote en la misa’, id., s.v. *sacrificio*); i.e., the full panoply of propitiatory observances, scantily rendered in Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:746 “prayers and invocations.”

R4 151r12 “magestad diuina... diuina voluntad” repetition in a chiasmatic construction. Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:746, perhaps a bit impatient with such flourishes, pass over the first “diuina.”

R4 151r12-13: understand “que la [voluntad] de nuestro muy catolico rrey,” viz., Phillip III (1598-1621).

R4 151r14: “ynfinitos años” one can almost justify this hyperbole by imagining that the quantity expressed does not refer solely to the King’s terrestrial life; Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:746 translate “many years,” but observe how this betrays the tone of the original.

R4 151r14-15 “en estos rreynos suyos se publique... se predique a estas barbaras naçiones” elegant chiasmus: prepositional phrase + verb + subject / subject + verb + prepositional phrase.

R4 151r19 “el puesto” San Gabriel, named specifically below R4 151r38.

R4 151r24 “para ella” the antecedent is R4 151r18 “entrada.”

R4 151r26 “heran menester” ‘eran necesarios’.

R4 151r29 “las tiraban bueyes” the antecedent of “las” would have to be “quatro pieças de artilleria” rather than “dos [carros]”; it is no doubt a case of anacoluthon motivated by the proximity of the feminine plural “pieças.” I believe the reading is secure, but it is at times difficult to distinguish clearly between the word-final sequences “-os” and “-as.”

R4 151r33 until his death at the hands of the Acoma Indians (Simmons 1991:135), Juan de Zaldívar was “maese de campo”; his brother Vicente seems to have added that title to his own of “sargento mayor.”

R4 151v1-2 understand “vno de los [pueblos] destas primeras poblaçiones.”

R4 151v4-5 “avnque la dificultad... se oponia...” understand “avnque se oponia la dificultad...”

R4 151v5 “temer la tuuieran” with omission of the subordinating conjunction *que*; the antecedent of “la” is R4 151v4 “la dificultad.” R12 946v6 “tuuiesen” seems somewhat more in accord with the grammatical preferences of the time; R4 “tuuieran” in this construction seems to correspond to Modern Spanish *hubieran tenido*.

R4 151v6 “bencerla” the antecedent of “la” is R4 151v4 “la dificultad.”

R4 151v9-10 “la vispera de san Buena Ventura” Monday, July 13, the following day being the Saint’s feast. According to Bolton 1916:252, n. 1, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:747, n. 3, the “rrio de san Buena Ventura” is the Pecos.

R4 151v12 “otro rrio que llaman de los Bagres,” i.e., ‘catfish river’, the Gallinas (Bolton 1916:252, n. 2, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:747, n. 4).

R4 151v13-14 “rreformado” ‘arreglar, corregir, o poner en orden alguna cosa que se había deteriorado’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. *reformar*).

R4 151v15-16 “otro rrio... por nonbre de la Madalena” R12 946v16 “otro rrio... por nombre la Magdalena”; this would be the Canadian River (Bolton 1916:252, n. 3, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:747, n. 5). R4 “por auerle tomado en su dia” feast of Saint Mary Magdalene, Wednesday, July 22.

R4 151v17 “aocinado” = *ahocinado* ‘forced through a narrow gorge’, cf. *hoz* ‘angostura de un valle profundo’, cf. Corominas and Pascual 1980-1991, 3:408. Bolton 1916:252 trips here: “where it flowed sluggishly.” He was trying to make sense of “iba ocinado” in his transcript (p. 3), which corresponds to R12 946v18 “yba oçinado.”

R4 151v24-25 the construction is “que les obligo... a que a poco rrato biniesen.”

R4 151v26-27 the construction is “confirmando, ... la *nuestra* [amistad]” with rather baroque syntax. R12 omits the crucial phrase “la *nuestra*,” thereby confounding the translators Bolton 1916:252 “who ratified [the actions of the others] by raising their hands to the sun...” and Hammond and Rey 1953, 2: 747-48 “confirmed their peaceful dispositions by raising their hands to the sun...”. Rather “ratifying our [demonstrations of] friendship by raising their hands to the sun...”

R4 151v27 “trayendonos de vna frutilla” partitive use of the preposition *de*, i.e., ‘bringing us some fruit’, cf. below R4 152r30.

R4 151v30 “a cargas” *Diccionario de autoridades*, 2:173, 2d col., ‘con mucha abundancia y exceso’. “despedimoslos con gusto” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:748 “We took leave with a pleasant taste...” rather “we took leave of them [the Apaches] with pleasure,” though I admit the author appears to indulge in some word-play on the two meanings ‘good taste’ and ‘pleasure’, in view of the delicious fruit the Apaches had brought to the Spaniards. He continues “llebandole de la gran mejora de la tierra” where the pronoun “le” refers to “gusto,” i.e., “we took leave of them with pleasure, carrying off [further pleasure] over the great improvement in the terrain.”

R4 151v34 “Cibola o Çebola” Bolton 1916:253 prints “Cibola or Cebolo” in accordance with his transcript source (p. 3).

R4 151v32-35 the clause beginning with “aunque se nos ofrecieron” continues to “pusieron en cuidado,” followed by the main clause “con la buena diligencia...”

R4 151v33 “bocas de peña medio ataxada” cf. *Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. *boca*: ‘abertura, rotura y agujero grande’, with the examples “boca de la tierra, boca de cueva.” I would interpret this passage as “some openings of half-detached cliffs presented themselves which split the mountain chains of this country as one enters the plains called Cibola...” This description seems

so graphic that one ought to be able to identify the region with some assurance. Bolton 1916:252 “although upon entering the plains which they call Cibola... we encountered some openings of rocks half detached which the mountains of this land give off” misconstrues the gerund clause “entrando...” which here is part of a description of these rocky defiles, rather than of the progress of the expedition. The last part of the passage just quoted fails to match the text at all.

Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:748 misconstrue in another way, making the gerund clause the beginning of a new sentence: “we found our way almost blocked by rocks; these are the passes that separate the sierras of this land. At the entrance of the plains called Cibola...”

R4 151v35 “pusieron en cuidado” one would expect “nos pusieron en cuidado” ‘gave us concern’.

R4 151v36 “tranco” metaphor; *Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. ‘paso largo o salto’; Bolton 1916:253 translates “threshold,” which is indeed one of the meanings of the word, but I think less appropriate here.

R4 152r2-3 “con mas priesa y contento auendonosle dado la llegada” the antecedent of “le” is “contento.”

R4 152r5-6 “tal cual les suelen caer”:”les” refers ahead to “llanos.”

R4 152r6 understand “el siguiente [dia] y los demas [dias].”

R4 152r10 understand “el [rregalo] de las frutas.”

R4 152r11 “çient mill” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:748 “infinite”; perhaps the translators were making up for their earlier numerical caution (above R4 151r14), yet below (R4 152r13) their caution returns.

R4 152r11-12 “çient mill maneras y diferençias tan saçonadas buenas y dulces como...” R12 947r13-14 “çien mill maneras de diferençias...” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:748 distort this passage badly “infinite varieties... as different in flavor and quality as...”; rather “a hundred thousand types and varieties, as flavorful, good, and sweet as...”

R4 152r13, R12 947r15-16 “la bondad della”; I have emended “della[s]” to concord with R4 152r10, R12 947r13 “frutas,” but the author may have been thinking at the moment of the collective singular *la fruta*. “a millaradas” hyperbole, like R4 151v30 “aargas” ‘by the cart-load’; Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:748 “large quantities.” The translators seem at times to have been unable to accept the author’s quantitative expressions, even though “by the thousands” strikes me as perfectly good English.

R4 152r20 “la ausençia” R12 947r24 “el aussencia”; the latter variant is a vestige of the medieval and early modern Spanish usage whereby the feminine singular definite article took the form *el*

before any word beginning with a vowel (*el espada, el encina, etc.*).

R4 152r24 understand “y por yr [la tierra] cada dia baxando.”

R4 152r25 “lo era” the antecedent of “lo” is “caliente”; understand “la [tierra] de las poblazones.”

R4 152r26-27 “avnque tenemos la falta de agujes” R12 947r30 “aunque temiamos...”; Bolton (1916:253) has “we feared the lack of watering places...” on the basis of his transcript (p. 4) where the second hand that wrote in ink corrected “teniamos” as “temiamos” between the lines. Along the river the party could not have lacked for water, and they would have been concerned that upon leaving it they would have difficulty finding water holes. Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:749) compounded the error of the Bancroft transcription (while ignoring the emendation just mentioned) by elaborating the text as “where previously we had lacked sufficient water for the livestock.” “Previously” has no textual basis, and indeed there is no indication up to this point that the expedition lacked access to water.

R4 152r30 “heran de manantiales” partitive use of the preposition “de”; see above, R4 151v27.

R4 152r32-33 “la naçion apache que es la que poseen estos llanos” note the anacoluthon of singular subject and plural verb (*ad sensum* reaction to the collective meaning of “naçion”). Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:749) “masters of the plains” unnecessarily heighten the rhetoric of the passage.

R4 152r33 understand “se anda con el [sitio y lugar] quel ganado muda”? In this meaning (‘irse del lugar... en que se estaba’ (*Diccionario de autoridades, s.v. mudarse*) the verb is normally reflexive and construed with the preposition *de* (“mudarse de un lugar a otro”). “siguiendole siempre” the understood subject of the gerund is R4 152r31 “gente rrancheada de la naçion apache,” while the antecedent of “le” is “ganado,” not as Bolton 1916:253 has it “with the cattle always following them [the Apaches].”

R4 152r38-152v1 “porsinquila” R12 947v5 “porçincula” ‘*Porciuncula*’, i.e., the Porziuncola, a small church in Assisi that was the first center of the Franciscan order.

R4 152v2 “rrio de *san* Françisco” perhaps the Canadian River, according to Bolton 1916:254, n. 1, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:740, n. 7; if so, the party had returned to the same river they abandoned earlier, i.e., the “Madalena” R4 151v17.

R4 152v4 “el dia del glorioso lebita” the feast of St. Lawrence is August 10.

R4 152v5 “fue Dios seruido se començase” omission of the subordinating conjunction *que*, vs. R12 947v9 “que se començase.”

R4 152v6 the dangling predicative adjective “ligerissimo” refers to “ganado.”

R4 152v7 understand “el rreguçixo del [dia].”

R4 152v16 “a vna mano” ‘uniformly’. Cf. Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà, *Historia de la Nueva México* (Alcalá de Henares: Luys Martinez Grande, 1610), f. 150r, canto 17, vv. 90-91 “Y son [los bisontes] á vna mano tan ligeros, / Que corren mucho mas que los venados.”

R4 152v16-17 “cassi todas tienen muchissima manteca” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:750 omit this passage.

R4 152v17-18 understand “bimos que ni en[p]alaga como la *nuestra* [carne de vaca].”

R4 152v22 “los toros y las vacas son yndiferentemente xibados y corcobados” Bolton 1916:255 translates the adverb admirably “the bulls and cows alike are humped”; compare below R4 153v25.

R4 152v23, R12 947v27 “todo el como”; since both textual witnesses show this misreading of “todo el lomo” the error may have been in the original. “braçuelos” cf. *Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. *brazuelo* ‘aquella parte que está junto a la paleta [shoulder blade], o juego de las manos de las reses’ Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:750 render “por todo el [l]omo hasta ençima de los braçuelos” as “above the forelegs”; rather “along their entire back up to above their shoulders’.

R4 152v25 “braços” = R4 152v29 “manos” ‘front legs’.

R4 152v26 “amorosa,” R4 152v31 “amorosos,” cf. *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (1970), s. v. *amoroso* ‘blando, suave, fácil de labrar’.

R4 152v37 “hasta (aste) este paraje”; “aste” appears to be an erroneous anticipation of the following word, unless it could be read “azer,” which seems doubtful. The reading of R12 948r8 “tras este paraje” and the Bolton transcript (p. 6) seem to have suggested the misleading translation “beyond this place” to Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:750. Bolton 1916:255 does better: “to reach this place.”

R4 152r38-39 “medanos de arena” identified by Bolton 1916:255, n. 2, and Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:750, n. 9, as the Antelope Hills, “[just] east of the Texas Panhandle.”

R4 152v40 “arroyuelo” Commission Creek, according to Bolton 1916:255, n.2, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:750, n. 9. It seems risky for the latter team to have translated this as “small arroyo” since *arroyo* refers in English to a dry gulch or gully; to the author “arroyuelo” meant no more than “small stream” (thus Bolton 1916:255).

R4 153r5 understand “[la tierra] por la que los carros auian de passar hera toda llana.”

R4 153r6 I take the subject of “lleuonos” and R4 153r8 “perdio algo el tino que lleuaua” to be R4 152v40 “vn arroyuelo,” that is, the stream which they were following began to meander after splitting in two; “tino” means ‘direction’ in this conext (lit. ‘aim’).

R4 153r6-7 “dos rriachuelos” Beaver Creek and the Cimarron, according to Bolton, 1916:256, n. 1, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:750, n. 10.

R4 153r10-11 “se fuese a rrastro por la tierra” i.e., by blazing a trail, though how they did it in the absence of trees is not specified; R12 948r21 “se fuese a Reconoçer la tierra.”

R4 153r11 “con que” ‘so that’, not “while” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:571.

R4 153r14 “la buena estrella que en todo tiene” ‘the good star that always guides him’, i.e., Vicente de Zaldívar, not “our usual good fortune” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:571, cf. Bolton 1916:256 “with the lucky star which ever guides him.”

R4 153r16-17 “falta dellos,” i.e., R4 153r15 “de pastos.”

R4 153r19 understand “mejor que nuestro [ganado],” i.e., ‘our livestock’, not just “our horses” as in Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:751.

R4 153r20 “la multitud del,” i.e., R4 153r18-19 “[d]el ganado desta tierra.”

R4 153r21 understand “por lo [mucho] que se deseaua”; suggestion of Juan A. Sempere Martínez, San Jose State University.

R4 153r25 “rriachuelo” the translators have not attempted to identify this stream, nor the “Rio de mas agua que el pasado” R4 153r31.

R4 153r26 “montañas” is not usually a synonym of R4 153v36 “montes” ‘woods’.

R4 153r37 “gallinas” no doubt *gallinas de la tierra* ‘American wild turkeys’.

R4 153r38 In Mexico City on April 22, 1602, Francisco de Valverde recorded the testimony of one of the soldiers in Oñate’s party, Baltasar Martínez (listed as witness in the document edited here R4 156v27), who provided a curious explanation for the name that the Spaniards adopted for this tribe (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, f. 165r/119r): “casi a ducientas leguas del dicho Real | de san grabiel comenzaron a ver yndios a los | quales pusieron por nombre los escanjaques | porque les salieron a dar la paz alzando anbas ma- | nos al sol e puniendoselas en los pechos | diziendo escanxaque que es señal de paz.” Cf. Bolton, 1916:257, n. 1, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:752, n. 11, 841. For an attempt to place the “excanxaques” in the ethnohistory of the Southern

Plains Amerindians, see Newcomb and Campbell 1982.

R4 153v1-2 “no eramos gente de guerra,” ‘war party’ not “enemies” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:751.

R4 153v3 “nos la entretubieron bien” the antecedent of “la” is “noche.”

R4 153v12 “toda en buen horden puesta(s)” the phrase modifies “la gente”; “puestas” could be an *ad sensum* plural, cf. R12 948v25-26 “toda en buena orden puesta”; “rranchos” the individual dwellings of the “rancheria.”

R4 153v14-15 “que la queriamos” the antecedent of “la” is “paz.”

R4 153v17 “estado” ‘medida longitudinal tomada de la estatura del hombre’.

R4 153v18-19 “auia en los mas dellos puestos cueros adobados” understand “auia cueros adobados puestos en los mas dellos.”

R4 153v21-22 “gente de beetria” ‘independently minded, individualistic people’; Bolton 1916:258 renders the expression much more accurately as “like communities freed from subjection to any lord” than do Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:752 with “free men.”

R4 153v25 understand “[los hombres y las mugeres] vsauan yndiferentemente arcos y flecha[s]” Bolton 1916:258 is precisely on target with his interpretation “men and women alike used bows and arrows.” Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:752, with their vague “generally,” showed that they failed to understand the adverb. See also above R4 152v22. Both R4 and R12 948v37 read “flecha,” which is thus an error belonging to their source.

R4 153v27 “la gente qu’estaua ocho leguas... poblada” conscious hyperbaton; understand “la gente qu’estaua poblada ocho leguas...”

R4 153v30 “que la tomasen de achacarsela a sus enemigos” understand “que tomasen [la ocasion] de achacarles a sus enemigos [la muerte de los españoles].”

R4 153v34 “vn rrio”: This river was the Arkansas, according to Bolton 1916:258, n. 1, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:752, n. 13.

R4 153v36 “rriberas... tan montuosas que sus arboledas hazian... anchos montes” a species of *figura etymologica*; see also below R4 155r23.

R4 153v37 “chicoçapotes” ‘sapodilla’, one word, not “little sapote” (Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:753).

R4 154r2 “con ser tan buena” concessive construction, “although the past countryside was [already] so good.”

R4 154r9 understand “quitaron el belo a [su yntençon].”

R4 154r11 “visos” cf. *Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v. *viso*: ‘lugar desde donde se ve’, i.e., heights that served as lookouts.

R4 154r12 understand “avnque [como] enemiga desta naçon,” since the clause introduced by “avnque” concludes with the phrase “pregonar cruel guerra”; that is, despite the fact that these sedentary Indians were enemies of the nomadic Indians accompanying the Spaniards, and despite showing warlike signs, three or four hundred of them “awaited us peacefully.” Both Bolton 1916:269 and Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:753 misconstrue the passage, making “avnque” go with “enemiga desta naçon.”

R4 154r14 understand “que en toda esta [tierra] se vssa.”

R4 154r16 “seguro” nominalized adjective, i.e., *seguridad*.

R4 154r17 “della,” i.e., “de paz”; “estandolo alguna desta gente” understand “estando [segura o asegurada] alguna desta gente.”

R4 154r18 “en los nuestros” understand “en nuestros [cuellos].”

R4 154r20 a phrase appears to be omitted after “fue forçosso”; same apparent omission in R12 949r32.

R4 154r21 “el rrio de *san francisco*” also the Arkansas, according to Bolton 1916:259, n. 1; a branch of that river, according to Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:753.

R4 154r30-31 “aguardando su lance para hazerle en ellos” play on two meanings of “lance,” first ‘ocasión, tiempo y coyuntura para hacer alguna cosa’ and then, as the antecedent of the pronoun “le,” ‘pendencia entre dos o más personas con circunstancias arduas’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.): “waiting for their opportunity to have a go at them.”

R4 154r32 understand “en esta [tierra] auian muerto”; no tribe actually confessed to the destruction of the Humaña party, their habit being to place the blame on their neighbors. See below where the sedentary Indians, accused by the nomadic Indians, state that the Humaña party met its fate “diez y ocho jornadas deste paraje” (R4 155r1).

R4 154r38 “catarax” may be a generic word for ‘chieftain’ rather than a proper name as Bolton (1916:259) and Hammond and Rey represent it (1953, 2:754 and n. 15). It is remarkably similar to the term “tatarrax” that occurs in the accounts of the Coronado expedition to Quivira,

identified by Bolton as “a Wichita word for head man” (Bolton 1990:294).

R4 154r39 “poblada” ‘sedentary’ as opposed to R4 152r31 “rrancheada” ‘living in moveable *rancherías*’.

R4 154v6 “otro rrio no pequeño que benia a juntarse con el grande” the latter is still the Arkansas (Bolton 1916:260, n. 2; Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:754, n. 16).

R4 154v9 “cañizos” ‘hurdles of reeds’; “barbacoas,” cf. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario* (1970), s.v. *barbacoa* ‘zarzo (wattle) que sirve de camastro’.

R4 154v10 understand “las mas de [las casas].”

R4 154v15-16 “no auia ninguna cassa que no la tuuiese” to make good sense, the antecedent of “la” has to be R4 154v12 “açotea.”

R4 154v20 “hizieronlo assi” not quite all of them returned to their “rancheria”; see below R4 155r1-2.

R4 154v26 “benefiçio” ‘cultivo que se hace a las tierras, estercolándolas...’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.). Cf. R4 156v11 “benefiçiandose.”

R4 154v29 “y los frutos no eran de rriego” here it seems best to follow Bolton 1916:261 “the crops were not irrigated,” rather than associating “frutos” with the preceding “çiruelos” ‘plum trees’.

R4 154v30 understand “los [temporales] de aquella tierra.”

R4 154v32 the understood subject of “tocaua” is R4 154v30 “aquella tierra.”

R4 154v33 “anda[ua] desnuda” emended according to R12 950r8 since the imperfect tense fits the context better than the present tense.

R4 154v33-34 “como los otros yndios rrancheados” could also be construed as modifying the preceding clause “vsaua de cueros.” Note the pleonastic use of “otros,” quite common in medieval and Golden Age texts.

R4 154v35 “lo que ay,” confirmed by R12 950r11, grammatically cannot refer to “ganado”; the author appears to be thinking of all the riches of that land.

R4 154v36 “del yndio que pareçia de los caçiques” the definite article makes it certain that this refers to the Wichita chieftain forcibly taken as guide (R4 154r38 “catarax”), not to some new person, as in Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:755 “an Indian, who seemed to be a cacique.”

R4 154v37 “otro rrio caudalosso” the Kansas, according to Bolton 1916:261, n. 2, Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:755, n. 18, but the latter team expresses some doubts.

R4 154v39-40 “abitauan muchedunbre de gente” the verb is a plural *ad sensum*.

R4 154v40 “que la que Vmaña auia traydo se le auian muerto” understand “que [a] la [gente] que Vmaña auia traydo se le auia muerto.” In “se le auian muerto” the author has blended the indefinite plural construction (“la auian muerto”) with the indefinite reflexive construction (“se le auia muerto”); the same blending is evident in R12 950r16-17 “que la que vmaña hauia traydo se la auian muerto” where the noun phrase is treated as a direct object, but with a like omission of the preposition “a” normal for “personal” direct objects.

R4 155r3-4 “yendo derechos” apparently the masc. pl. adj. modifies an understood *españoles*.

R4 155r16-17 “aceleraçion” ‘hastening’; cf. R4 155v39 “quiera [dios] açelerar el rremedio de tantas almas.”

R4 155r23 “ynumerable ganado tan sin numero” another *figura etymologica*, see also above R4 153v36.

R4 155r27-28 “con presteza para que [la] huuiese en poner por obra”; “[la]” has been inserted on the authority of R12 950v12. The pronoun refers to “presteza”; Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:756 “the king our lord should learn quickly... in order that we might execute promptly...” is accurate except for the subject pronoun “we”; the understood subject of “poner por obra” is indefinite.

R4 155r29 “[a]l buen animo y balor del gouernador parecio cosa dura”; the preposition “a” for the indirect object inserted according to R12 950v13; “[e] hizo” since the clause governed by R4 155r28 “avnque” extends to R4 155r30 “ynterrunpir su biaje,” a conjunction seems necessary, although neither R4 nor R12 offers any textual support.

R4 155r33-34 “llegando a el puesto de donde el dia antes auiamos salido que hera el desta primera poblazon”: the “primera poblazon” refers to the first sedentary village that the Spaniards came to (R4 154r11 and ff.); four leagues back (R4 154r10), the nomadic tribe that was accompanying them had previously relocated their “rrancheria” with a skill and speed that amazed the Spaniards (R4 154r3-6). After the Spaniards spent a night encamped near this first settlement of the sedentary Indians, they discovered the following morning that the nomads had established themselves near the Spaniards’ rearguard (R4 154r27-29) and showed great hostility to their enemies, the sedentary Indians (R4 154r29-31). Presumably the nomads had again relocated their “rrancheria” at this point, awaiting, as before in the Spaniards’ view, either the outcome of the Spaniards’ intrusion into the territory of the sedentary Indians or a chance to attack the Spaniards (R4 154r6-9). It must have been to this second relocated “rrancheria” to which the nomads were ordered to retire, without the spoils they had been so eager to acquire (R4 154v17-20). Evidently they nursed a serious grudge, since the returning Spaniards came upon the

now hostile nomads at the “*primera poblazon*” from where they had set off “*el dia antes*.” The Spaniards’ brief exploration of the sedentary populations of the Arkansas had, however, occupied a day in which they traveled only a half league (R4 154v4), coming upon the deserted settlement that appears to have become the bone of contention between the Spaniards and the nomads, and another day in which they went three leagues through heavily settled country (R4 155r10-11). It appears they decided to turn back that same day and by a forced march got back to the “*primera poblazon*.” This would mean that in one day they covered three leagues out, had a lengthy discussion with the governor (R4 155r12-32), went three and a half leagues back, a total of 6.5 leagues or 16.9 miles, and yet had time for a good two hours’ battle with the nomads. This does seem like an a lot to fit into one day, even if the Spaniards set off under the impression that an attack by a vast army of sedentary Indians was imminent (R4 155r6-9). Though the author may not have counted the day on which the Spaniards decided to turn back, the phrase “*el dia antes*” seems hard to credit. The sequence of events would be easier to fit into time and space if the Spaniards had bivouacked the night after persuading Oñate not to go on; in my view this would make for three days: (1) one-half league to the deserted village; (2) three leagues onward and the discussion; (3) three and a half leagues back and the battle. Perhaps “*el dia antes*” was not to be understood absolutely literally. The sedentary Indians of the “*primera poblazon*” prudently remained aloof from the battle that ensued between the Spaniards and the nomads; the way in which the author anticipates the conflict when unquestionably speaking of the nomads (R4 154r7-9) makes it certain that the sedentary Indians played no role in the hostilities.

R4 155r36 “*trincheados en las mismas casas*” the nomads had “*rranchos*” (R4 153v12), some form of easily moveable tepee (R4 153v16-20) which looked like tents. The term “*casas*” first appears applied to sedentary dwellings (R4 154r19; elaborately described R4 154v5-16), much more substantial, and presumably defensible, than the nomadic “*rranchos*.” Consequently, it appears that the nomads had taken over the “*primera poblazon*” in order to do battle with the Spaniards.

R4 155r37 understand “*siendo [su yntento] tan contrario a nuestro [yntento].*”

R4 155v4-5 understand “*toda la gente se aperçibiese de caballos de armas, que en sus personas sienpre yban [armados].*” Since Oñate’s men were already mounted, perhaps one should conclude that like medieval knights they had palfreys for traveling, reserving their—armored—war horses for combat. The fact that the pronoun “*lo*” in “*lo yban*” has a virtual antecedent that must be deduced from the noun “*armas*” is one of the most extreme examples in the text of the author’s frequent affectation of elegant concision in the use of pronouns and pronominalizations. For Hammond and Rey (1954, 2:757), it seems to be a question of arming the horses the men already were mounted on: “to put armor on their horses, as they themselves were always ready.” Finally, it may be the case that “*caballos de armas*” means simply “*caballos de guerra*,” without any necessary allusion to armament.

R4 155v13 “*que no çessaua el suyo*” understand “*no çessaua [su ynpito].*”

R4 155v14 “no hazian por señas la hizo a su gente de que se defendiessen” I take this as “they were not doing [it, i.e., making war] by [mere] signs [or gestures] (that is, they were entirely in earnest), he gave the sign to his people to defend themselves,” i.e., the antecedent of “la” is understood to be “seña”; as often, “gente” concords with a plural verb. Cf. R12 951r7 “que se defendiese.”

R4 155v14-15 “trauada la batalla de anbas partes quiso Dios nuestro *señor* hazer la nuestra” understand “hazer nuestra [batalla],” i.e., ‘do our fighting for us’, ‘fight on our side’, cf. Bolton 1916:264 “take our part.” The author, full of praise for his compatriots’ valor and of astonishment at the nomads’ unflinching bravery in the face of horrendous casualties, says nothing of a Spanish “victory” (Hammond and Rey 1953, 2:757 “God our Lord granted us the victory”). The battle resulted in a standoff (as noted by Simmons 1991:164). In fact, the undermanned Spaniards, even with divine assistance, abandoned the field, feeling themselves to be no match for the “gran barbarismo de nuestros enemigos” (R4 155v24-25). This distortion, though one might imagine it to be very much in the style of the hispanophile Bolton tradition, also betrays the master, who here translates more accurately (as often), and therefore more circumspectly, as noted above. The descendants of the “escanxaques” have every right to protest Hammond and Rey’s version.

R4 155v16 understand “sin este socorro fuera casi ynposible [hazer nuestra batalla].” The verb “fuera” expresses a condition contrary to fact in past time that in modern Spanish requires the periphrastic construction *hubiera sido*.

R4 155v18 “el golpe de la gente” ‘the bulk, or body, of the people’.

R4 155v19 “sin que de la nuestra” understand “sin que de nuestra [gente].”

R4 155v22 understand “el [balor] de nuestra naçion.”

R4 155v26 “parte” ‘razón o motivo’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.).

R4 155v29 “algunos muchachos” Zárate Salmerón, ¶40 (*Documentos para servir* 1962:157), states that there were but two, who were baptized with the name of Miguel “por haber sido la guerra día de San Miguel,” whose feast falls on September 29. This date is indeed close to that which I calculate to have been the day the Spaniards started their return trip, i.e., September 27, but according to the text edited here (R4 155v32-33) the 59 days were counted beginning on the day after the conflict with the “escanxaques,” which by this reckoning would have occurred on the 26th. However, as Bolton observes (1916:264, n. 2), Miguel was the name of the adult Indian captured in the battle (R4 155v30-31) and used as guide thereafter, the very one who was the source of so many curious stories in Valverde’s “Información” and who sketched the map of Quivira mentioned in n. 10.

R4 155v30 understand “las [cosas] de toda esta tierra.”

R4 155v34 and R12 951r32-33 both show this dittography, motivated by the homoeoteleuton “rreal... rreal...”; it was no doubt present in their source.

R4 155v35-36 “hasta las poblazones” that is, ‘to the [sedentary] settlements’.

R4 155v38 understand “traydas de [la mar del norte].”

R4 155v41-156r1 understand “[esta tierra] a de ser rrefuxio de [los pobres].”

R4 156r2 and R12 951r46 the abbreviation “pu^o” could also be read as “puesto.”

R4 156r19 “que ansi mismo [fue] a la dicha jornada”; the verb was inserted on the authority of R12 951v20.

R4 156r21 “yn berbo sacerdote” R12 951v23-24 “yn berbis sacerdotis”; i.e., *in verbo sacerdotis* ‘by the word of a priest’ .

R4 156r24 “de suso” medieval archaism, cf. R4 156r19-20 “de arriba.”

R4 156r35 “de berbon ad berbun” R12 951v41 “de berbo ad berbun”; i.e., *de verbo ad verbum* ‘word for word’.

R4 156v5-6 “duçientas mill personas o mas” at the rate of 17 kernels per 5,000-6,000 inhabitants, i.e., 1 kernel per 294-353 inhabitants, 720 kernels yields a range of 211,680-254,160 inhabitants, 727 kernels a range of 213,738-256,631.

R4 156v11 “benefiçandose” cf. *beneficiar* ‘cultivar’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.).

R4 156v13 “testigo[s]” plural form introduced on the authority of R12 952r15.

R4 156v18 “almaguer” R12 952r21 “almager.” Juan Sempere pointed out to me that *Almaguer* is a well known family name.

R4 156v29 “don juan de oñate” omitted here by R12 952r32; in the latter the certification by Juan Gutiérrez Bocanegra runs on here without a break, while in the former it begins a new section, introduced by the mark (represented as “¶” in this edition) that signals major textual segments in documents of the period.

R4 157r2 “lo firme juan gutierrez”; R12 952r39-40 inserts the governor’s name at this point: “lo firme don juan de oñate juan gutierrez”; see above R4 156v29.

[fol. 151r/107r]

A True and Accurate Account of Events during the Expedition
toward the North from these First Settlements in New Mexico,
Carried out in His Majesty's Name by Governor and *Adelantado*¹⁵
Don Juan de Oñate in this Year 1601

With special care, that is, agreement and advice, both from our commissary Fray Juan de Escalona and the other fathers who reside in these realms converting souls and ministering to them, and from the officers of the royal army whom His Majesty maintains in them, and after many public supplications, oblations, masses, and prayers to Our Lord that His Divine Majesty might reveal His Divine will, in the knowledge that the will of our Most Catholic King and Lord Don Felipe, whom God keep years without end, has been and is that in these his realms the most sacred name of God be proclaimed and His holy Gospel preached to these barbarous nations [who are] in the power of Satan, the enemy of the human race, Governor and Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate resolved to carry out an expedition inland and in a northerly direction from the post in these first settlements where this His Majesty's army is at present stationed, on account of both the glowing reports given by the natives of this land and what an Indian who speaks the Mexican language and was born and raised in New Spain saw as he journeyed in the company of Captain Humaña.

And having prepared the things most necessary for this expedition and the required amount of provisions, weapons, ammunition, and other military gear, with more than 70 men chosen for the journey, all very well equipped, and more than 700 horses and mules, and six mule carts, and two that carried four artillery pieces and were drawn by oxen, along with servants to manage the appropriate baggage, the journey was begun in this year 1601, with the said governor and captain general Adelantado Don Juan de Oñate at its head, and Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza as its colonel and sergeant major, and two friars of the order of our father St. Francis, Brother Francisco de Velasco, a priest, and Brother Pedro de Vergara, a lay brother; and as circumstances prevented all the troops leaving together, it was necessary for some to advance before the others to a suitable position where all might gather, and the first men left this post of San Gabriel on the 23d day of the month of June, the eve of the feast of the most blessed Forerunner of Christ St. John the Baptist; and after four days' journey [fol. 151v/107v] they reached the post or town they call Galisteo, which is one of these first settlements, and most of the men gathered there within five or six days; and from that place they began to march toward the east, and despite a substantial range of mountains that formed an obstacle two leagues from this post and, it was feared, might prove one for the carts, Our Lord was pleased to conquer it, opening a route by which they passed very well. After five days' journey we all reached a river with clear and pleasing water, running through abundant cool groves of trees with some fruit, and [containing] good fish in abundance; and since we reached it on the eve of the feast of the seraphic doctor St. Bonaventure we named it the Río de San Buenaventura; and the next day we continued across extensive plains very rich in pasture to another river that they call Río de los Bagres [Catfish River], and rightly so because of the many that it contains; and after we had regrouped our horses and mules we continued our journey, always

¹⁵ An administrative and judicial functionary in newly conquered territory

heading eastward; and in three days we reached another river, which we called Río de la Magdalena because we had come upon it on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, and although our first impression of it was not good because we saw it in a place where it ran in a gorge among rocks and its banks were for that reason not very inviting, the next day and on the others during which we traveled along it we found it so green, pleasing, and everywhere accompanied by grapevines and other fruits that we clearly saw that it was one of the best rivers we had seen in all the Indies. Here some Indians of the nation called Apache met us with signals of peace. The governor and the men who accompanied him gave them so many presents that although few had come to see us at first, before long men, women, and children were drawn to our camp, responding to our acts of friendship by raising their hands to the sun, which is the ceremony they employ to show friendship, and bringing us some small black and yellow fruits, the size of small tomatoes,¹⁶ that are very abundant all along that river and proved as tasty as they were healthful, because although we ate loads of them they did not disagree with anyone.

It was a pleasure to bid them farewell, as it was to see the great improvement in the land every day as we advanced following the current of this river; and although we came upon some passes through partially split cliffs that cut through the mountains of this land toward the plains called Cíbola or Cébola and caused some concern about the carts being able to pass through, thanks to the good efforts of the good soldiers that accompanied them they passed through this difficult spot very well and came out upon some very spacious and agreeable plains, where hardly a mountain like those we had passed was to be seen; and knowing from [fol. 152r/108r] our guide that all the country from there on was flat, we began to march more quickly and more cheerfully, all the more so for the arrival of the colonel with the other men who had remained behind, so that we proceeded always following the river; and although our march that day was hampered by a violent downpour such as very commonly falls on those plains, the next day and on those following we marched on, sometimes fording the river by means of very good fords.

The land through which we were traveling grew better every day, and the luxury of abundant fish from the river greatly eased the labors of the journey, as did the no lesser luxury of the fruit and especially of the plums of a hundred thousand kinds and varieties, as tasty, good, and sweet as those to be found and raised in very select orchards in our country; and they are of such good quality that although they were eaten by the thousands they never disagreed with anyone. The trees were small but their fruit was more abundant than their leaves and its quantity such that during more than 150 leagues there was hardly a day without groves of [these trees] or grape vines and vineyards that in many places, although wild, yielded very sweet and flavorful grapes.

Under these favorable circumstances the men marched along cheerfully and in high spirits; and being good soldiers and eager to serve Our Lord and His Majesty, they were not daunted by the absence of four or five cowardly soldiers who, being inexperienced, took fright at the travails of military life and turned their back on it even as our expectations of seeing great things were at their peak, for the country gave every indication of such; and as its elevation kept dropping day by day, that country seemed, and no doubt was, hotter than that of the towns from which we had set out.

¹⁶“Tomatillos,” a diminutive of “tomates” ‘tomatoes,’ though possibly a reference to the fruit we now call “tomatillos.”

Sometimes we were obliged to leave the main course of the river in order to find a way for the carts to pass; and although we feared a lack of watering places for the animals, there are so many of them in all of this country that throughout our voyage we found water sufficient for men and beasts every three or four leagues, and in many places it flowed from wooded springs of very good water.

In some places we came upon encamped people of the Apache nation, which occupies these plains and, without having any specific place or location of its own, goes wherever the cattle roam, always following them. Although we were in their country, we had no altercation with them, nor did any Indian dare to offer us any harm, a favor that Our Lord was pleased to bestow on us, so that we did not cease to praise Him and offer Him a thousand thanks, in recognition of which most of the men took steps to put their consciences and their souls in order; and as Our Lord, on the feast of the Por- **[fol. 152v/108v]** tiuncula, which is the second day of August, led us to a place that had long been called the Río de San Francisco, with most special dedication to that most blessed confessor,¹⁷ most of the troops made their confession and received the Sacrament.

And as we continued on the day of the glorious Levite and martyr St. Lawrence it pleased God that the most monstrous cattle of Cíbola should come into view; and although they are very fleet, four or five bulls were killed that day, which made it an especially joyful one; and when we went on the next day, large clusters of bulls and cows began to appear, and from there on we saw such a multitude of them that unless one has seen it, it is hard to believe, because in the opinion of all of us who formed part of that army, wherever we went hardly a day passed without our seeing as many cattle as there are in the largest ranches of New Spain, and they were so tame that most of the time, if they were not chased or frightened, they stood still and did not flee. The meat of these cattle is very good and far superior to that of our cows, and all of them are very corpulent, especially the cows, and almost all of these have a great deal of fat, and we saw from experience that it does not become cloying like ours or is in any way harmful. All these cattle are of the same dark brown color, and it was with great amazement that among so many of them we saw one white bull. Their shape is astonishing, so much so that one is forced to believe that it derives from the mixture of different animals. Bulls and cows alike are humped along their whole back up to above their shoulders, and although they are very woolly all over their bodies, on their hump from the middle of the body to the entire head, breast, and forelegs above the knee, they have a great deal more wool, and that so soft and downy that one could spin and weave it like that of Castilian sheep. These cattle are very fierce. They are incomparably larger than ours, although they seem small, and the reason for this is that they have short legs. Their hide is as thick as that of our cattle; and the native Indians are such experts in dressing it that they make it as soft as soft chamois, and almost all of them are alike garbed in it. All along this river there are huge numbers of these cattle and a no less astonishing number of deer as large as large horses that roam in herds of 200 or 300, so misshapen that one doubts whether they be deer or other animals.

Having marched 111 leagues up to this point, we had to leave the river because some sand dunes appeared in front of us, and turning from the east toward the north, we marched up along a small creek until we sighted **[fol. 153r/109r]** extensive plains covered with countless cattle, finding an ever improving route and land that allowed the carts to pass over it without any hindrance or difficulty; and although we found some deep gullies and gorges, for there were no hills anywhere, [the land]

¹⁷St. Francis of Assisi.

over which the carts had to pass was all flat and very passable. [This creek] led us in this direction for several days, and its direction became somewhat unclear [once it split] into two small streams that like it ran eastward, and this did not much disturb us because the land was so flat that men were getting lost on it every day if they became even slightly separated from us, and so it became necessary to advance by blazing a trail from some spots, so that the army marched on by the straightest way there was; and to make us more secure the governor decided to send the colonel ahead with some companions, and fortunate as he is in everything, he soon returned with [the news of] having found many human tracks and the land abounding with pasture, which was our chief concern, because on some days there had been none, but only league upon league of fields so full of the most varied kinds of flowers that they choked the grass; and eating them must agree with the cattle of this country better than it does with our livestock, because where there were flowers the cattle were very numerous. Great was the joy that this news gave to all, as we had been hoping for it; and with the care and caution that the colonel, good soldier that he is, always exercised in military matters, he had his men prepared and in order for whatever might occur.

All of us marching together we continued on our way and journey and came to a creek low in water but flanked by such abundant woods that its banks had the appearance of impenetrable mountains.¹⁸ Here we found many walnut trees bearing nuts that were almost as good as those of our country, and the trees [were] taller and with more ample crowns, and the land so densely covered with grass that the soil could not be seen. After sleeping one night at this pleasant spot we continued, on the following day, to another, three leagues from it, where there was a river with more water than the first and a great many fish and more woods, of walnut trees as well as oaks and other valuable timber. The land was of better quality than what we had seen up to that time, so good that all the men said they had never seen better in their lives. The cattle were so many that they could not be counted, and there was a great quantity of game of every sort, Castilian partridges, chickens,¹⁹ deer, and hares.

From this place the colonel again set out to scout the land; and having gone about three leagues, he came on a large encampment of more than 5000 souls; and although these people were bellicose, as became evident later, and initially began to take up positions [**fol. 153v/109v**] as though to fight, our signals of peace showed them that we were not a war party and they became so friendly toward us that some of them came to our camp that night and filled it with the marvelous reports they gave us about the people farther on; and having heard these reports, the whole army marched on as soon as dawn had broken across this good land, bordered on all sides by rivers of the freshest water and by pleasant groves of trees; and at three in the afternoon we came to a harquebus shot's distance from this encampment, and we stopped at some pools of water that were there, with the appropriate caution and care, and the governor and the friars with more than 30 armed soldiers on horseback set out from there to reconnoiter the people and the encampment; and all of them drawn up in front of their huts in an orderly fashion began to lift the palms of their hands toward the sun, which is the sign of peace among them; and when we assured them that peace was what we wanted, they all,

¹⁸“parecian montañas espesas”: One would not normally use the adjective “espesas” ‘dense’ with “montañas” ‘mountains’, but neither is “montaña” normally a synonym of “monte” ‘mountain’ in the latter’s additional meaning of ‘forest, woods.’

¹⁹I.e., “native chickens,” meaning wild turkeys.

women and children, big and small, came to where we were, and they let us look at their huts, which were all made of branches half again as long as a man, placed in a circle, and some were so wide that they were 90 feet across. Most of them were covered with dressed hides that made them look like tents. These were people who did not sow or reap, but lived only off the cattle. They were ruled and governed by captains, and like undisciplined people they did not much obey them. They had a great many hides, which when wrapped around their bodies served as their dress, although because of the heat almost all the men went naked and the women dressed from the waist down. Both men and women carried bows and arrows, with which they are highly skilled.

Here we learned that this nation was at war with the people who were settled eight leagues farther on; and their belief that we were going to avenge the death of the Spaniards who had set out with Humaña must have been the reason for them to take this opportunity of blaming it on their enemies and telling us that they had killed them; and thinking that that was the sole reason for our journey, they were much delighted and offered to accompany us, and without our being able to impede it for fear of stirring them up, they did so and guided us as far as a river that is six or seven leagues from this place, with fine banks that, although level, were so abundant in trees that their groves formed extensive and very dense forests. Here we found a small fruit the size of wild pears or sapodilla, yellow and very tasty. The river contained abundant and very good fish, and although it had good fords in some places, elsewhere it was very deep and easily able to carry ships. Its current ran straight eastward [fol. 154r/110r] and its water was fresh and flavorful. The soil here was rich and far better than what we had been coming through, good as that was. The grasses were so high that in many places they hid a horse. Quickly and in a few hours the Indians who were accompanying us here constructed an encampment as solidly built as the earlier one—which produced no small astonishment in all of us—planning there to await the outcome of our journey or lie in wait for us with bad intentions, as was seen later, when they revealed them by making bold to wage war on us.

The next day we left this place, and departing from the river across some delightful plains, after marching four leagues we began to make out people visible at some lookout posts that they had established on a hill. Although, being enemies of this nation [that accompanied us], they advanced challenging us to battle and war with shouts and by throwing dirt into the air, which in all of this land is the signal used to declare fierce war, three or four hundred persons awaited us in a peaceful manner, and the mutual signals we were able to interchange produced assurance of peace; and with that, some of these people came to us and placing around our necks some [strings of] small beads that they wore around theirs, they declared themselves our friends and invited us to go to their houses; and since it was late, this could not be done that day, and it was necessary [to camp] on the bank of the great river called the Río de San Francisco, whose banks were there most beautiful and thick with mulberry trees and others bearing very savory fruit. Many were the people who constantly came to see us, bringing some ears of corn that were the first we saw in this fine country, and some round loaves of bread as large as shields, three or four fingers thick, made of this same corn.

All that night we spent maintaining the necessary caution and care; and the next day at dawn the people who had said they were our friends appeared in our rear guard in very great numbers, shouting more challenges against the other nation than might Roland himself, waiting for the opportunity to have at them; and when we again inquired of them about the country, they told us that here they had killed the Spaniards, surrounding them with fire and burning them all, and that they kept with them one who had escaped, wounded, from the fire; and after deliberating and discussing what we should do in so important a matter, it was decided to seize some Indians, both to

serve as our guides and to check on what their enemies were saying; and this happened at so favorable a moment that their chief or captain, whom they call catarax, happened to be there; and they being a more orderly, tranquil and settled people, it was remarkable to see how they obeyed and served him, and sufficient proof of this is the fact that although they might have [fol. 154v/110v] grown unruly when he was seized, they did not do so simply because he gave them a signal to withdraw.

We took him with us, affording him the good treatment that was called for; and to carry out our aims we crossed the river by means of a very good ford, and after marching for half a league, we reached a town of more than 1200 houses, all standing on the banks of another river of respectable size that at that point flowed into the large one. They were all round, made of wooden posts surrounded by poles and covered on the outside down to the ground with straw; and within they had wattles along the sides that served them as beds or cots on which they slept, and most of them were so large that they held eight or ten persons. They were two lance's lengths in height, and they all had an attic or roof space, which they must have used in summer, the height of a man, with capacity for three or four persons, and they entered it through a small straw door well suited for the circulation of air. They climbed to this attic by a movable wooden ladder, and there was no house without such a ladder. We found the town empty of all its inhabitants, but not of corn, of which it held much and of good quality; and this was a reason for their enemies wanting to sack it, but they were absolutely forbidden to do so or to do any damage beyond taking a small amount of corn, with which the governor sent them off and expressly ordered them to go to their encampment.

They did so, and we relaxed for a day in this pleasant place, everywhere full of the Indians' cornfields and [other] plantings; and the cornstalks were as tall as those of New Spain and in many places taller. The soil was so rich that although the corn had just been harvested, more was already growing a span tall, all in the same soil and mostly without any fertilizer or any cultivation other than pulling out the grass and making a hole where they planted the grains. There were abundant beans and some squash, and between fields some plum trees; and these crops were not irrigated but depended on rainfall, which, as we saw, must be very dependable in that country, because in the month of October it rained as it does in New Spain in August. We had no doubt that [this country] bordered on a hot one, and in keeping with this the people we saw were scantily dressed, though they did wear hides. Like the other Indians of the encampment they make use of the very numerous cattle, and their abundance throughout that country is incredible.

Here we again inquired of the Indian who seemed to be one of the chiefs or lords of the land concerning what lay ahead, and he told us that upriver there were very many people settled like this one, and that off to one side there was another great river that splits into six or seven branches and that multitudes of people live along all of them, and that the people whom Humaña had brought had been killed [fol. 155r/111r] 18 days' journey from this place. We checked these Indians against others²⁰ from the encampment who had remained with us, and without the slightest discrepancy they said the same thing, adding that downriver also, heading directly eastward, everything was

²⁰“Confirmamos estos yndios con otros que de la rancheria ...”: This is a very strange expression. Perhaps “yndios” should read “yndicios,” but “otros” seems clearly to refer to “yndios.” Could the author, or copyist, having written “yndios” for “yndicios,” have wound up taking it at face value and therefore spoken of ‘other’ Indians?

settled with people, and thus they urged us under no circumstances to go farther, saying that the people who had withdrawn from this town [had done so] in order to assemble their allies within three days, who were so many that a whole day would not be time enough for them all to leave their homes, and that we being so few, they would no doubt finish us off in short order without any survivors.

And although this spurred us to go forward, when we saw the next day that we had marched three leagues and all of it through settled areas and that the town went on even farther, and we had firm knowledge of the large gathering of people waiting for us, it became necessary to sound opinions concerning what was to be done; and seeing that our horses and mules after so many leagues of travel were tired and overworked and that the chief aim of our journey had been accomplished and that His Majesty would be better served in knowing the splendid qualities of this country so that he might issue the directions necessary for his royal service and for the speedy salvation of these souls, and that it would be rash, where more than 300 persons were needed, to proceed being the few that we were, it was decided among all of us to submit a petition to the governor and adelantado, explaining the just reasons there were for not going on, pointing out to him how much greater a service was done to His Majesty by informing him of the excellence of the land and of the many people, of the wealth of countless cattle beyond number that by themselves are enough to enrich millions of men with tallow, fat, and hides, of the conditions suitable for establishing many large settlements, with a plentiful supply of all the materials necessary for them, and above all, of how very important it was that the King our lord should quickly know what the whole world has so wished to know so that His Majesty's commands should be quickly carried out; and although this seemed a hard thing to the spirit and courage of the governor [and] he was clearly upset at breaking off his journey, when he saw the justification for what was being asked of him in His Majesty's name, he agreed to it, having traveled more than 220 leagues to this place.

We then changed the arrangement of our forces in order to turn back, since it was important to do so quickly; and when, little suspecting any treachery, we reached the point from which we had set out the day before, which was this first town, we there found the Indians who had before declared themselves our friends turned into fierce enemies and entrenched in the very houses and ready in them to execute their evil design; and since theirs was so different from ours, the colonel with a dozen companions rode ahead half a league to reconnoiter the land, without anticipating their wickedness, and when he reached the place where these people were, they failed to meet him with signs of peace and, fanning out with bows and arrows in hand, began to surround him and his companions [fol. 155v/111v]; and good soldier that he is, he did not allow them to do this, for withdrawing in good order he got out from among them without any casualties other than having one or two horses wounded by arrows.

In view of this treachery and because it was necessary to pass through the place where they were, or very close to it, the governor ordered all the men to supply themselves with armored horses, for they themselves were always in armor; and with their colonel commanding what they were to do, all the troops marched forward with the express orders that all should enter peacefully, since they were not going to harm anyone; and although they all did so and entered with the signal that [the Indians] used, which was to lift their hands up high as a sign of peace, they, who preferred war, started it with the greatest fury, with more than 1500 persons first appearing, who, forming a crescent, attacked with great bravery and force; and when the governor saw that this force did not abate and that a great many arrows were being shot and that they were not doing this for show, he signaled his men

to defend themselves; and battle being joined on both sides, Our Lord was pleased to take ours, for without this assistance it would have been almost impossible [to fight], so numerous were these people; and with our valiant soldiers outdoing themselves in valor and spirit, they soon drove the bulk of those people back to some rocks that lay above a creek, killing and wounding many of them, without more than two of our men being wounded; but as the battle continued with the Indians more furious than at the start, they kept it up for more than two hours with great valor, although at their cost, for they experienced that of our Spanish nation; and at the end of this time, with most of our men wounded, though none dangerously, seeing the great savagery of our enemies and that their many dead failed to drive them off and [make them] cease to confront us, the governor ordered his men to retreat and, releasing to them some women that the soldiers had captured, he would not allow any further harm to be done them, only setting apart some children at the request of the friars so as to instruct them in matters of our holy Catholic faith and an Indian who might report concerning those [matters] of all this country.

After this we returned to our camp to sleep; and when the wounded had been attended to, we marched on the following day with the customary care, and in 59 days we reached this post of San Gabriel, having spent from 23 June to 24 November in all this journey. The carts traveled very well as far as the towns; and to judge by the nature of the country, they could go on as far as the Northern Sea,²¹ which cannot be far off, because some Indians wore on their foreheads shells brought from there. May Our Lord God be blessed for everything and may He hasten the salvation of so many souls and take pity on this land so that His holy Gospel may be proclaimed in it and many poor people succored in it, for to judge by what we have seen, it is destined to be their refuge [fol. 156r/112r] and to enrich many.

Decree

In the town of San Gabriel in New Mexico Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain general and adelantado of this kingdom of New Mexico, said that inasmuch as his lordship set out from this post to carry out the expedition to the great town that lies to the north, in which he spent five months going and coming, and on setting out, in order to be able to give an account to the King our lord and to whomever else it might concern of all that might be discovered or occur, he entrusted the drawing up of the above report to a person of his full faith and confidence, who drew it up; and so that it may be seen and understood whether what is contained therein be the truth or whether something must be deleted or added in order to present more accurate information to His Majesty, he ordered that it be read to all persons who went with his lordship on the said journey, and that they make clear under oath whether it be truthful, and that after this the suitable measures be taken, and thus he commanded and signed. Dated 14 December 1601.

DON JUAN DE OÑATE. Before me, JUAN GUTIÉRREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

On this said day the said lord governor asked the Reverend Father Fray Francisco de Velasco, guardian of the convent of this town and late chaplain to the said expedition, and Father Fray Pedro de Vergara, a lay brother, who likewise [took part in] the said expedition, that they make a

²¹ The Atlantic Ocean.

declaration in keeping with the above decree, and in conformity therewith the said Fray Francisco de Velasco swore, placing his hand on his breast, in verbo sacerdotis as is customary, and the said Fray Pedro de Vergara by God and by a cross as prescribed by law, and they promised to speak the truth; and having seen the above report in its entirety, they said that everything contained therein is true and is what happened and what they saw during the expedition in which they took part with the lord governor, and that nothing therein is falsified, because all that is contained therein did occur, and the said Reverend Father Francisco de Velasco signed it, and the said Fray Pedro de Vergara did not sign it because he does not know how to sign, and this they said with the permission of the Very Reverend Father Fray Juan de Escalona, their commissary general, which he gave them in my presence, to which I attest.

FRAY FRANCISCO DE VELASCO. Before me, JUAN GUTIÉRREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

On this said day, month, and year, the said lord governor having ordered all the officers and men who accompanied him on the said expedition to assemble, and they all being assembled, I, the present secretary, read this entire report de verbo ad verbum and asked them whether it be true, because they would have to swear to it, and they all said that the said report, with respect to the account of the numerous people farther on, understated the case, because all the Indians depicted the towns in this manner, that with their encampment having more than five or six thousand souls, [fol. 156v/112v] they indicated them by making a round circle with 17 grains of corn, and as for the towns farther on, on many of them they placed many grains of corn on each, and on one particular one they placed 720 grains of corn, which by the reckoning of all or most of those who were present seemed to be 200,000 persons or more, and this was in only one of the many towns that they indicated. And this, they said, was omitted in the said report and constituted a full and truthful account; and this [they said] under the oath that they had taken as prescribed by law, and that along the rivers where these people lived there were a great many sumach trees and other things that with cultivation would be very useful.

And all those who knew how to do so signed it, and for those who did not know, a witness [signed], the witnesses to all of the above being Captain Bartolomé Romero and Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos and Alonso Naranjo and I, the said secretary who attests to it.

VICENTE DE ZALDÍVAR MENDOZA, JUAN DE VITORIA CARVAJAL, JUAN MORENO DE LA RÚA, GASPAR LÓPEZ DE TAVORA, JUAN MARTÍNEZ DE MONTOYA, BARTOLOMÉ GONZÁLEZ DE ALMAGUER, DON PEDRO DE TRUJILLO GALLEGOS, FRANCISCO GARCÍA, JUAN MUÑOZ, DIEGO MARTÍN DE GUEVARA, JUAN DE MALLEA, FRANCISCO VIDO, DON CRISTÓBAL DE OÑATE, PEDRO VARELA, JUAN DE LA CRUZ, SIMÓN DE LA PAZ, JUAN RODRÍGUEZ, RODRIGO ZAPATA, MIGUEL DE VILLAVICIOSA, MIGUEL MONTERO DE CASTRO, JUAN VELARDE, ALONSO NÚÑEZ HINOJOSA, ALONSO ROBLEDO, JUAN RANGEL, FRANCISCO RASCÓN, JUAN DE LEÓN. Witness ALONSO GÓMEZ MONTESINOS, BALTASAR MARTÍNEZ COGEDOR, ALONSO SÁNCHEZ, ISIDRO JUÁREZ DE FIGUEROA. Before me, JUAN GUTIÉRREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary. DON JUAN DE OÑATE.

And I, Juan Gutiérrez de Bocanegra, captain by the authority of the King our lord, and secretary of state of this kingdom, was present at all that may appear signed with my name, and by order of the governor who here signed his name, I made this copy from the original that remains in the state archives [fol. 157r/113r], and it is true and accurate, and in witness of its accuracy I signed it.
JUAN GUTIÉRREZ BOCANEGRA, secretary.

The Valverde Interrogatory

The other major source for the expedition is an “información” compiled in 1602 by Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, “factor²² juez oficial de la a real hacienda de su majestad” for the Viceroy of New Spain, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey (1595-1603). The Valverde interrogatory has, to my knowledge, never been published in Spanish. The English translation by Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:836-877) omitted the testimony of two witnesses, Diego de Ayarde and Miguel Montero de Castro. It is only in this abridged and translated form that the document is generally known among historians and ethnographers. So far as I am aware, the original is lost, but two copies exist: (1) Archivo General de Indias (henceforth AGI), Audiencia de México legajo 25, núm. 22-A, 40 fols. (henceforth M25; cf. Hanke 1977, 2:71, §1203), copied in Madrid, 12 Sept. 1606, and certified by Juan López de Hernani; (2) AGI, Patronato legajo 22, ramo 4, fols. 159r-217v (henceforth P22). The latter bears an undated certification by Hernando Esteban, royal notary, but appears to have been copied directly in accordance with the viceroy's order of 11 May 1602. P22 bears a contemporary foliation numbering 114-171 which continues that of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” 107-113. The marginal notes in P22 contain internal cross references explained below. M25 includes Esteban's certification, so at first glance one would assume that it was a direct copy of P22 and therefore of no value for the reconstruction of the original. However, there are numerous places in the interrogatory where M25 offers better readings, including some passages that the scribe of P22 must have omitted from his model. I conclude that M25 and P22 are independent in the sense that neither was copied from the other. This requires the assumption that at least one other copy was made at the same time as P22 and that both received Esteban's rubrics and sign; M25's model was thus the other supposititious copy. In P22 the certification is in Esteban's own hand, radically different from that of the main text of P22, and is marked as original by the rubrics and sign just mentioned. In M25 the certification is incorporated into the main text with neither rubrics nor signs. In any case, P22 is a copy of the original transcript of the proceedings, whereas M25 is a copy of a copy; I have consequently adopted P22 as the basis of my edition, but with occasional emendations based on the readings of M25.

Valverde interviewed five members of the expedition according to a series of prepared questions, following the format of the “interrogatorio” that characterized many legal proceedings of the time. The resulting document, or “información,” also contains the responses of the Indian Miguel to queries put to him, and answered, by hand signs. The proceedings took place between 22 and 27 April, in Valverde's own residence. The process resembles the deposition of witnesses in the Anglo-American legal tradition.

In the interrogatory, the accounts of the witnesses are less circumstantial, and far less rhetorical, than the account given in the “Relación cierta y verdadera,” but they offer a wealth of details lacking in the latter. The witnesses were first asked to respond “por el thenor del dicho auto de su señoría”, 'according to the wording of the decree of his lordship (the viceroy)', which

²²Oficial real que en las Indias recaudaba las rentas y rendía los tributos en especie pertenecientes a la Corona' *DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.; not perhaps just a tax-collector, but more like a treasurer and controller of accounts.

appears to refer to the “comision” that inaugurates the interrogatory. In any case, the witnesses provide a brief account of their recruitment as colonists for New Mexico, then follow questions about Oñate's earlier expeditions: about how he came to the decision to explore Quivira; about the population, dress, customs, and material resources of the “pacified” Indians of New Mexico, that is, the Pueblos; about the initial stages of the expedition to Quivira and the first groups of native peoples encountered (the Apaches and the Escanxaques); about the bison; about how the expeditionaries gained information about the peoples of Quivira and their first contact with them; about the structure and contents of the dwellings as well as the size and location of cornfields in Quivira; about Oñate's decision to turn back rather than continue on towards the “mar del norte” (the Atlantic Ocean); about the Spaniards' hostile encounter with the Escanxaques upon the former's departure from Quivira; about the geographical location of Quivira; about the stories of great wealth propagated by the captive Indian called Miguel (see below); and, finally, whether it would be worthwhile for his Catholic Majesty to subsidize a return expedition. The questions put to the five witnesses vary somewhat both in content and number, but the broad outlines of the interrogatory remain the same throughout.

The text produced by an interrogatory inevitably involves considerable repetition, as each witness is called to answer fundamentally identical questions. On occasion, the answers are so similar as to make one wonder whether the witnesses had heard the preceding witnesses' responses and recalled them literally. Nevertheless, close comparison of the statements reveals a great deal of variation in form even when the subject matter is identical. For instance, all the witnesses are eloquent in their descriptions of the bison, but Juan de León supplies an anecdote illustrating the great risks involved in hunting them: “a este testigo | le mato vn toro vn caballo en que yba baquean- | do,²³ que era ligero y de vna cornada que le dio en la | barriga le hecho fuera las tripas y vientre” (P22 fol. 178r8-11).

At a later point in the expedition, all the Spaniards were no doubt aware of the grave danger Oñate incurred when he took hostages from among the Indians of the “great settlement” he came upon in Quivira, in order that he might exchange them for a Spaniard supposedly held in captivity, but it is only Diego de Ayarde who recalls the votive offering made on this occasion:

se ordeno | que se pre[n]diesen algunos yndios quando bolbie- | sen para darles en trueque del dicho español | y toda la jente del rreal ofrecieron para v- | na lampara de plata a nuestra señora por- | que se sirbiese de que se cobrase (P22 fol. 190r24-v1).

Among the most intriguing items in the interrogatory--lacking in the “Relación cierta y verdadera”--is the native phrase *escanxaque* which accompanied the characteristic gestures signifying peaceful intentions. In Baltazar Martínez Cogedor's words:

casi a ducientas leguas del dicho rreal | de San Grabiél comenzaron a ver yndios, a los | quales pusieron por nombre los escanjaques | porque les salieron a dar la paz, alzando anbas ma- | nos al sol e puniendoselas en los pechos, diziendo | “escanxaque” que es señal

²³Cf. *vaquear* 'practicar la vaquería o caza de ganado salvaje', a meaning attributed to Argentine Spanish in the *DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.

de paz. (fol. 165r11-16).

Similar comments were made by Juan de León, fol. 178v19-22, Diego de Ayarde, fols. 188v24-189r1, and Juan Rodríguez, fol. 205r30-v6; only Miguel Montero de Castro failed to recall the phrase, fol. 197v7-10.

Escanxague was adopted by the Spaniards as the name for this tribe, whose territory lay far to the east of that of the Apaches, and who were hostile to the sedentary Indians of Quivira. The name thus bestowed on them lives on in the anthropological literature, but little is known about them, since they seem not to have survived into the nineteenth century as an identifiable nation, and no one to my knowledge has been able to discover a convincing linguistic interpretation of the expression “*escanxague*” (Bailey and Young 2001:475; Craddock 1998:522; Newcomb 2001:548-549; Parks 2001:965; Vehik 2001:156).

By far the most unusual and interesting feature of the Valverde interrogatory is the final portion, devoted to an interview with Miguel, the Indian captured by the Spaniards during their battle with the Escanxagues (henceforth I will assume this name has been naturalized into English) on the outskirts of Quivira. The interview was conducted by means of a sort of sign language, since Miguel and his captors did not share a spoken language. Valverde organized an elaborate charade of Mexican Indians dressed in turn as potentates (“principales”), plebeians, and warriors, so that Miguel might have the opportunity to recognize both the social types and the garments they bore. There followed a species of show-and-tell demonstration, in which objects ranging from domestic animals to kitchen items were presented to Miguel, so that he might confirm or deny their existence in Quivira. He was asked to draw on a piece of paper the relative location of the settlements he was acquainted with in Quivira, which he did, adding serpentine lines for rivers, and straight lines for trails. The settlements were indicated with small circles, of varying size according to the relative size and importance of the settlements, and beneath the circles the notary wrote the corresponding names as Miguel pronounced them. This paper is extant (AGI, Mapas y planos, México, no. 50), and constitutes the earliest extant map of any part of North America drawn by a Native American (see Vehik 1986:21-26; Warhus 1997:24-32, with a reproduction of the map; cf. Craddock 1998:532-533, n. 11). A facsimile and transcription of the verbal portions of Miguel’s map were brought out by Craddock (2002:163-164) and are included in this volume.²⁴

Finally, after dismissing all but essential personnel from the room in which the interview was being conducted, that is, in Valverde’s own dwelling, the very serious matter of gold was broached. Miguel claimed considerable experience of the precious metal, not only as one who

²⁴The expedition was the basis for another map drawn by the cosmographer Enrique Martínez in 1602, whose main informant was the witness Juan Rodríguez, a Portuguese seaman (AGI, Mapas y planos, México, no. 49; facsimile reproduction in Hammond and Rey 1966 opposite the title page, see also Bolton 1916, facing p. 212). Martínez’s map includes, along with the settlements along the Rio Grande, a depiction of Oñate’s route (cf. Wheat 1957:29 “Apparently the earliest map now still in existence portraying actual, on-the-spot observation of any part of the American Transmississippi West resulted from this trek of Oñate to Quivira”). A facsimile reproduction of Martínez’s map is included in this edition.

himself had drunk from golden goblets, but who had supposedly witnessed the operations of extracting gold dust from a lake, presumably a form of panning, and of refining the dust into liquid metal in small furnaces. All the witnesses of the interrogatory had heard these accounts, and were asked about them; all but the first witness were firmly persuaded of the truth and accuracy of Miguel's statements. No doubt most readers would now agree with Baltazar Martínez Cogedor's skepticism: “[este testigo] siente que el yndio lo diçe por entender que da | gusto en ello a los soldados y a los que se lo pregun- | tan” (P22 fol. 173v17-19). Indeed, Miguel's tales recall those told by “el Turco,” the Indian who lured Coronado to Quivira a half-century earlier with fantasies of a mighty prince who ate from gold plates, sailed on a great river in vessels plied by forty oarsmen, and took naps under trees decorated with golden bells, whose tinkling in the breeze soothed his slumber (Bolton 1990:198; Mora 1992:88). Miguel's tales had no similar consequence; the Spaniards never returned to Quivira in force and Miguel's later life is lost to history.

The Witnesses

The first witness (fols. 161r-174v), Baltazar Martínez Cogedor, had joined the expedition only recently with the reinforcements recruited in 1600, and bore the rank of “alguacil real,” which suggests a sort of military policeman, in the company of captain Bernabé de las Casas. He appears in the inspection and muster roll, or “Cala y cata” conducted by Juan de Sotelo Cisneros and Juan de Gordejuela Ibarguen, 30 August-5 September 1600 (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fols. 513-576; translated by Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:514-579), where he is described as “hijo de Juan Sanches | Coxedor, natural de la billa de Budia | en el rreino de Castilla, alto de | cuerpo, bien arrostrado, barbipo- | niente, de hedad de beinte e dos años” (fol. 554v23-26; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:552). He was a signatory of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (fol. 156v27; Craddock 1998:509). His relative lack of experience caused him to mistake the name of Oñate's headquarters repeatedly, calling it “San Gregorio” (fol. 161v23, etc.) instead of “San Gabriel.”

The second witness (fols. 174v-186r) was the veteran of the lot, Juan de León, described only as a “soldado,” i.e., a private, in the company of captain Alonso Gómez. He appears in the first inspection and muster carried out by Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, 9 December 1596 (AGI, México 25, núm. 22-B; Hanke 1977, 2:71, §1204; translated by Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:94-168). He was described more circumstantially in the second muster under the direction of Juan de Frías Salazar, 8 January 1598 (AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fols. 423r-512v; México 25, núm. 22-C, Hanke 1977, 2:71, §1205; translated by Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:199-308): “natural de Cadiz, hijo de Antonio de Leon, | . . . natural de Malaga, de buen cuerpo, varuirrojo | con una verruga en la mexilla derecha, de hedad de | treinta años” (P22 fol. 497r9-12; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:298). A signatory of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (fol. 156v26; Craddock 1998:509), he also accompanied Vicente de Zaldívar's expedition to the buffalo plains in 1598, and though not a witness to the official report, he was mentioned in Gaspar Pérez de Villagrás's verse account published in 1610 (Craddock and Polt 1999:71). De León had the skill, or the good luck, of a survivor, for he was present at the pueblo of Acoma on 4 December 1598, when Juan de Zaldívar and his party were attacked. De León escaped by throwing himself off the mesa, and lived to tell the tale, though badly wounded (see his testimony during the trial of the Indians of Acoma: AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 13, fols. 1048r-1049r; the Spanish text was edited and

translated by Craddock and Polt 2008, see also Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:443-445).

The third witness (fols.186r-195r) was another common soldier, Diego de Ayarde (also spelled Ayardi or Ayardia), in the company of captain Alonso de Sosa. Though he went to Quivira, Ayarde was not a signatory of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (fol. 156v; Craddock 1998:509). He accompanied Vicente de Zaldívar in 1598 to the buffalo plains and was a witness, though illiterate, to the official report of that expedition (Craddock and Polt 1999:21, 30, 71). In the “Cala y cata” of Frías Salazar, he is described as “hijo de Bartolome de Ayardi, natural de Gua- | dalajara en esta Nueva España, alto de cuerpo, baruicastaño, | pecoso de biruelas y un dedo de la mano izquierda herida [sic]” (P22 fol. 494r17-19; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:295).

The fourth witness (fols.195r-202v) was Miguel Montero de Castro, “alférez” (lit. 'ensign, standard bearer', the lowest officer rank) in the company of captain Marcelo de Espinosa, and a signatory of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (fol. 156v24; Craddock 1998:509). In the “Cala y cata” of Frías Salazar, his muster specifies that he is “hijo de Agustin Montero de Castro, | natural de la çiudad de Mexico, de buen cuerpo, baruirro- | jo, trocados los ojos, de hedad de veinte y çinco años” (P22 fol. 493v17-19; Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:294). Hammond and Rey translate “trocados los ojos” as “pink-eyed,” I know not on what authority; I have not come upon the expression elsewhere.

The fifth witness (fols. 202v-211v) was the Portuguese mariner Juan Rodríguez, who describes himself as a “caudillo,” a subaltern officer, perhaps on the order of a corporal, in the company of captain Francisco de Zúñiga. He was a signatory of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (fol. 156v23-24; Craddock 1998:509). In the muster of Frías Salazar, we learn that he is “natural de la ciudad de Oporto, hijo de Gonzalo | Gonzalez, de mediano cuerpo, entrecano, de hedad | de quarenta años” (P22 fol. 490r18-20). In view of his experience as a sailor, he was questioned more closely than the other witnesses concerning geographic matters. At one point he suggests that only sixty leagues from Quivira there may be an “estrecho que pasa de una mar a otra” (fol. 211v9), no doubt under the influence of another great myth of the period, the “estrecho de Anían” or Northwest Passage across North America that supposedly linked the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

All that we know about the lone Indian witness Miguel derives from his testimony (P22 fols. 211v-217r) in the Valverde interrogatory. Born among “los pueblos de Tancoa” (P22 fol. 214v9) of Quivira, while still a boy he was taken captive by the Escanxaques. He was raised among “los de Aguacane” (P22 fol. 215r2), presumably a specific tribe or settlement of the Escanxaques, until he was in turn captured by the Spaniards during the skirmish with the Escanxaques that took place just as the Spaniards were departing from Quivira. Just how Miguel came to possess the apparently detailed knowledge of gold-smelting that so impressed the Spaniards is rather a mystery, knowledge so specific that it seems to strain the limits of what could be expected from even the most avid suggestibility. Miguel provided a sketch, a sort of map, which represents Miguel’s efforts to provide the names and locations of, as well as the distances, at least in relative terms, between all the Quivira communities he was acquainted with. How this was accomplished is described in the Interrogatory (fols. 212v-213r).²⁵

²⁵Originally the sketch accompanied the “Información” as its last leaf, but was removed; its current shelf number is “Mapas y Planos, México, 50.” Newcomb and Campbell 1982

The Language of the Interrogatory

P22 is written with a sprawling, careless hand that is occasionally difficult to decipher; the contrast with the hand of M25 could hardly be greater. The latter is rather precious in its neatness and the elegance of its flourishes, but possesses the advantage of being much easier to read. P22 contains numerous marginal glosses in a different hand that are absent from M25; the glosses do no more than summarize the questions being asked at any given moment in the interrogation, except at one point: where Miguel is asked for details about the extraction and smelting of gold in Quivira, the marginal gloss says only “Veàse” (fol. 215v); one is tempted to translate “Don't miss this!” As explained above, neither P22 nor M25 is the direct transcript of the proceedings, which seems no longer to be extant. One can assume that the lexicon and basic syntax of the testimony belong to the witnesses, but it seems more than likely that the superficial aspects of the witnesses' morphology and phonology were overlaid by the corresponding features of the Spanish spoken by the copyists. In any case, the language of the interrogatory constitutes a species of amalgam of the linguistic traits of a considerable cast of characters, including Valverde the interrogator, his five witnesses, and at least three scribes—the two who produced P22 and M25, and the one who took down the witnesses' statements in the first place.

The copyist of M25 on various occasions appears to have been baffled by what he was reading, so that the first instance of unusual forms is badly garbled: M25 “escaijanes” (fol. 4v14; P22 “escanjaques” fol. 165r13) for “escanxaques”/“escanjaques,” adopted by the Spaniards as a tribal name. Thereafter M25 copied the name with no apparent difficulty (e.g., fol. 6r7 et passim). M25 badly garbles the name of the ill-fated explorer Humaña the first time it appears: “Limaña” (fol. 12v19; P22 “Vmaña” fol.176r12), but not thereafter. Though tuna 'prickly pear' may have been common enough in the New World (cf. Bravo García 1989:768), M25 seems not to have known the word: M25 “trinas” (fol. 12v2; P22 “tunas” fol. 175v18). Similarly, M25 seems not to have known what to make of enaguas 'skirt, petticoat': M25 “nagas” (fol. 31r16; P22 “naguas” fol. 203r9; cf. Bravo García 1989:751-752). P25 “xacal” (fol. 179r28) for jacal 'native hut' is distorted in M25 as “xajal” (fol. 15r20). It may be significant that tuna, (e)naguas, and jacal are of Amerindian origin, but they were of very long standing in Spanish by 1606. The odd rendering in M25 of “ramos” (fol. 4v19; P22 “rranchos” fol. 165r20) for ranchos 'individual nomadic dwellings, teepees', may belong in this category, that is, vocabulary items common in the colonies, but less current in Spain. What led the copyist of M25 to write “tienen mucha carbosidad de pinos” (fol. 12r29) for P22 “tienen | mucha arboleda de pinos” (fol. 175v16-17) is anybody's guess.

In characterizing the language of a document written in Spanish of any period, the first order of business is to determine whether the document reflects Peninsular or American Spanish

attempted to interpret Manuel's map from an ethnographic point of view, with inconclusive results. Reproductions of the sketch can be seen in Encinias et al. (1992:x), where it appears rather fuzzy and inadequately identified, and in Jiménez Codinach (1994:427), where a sharply focused plate makes the sketch reasonably legible under a magnifying glass, with accurate identification. I owe this last reference to Barbara De Marco.

pronunciation norms. Two basic criteria are of particular interest:

(1) Whether a distinction has been maintained between a voiceless dorso-alveolar sibilant [s] on its way to becoming interdental [θ] in the course of the seventeenth century in Peninsular Castilian, a sound graphically represented by *c* (before a front vowel *e* or *i*), *ç*, and *z*, and a voiceless apico-alveolar, somewhat retroflex, sibilant [ʃ], characteristic of Peninsular Castilian but foreign to American Spanish, represented by single *s* or double *ss*. If *c*, *ç*, and *z* alternate indiscriminately with *s* ~ *ss*, one may take it as an indication of the seseante pronunciation typical of American Spanish, in which *c*, *ç*, *z*, and *s* ~ *ss* all represent the same sound, the dorso-alveolar [s].

(2) Whether *ll*, which represents the palatal lateral [l], and *y* (as well as its allograph *i*), representing the voiced palatal fricative [y], are kept distinct as in Castilian, or alternate freely, as an indication of a yeísta pronunciation, again typical of American Spanish, in which the two sounds merged as [y].

Neither P22 and M25 contains any instance of alternation between *ll* and *y*, and both show remarkably little alternation between *c*, *ç*, *z*, and *s* ~ *ss*, if one discounts the marginal glosses of P22: “*co- | noscan,*” “*comensò*” (fol. 163r, 204r) vs. “*comen- | çò*” (fol. 176r); no spellings so conclusively indicative of a seseante pronunciation occur in the main text of P22. The exceptions are limited to so few lexical items that one feels obliged to conclude that if there were any seseantes among the witnesses (that is, as noted above, speakers for whom *c*, *ç*, *z*, and *s* ~ *ss* had come to represent the same sound, as is normal in American Spanish), that feature was erased by the copyists. The exceptions are the last name Zaldívar, most often but not always “*saldibar*” in P22; although M25 shows a preference for “*Zalduar*” (usually capitalized), or “*çalduar*” (usually not), “*Salduar,*” with and without initial capital, occasionally appears. Complete indeterminacy reigns with regard to *maíz* 'maize, Indian corn'; the variants “*mays/mayz*” in P22, “*mais/maiz*” in M25, succeed in bewildering profusion, with no rhyme or reason that I could apprehend. Only the differing, and phonologically insignificant, ways of representing the stressed vowel are relatively consistent and characteristic (“*y*” in P22, “*i*” in M25). These two cases constitute the overwhelming majority of the exceptions to the distinction of *c*, *ç*, *z* vs. *s* ~ *ss* that occur in the two surviving texts of the interrogatory.

The remaining cases pertain more to M25 than to P22. The Nahuatl loan word *zacate* 'grass, straw' appears in P22 fol. 205v15 as “*çacate*” but in M25 fol. 33r4 as “*sacate.*” In Montero de Castro's testimony, “*pizete*” appears twice (P22 fol. 197r8, 198v11) as a variant of the Nahuatl loan word *piciete* 'tobacco', a trade good (rescate) popular with both Spaniards and Indians. In the corresponding places M25 has “*piçiete*” (fol. 27r31) and “*pisiete*” (fol. 28v2), with the expected diphthong, but with uncharacteristic alternation of *ç/s*. M25 shows “*pisiete*” once more (fol. 32v3), in Juan Rodríguez's testimony, vs. P22 “*piciete*” (fol. 205r1). Finally, the rather comical epithet Martínez Cogedor applied to the Pueblo Indians, i.e., “*cerimoniaticos*” 'much given to ceremonies' (fol. 163r4-5), is spelled “*seremoniaticos*” in M25 (fol. 3r14). The scribe of M25, working in Madrid, may have been unfamiliar with these words. If that is the case, did he simply copy them as they stood in his model, while eliminating, perhaps unconsciously, all other evidence of seseo?

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, it is appropriate to determine whether any vestige can be detected of “*aspiration,*” that is, the voiceless pharyngeal fricative [h] that

goes back to a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] in medieval Spanish. The aspiration was lost in the more prestigious varieties of Spanish by the middle of the sixteenth century, on both sides of the Atlantic, but lives on in many popular varieties of Spanish, again on both sides of the Atlantic, until the present day. Though the sound itself disappeared, normative orthography, i.e., that of printed works, maintained the spelling with h, so that the loss of [h] is difficult to observe directly. P22's hand suggests a rather less educated person than the scribe of M25, and, though one consequently finds more evidence of popular traits in P22, such traits are far from lacking in M25. A case in point is P22's entirely chaotic use of h, which clearly had no phonetic value (also noted in Kania 2000:668-669, in documents from Nueva Galicia), as one can judge in particular from the frequent cases where h is omitted from words that possessed an f in medieval Spanish: “uyo” (fol. 162r13) = huyó (OSp. fuyó), “erir” (fol. 164r20) = herir (OSp. ferir), “allaron” (fol. 164v12) = hallaron (OSp. fallaron), “ablar” (fol. 166v22) = hablar (OSp. fablar), etc. M25 is somewhat more normative in his spelling, thus, “herir” (fol. 4r5), “hallaron” (fol. 4r20), but instances like “vyo” (for huyó; fol. 2v12) and “ablar” (fol. 6r2) make it certain that M25 likewise lacked the aspiration [h] (cf. Bravo García 1989:635; Kania 2000:666-667). Note in this regard the presence of the popular variant hanegas, spelled in P22 as “anegas” (fol. 169v4; M25 “fanegas” fol. 7v25) for standard fanegas 'bushels'.

With regard, then, to the three features just considered, seseo, yeísmo, and aspiration, the phonology of the interrogatory corresponds well to early seventeenth-century Peninsular Spanish, even though one of the scribes, the copyist of P22, was working in Mexico City. This conclusion is in marked contrast to what one would deduce from the lexicon of the interrogatory, so completely characteristic of the Spanish of New Spain at that time.

Editorial Criteria

As in the case of the “Relación cierta y verdadera”, I have modernized the use of capital letters, the punctuation, and word division. Graphically agglutinated words are separated by an apostrophe, e.g., “qu'es” (fol. 164v23), “aunqu'es” (fol. 171v7), etc., except when the prepositions a and de are involved. The occasional written accents that appear in the manuscript, esp. in the marginal notes of P22, have been represented just as they stand, but the accent marks required by modern usage have not been introduced. The original spellings are retained scrupulously, including u and v, i and j, which appear as they are found in the original documents, with no attempt to regularize their usage according to phonetic criteria.²⁶ Large R alternates with double

²⁶19. The copulative and disjunctive conjunctions each have two phonological variants, e/y ('and') and o/u ('or'). Limited in modern Spanish to the phonotactic environment of an immediately following high front vowel [i], as in madre e hija, e in all other environments was an archaism, therefore much appreciated by the notarial class, and it may be doubted that it was actually pronounced differently from y. The mid-vowel variant of the disjunctive conjunction prevailed in modern Spanish, with the variant u restricted to words beginning with o, as in uno u otro. In the interrogatory, the two alternations appear to obey no linguistic principle I have been able to discover: P22 “sucia e negra” (fol. 165v5) vs. M25 “suçia y negra” (fol. 5r1); M25 “veinte e quatro” (fol. 11v14) vs. P22 “veynte y quatro” (fol. 174v23-24); P22 “si hauian muerto

rr, both word initially and word internally, as a representation of the voiced alveolar trill. In order to avoid an exception to the modernization of the use of capitals, I have transcribed large R throughout as rr, except at the beginning of names that are capitalized in modern usage. Abbreviations have been resolved; the letters supplied by the editor appear in italics.

The foliation corresponds to the recent page numbering that covers the entire P22 legajo. The various contemporary foliations of P22 have been ignored both in the edition and in the other texts from P22 cited in the introduction. M25 has no overall foliation; each “number,” that is, each cluster of documents in the legajo, has been foliated separately at a recent date, and that foliation appears with the readings of M25 cited in the apparatus of variants. The lines of P22 have been run on in the edition, but each line is separated by a vertical bar; every fifth line is numbered to facilitate references to the text in the introduction and the commentary. In the original, a mark resembling a lower-case v or check mark appears in the left margin to signal each question put to the witnesses and other textual divisions; I represent these marks with a paragraph symbol ¶.

The frequent marginal annotations present in P22 are introduced by the symbol “[LM]” when the annotations are in the left margin, and “[RM]” when they appear in the right margin; they are printed in bold face. The lines of the marginal annotations are not included in the numbering of the manuscript lines. The marginal notes contain frequent cross references, see the table given below. Editorial emendations appear in square brackets; editorial deletions are tacit in the edition but are noted in the apparatus of variants. Square brackets with a caret inside the initial bracket [^ . . .] signal scribal additions; parentheses with a caret inside the initial parenthesis (^ . . .) indicate scribal deletions. In the apparatus of variants, editorial comments appear in italics.

The Valverde Interrogatory **A note concerning marginal cross references in P22**

The reference (“*folio 39 vuelta*” = fol. 83v) on the title page (fol. 159r) refers to a passage describing the Indians of the great plains and the herds of buffalo they hunted in Hernán Gallegos’ “Relación” of the expedition of fray Agustín Rodríguez and Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado to New Mexico in 1581-1582 (ramo 4, fols. 27r-56v/71r-100v; edited by De Marco and Craddock 2013).

The marginalia in P22 that accompany the witnesses’ responses repeat the substance of each question directed to the witnesses, adding, in most cases, a reference to the folio where the same

alli los espa- | noles [sic] v donde” (fol. 168r20-21) vs. M25 “o donde” (fol. 7r6); P22 “seys v siete” (fol. 171r18) vs. M25 “seis o siete” (fol. 9r6). Occasional adherence to current norms for the appearance of the conditioned variants e and u seems coincidental: M25 “mugeres e hijos” (fol. 3v15-16) vs. P22 “mugeres hi hijos” (fol. 163v24); “labrar e ylar” (fol. 14r6) vs. P22 “labrar y ylar” (fol. 177v23); P22 “setecientos v ochocientos” (fol. 167v25) vs. M25 “setecientos o ochocientos” (vol. 6v17). See the detailed discussion in Kania (2000:769-773), with statistical tables.

question is put to the next witness. In some cases only the abbreviation “fo.” appears without a folio number (thus “fo. ---” in the list below), and in others that abbreviation appears but has been deleted by the scribe, signaled as “(^fo.) ---” in the list below; finally there are some instances without any indication of a cross-reference (“---”). Logically enough, there are no cross-references alongside the testimony of the last witness, Juan Rodrigues, but the scribe nonetheless wrote “fo.” three times, twice deleting the abbreviation.

The following table will make clear the purpose of the cross references.

Loci of the references	References (contemporaneous foliation)	Incipits of the marginalia
Witness: Baltazar Martínez		
116r/162r	fo. 130	Que noticias tubo el adelantado
116v/162v	fo. 129 ^v ^a	Que abra poblados y pacificos
	fo. 129	Calidad de gente y su traxe
117r/163r	(^fo.) ---	Que en lo pacifico no ay oro ni plata
	fo. 130 ^v ^a	Que salio con el adelantado
118r/164r	fo. 131 ^v ^a	Modo y hechura del monstruoso ganado
119v/165v	fo. 133	Que un genero de yndios les dio noticia
122v/168v	fo. 134 ^v ^a	Traza de la gran poblaçon
123r/169r	fo. ---	En que parte de casa tienen el maiz
124r/170r	fo. 136	Quanto subio mas arriba el adelantado
124v/170v	fo. 136 ^v ^a	Las causas que tubo el adelantado
125v/171v	fo. 138	La utilidad que se puede esperar
126r/176r	(^fo.) ---	Donde se prendio el yndio Migual
127v/173v	fo. 138	Si con ciertas las noticias
128r/174r	fo. 139 ^v ^a	Lo que se trata entre los soldados
128v/174v	fo. 139 ^v ^a	Que gente baptiçada ay
Witness: Juan de León		
129r/175r	fo. 140 ^v ^a	Calidad de gente y su traxe
129v/175v	fo. 141	Que abra poblados y pacificos
130r/176r	fo. 141	Que noticias tubo el adelantado
130v/176v	fo. 142	Que salio con el adelantado
131v/177v	(^fo.) ---	Modo y hechura del monstruoso ganado
133r/179r	fo. 143	Que un genero de yndios les dio noticia
135v/181v	fo. 145	Traza de la gran poblaçon
136r/182r	fo. 146	Que sementeras tienen los yndios
136v/182v	fo. 146	Las causas que tubo el adelantado

138r/184r	fo. 147	La utiliad que se puede esperar
	fo. 147	Si son ciertas las noticias
139r/185r	fo. 147v ^a	Que abra menester cada soldado
139v/185v	fo. 148v ^a	Lo que se trata entre los soldados
	fo. 148v ^a	Que gente baptiçada ay

Witness: Diego de Ayardia

140v/186v	fo. 149v ^a	Calidad de gente y su traxe
141r/187r	fo. 150	Que abra poblados y pacificos
	fo. 150	Que noticias tubo el adelantado
142r/188r	fo. 150v ^a	Que salio con el adelantado
143r/189r	fo. 152	Que un genero de yndios les dio noticia
145r/191r	fo. 152	Traza de la gran poblaçon
146r/192r	fo. 161v ^a	Que sementeras tienen los ynidos
	fo. 153v ^a	Las caussas que tubo el adelantado
147r/193r	fo. 154v ^a	La utilidad que se puede esperar
	fo. 155	Si con ciertas las noticias
147v/193v	fo. 155	Que abra menester cada soldado
148v/194v	---	Lo que se trata entre los soldados
	fo. 156	Que gente baptiçada ay

Witness: Miguel Montero

149v/194v	fo. 157	Calidad de gente y su traxe
150r/196r	fo. 157v ^a	Que abra poblados y pacificos
	fo. 157v ^a	Que noticias tubo el adelantado
150v/196v	fo. 158	Que salio con el adelantado
152r/198r	---	Que un genero de yndios les dio noticia
	fo. 160v ^a	Traza de la gran poblaçon
153r/199r	---	Que tienen dentro de las casas
153v/199v	fo. 162	Las caussas que tubo el adelantado
154v/200v	fo. 163	La utilidad que se puede esperar
155r/201r	fo. 163v ^a	Si son ciertas las noticias
155v/201v	fo. 164	Que abra menester cada soldado
156r/202r	fo. 164v ^a	Que gente baptiçada ay

Witness: Juan Rodrigues

157r/203r	---	Calidad de gente y su traxe
157v/203v	---	Que abra poblados y pacificos
	---	Que noticias tubo el adelantado
158r/204r	fo. ---	Que salio con el adelantado

160v/206v	---	Traza de la poblaçon grande
161v/207v	---	Que sementer as tienen los yndios
162r/208r	(^fo.) ---	Las caussas que tubo el adelantado
163r/209r	(^fo.) ---	La utilidad que se puede esperar
163v/209v	---	Si son ciertas las noticias
164r/210r	---	Que abra menester cada soldado
164v/210v	---	Que gente baptiçada ay
	---	En que altura esta lo poblado y pacifico

Archivo General de Indias, Patronato 22, ramo 4, fols. 159r-217v.

[fol. 159r]

[LM] folio 39 vuelta

Ynformacion que por comission del | virrey conde de Monterrey hizo | de officio el factor don Francisco | de Valverde sobre el nueuo des- |⁵ cubrimiento que el *gouernador* don | Juan de Oñate hizo hazia | la parte del norte mas adelante | de las *proujncias* del Nueuo Mexico.

[fol. 159v] [blank]

[fol. 160r]

[LM] Comision del | virrey al | factor don | Francisco de Val- | uerde para | hazer im- | formacion sobre | la entrada | del adelantado | que aora | hizo hazia | el norte | 22 abril 1602.

¶ En el bosque de Chapultepeque a veyn- | te y dos dias del mes de abril de mill y seyscientos y dos | años, don Gaspar de Zuñiga y Haçueudo, conde [de] Monterrey, | señor de las casas y estado de Viedma y Vlloa, virrey lu- |⁵ garthiniente del rrey *nuestro* señor, su gobernador y ca- | pitan general de la Nueva España, presidente de la au- | diencia rreal que en ella rreside et *cetera*, dijo que por quanto | a llegado a esta çuidad el maese de campo Viçente de Saldi- | bar con hauiso de ser buelto el gobernador don Juan de |¹⁰ Oñate su tio a las poblaciones del Nuebo Mexico de la jor- | nada que hiço la tierra adentro para nuebos descubri- | mientos de probuinçias con parte de la jente que tenia en | las *dichas* poblaçiones y rreal asentado en ellas y asimismo | cartas y rrelaciones de lo subzedido en la *dicha* jornada y des- |¹⁵ cubrimiento con otras notiçias de ynportançia y que por | hauer venido con yntento de alcanzar, prender y cas- | tigar a la jente que poco a se salio del Nuebo Mexico sin | voluntad ni orden del gobernador que [l]a hauia de- | xado de prisidio en el, trajo y trae en su conpañia mu- |²⁰ chos soldados de los que se allaron en este vltimo des- | cubrimjento con el *dicho* governador como tambien se allo | el mismo maese de campo Vizente de Saldibar y jun- | tamente vn yndio prisionero que tomaron en vna | rrefriega que se tubo en las poblaçiones nueva- |²⁵ mente descubiertas o çerca dellas con vna naçion de | yndios que en los llanos de Zibola andaba rran- | cheada tras la multitud de las bacas que por ellos | descurren, el qual yndio, aunque no habla ni en- | tiende lengua en que se pueda comunicar con el, sig- |³⁰ nifica y da a entender por señas mas y mayores | particularidades de aquella tierra, lo qual todo | ynporta al ofiçio y gobierno de su *señoria* que se exsamine [fol. 160v] y averigue con el mayor fundamento y por las | mejores diligençias que sea pusible para apurar | la verdad y proveer lo que conbenga al servi- | cio de dios y del rrey nuestro señor y que por go- |⁵ vernaçion se cometa esto a persona que de la tierra | y mares de los estados de estas Yndias oçidentales | y descriçion de todo ello y tan bien de las notiçias | de [otros] descubrimientos antiguos y modernos | tenga buena platica y yntiligencia, por |¹⁰ tanto que mandaba y mando, cometia y cometio | a don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado | fator juez ofiçial de la rreal haçienda de esta | Nueva España que en nombre de su *señoria* | como virrey gobernador y *capitan* general de |¹⁵ este rreyno por auctos y ante escribano haga las | ynformaciones y diligencias necesarias y conbinien- | tes en rrazon de todo lo suso *dicho* como le pareziere | que cunple al bien de la causa y asi lo probeyo y | mando el conde de Monterrey *ante* mi Benito |²⁰ de Sandianes escribano.

¶ En la çuidad de Mexico veyn- | te y tres dias | del mes de abril de mill y seyscientos y dos años, | don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, fa- | tor juez ofiçial de la rreal hacienda de su ma- |²⁵ gestad, dijo que su *señoria* y lustrissima del virrey de esta | Nueva España le ynbio esta comision,

la qual obedeze | para hazer y cunplir lo que por ella le manda y non- | bro por escribano para ante quien pasen las | ynformaciones y dilijencias que se le mandan |³⁰ fazer a mi Hernando Esteban escriuano rreal y lo firmo [fol. 161r] de su nombre don Francisco de Valuerde y Mercado, ante mi Hernando Esteban escribano rreal.

¶ Haueriguacion en rrazon del autto de- | su se[ñ]oria sobre el descubrimiento |⁵ del Nuebo Mexico.

[LM] Testigo Balthasar | Martinez al- | guazil rreal | de la jornada | 23 años | folio.

¶ En la ciudad de Mexico a veynte y tres dias | del mes de abril de mill y seyscientos y dos años, don | Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, factor juez o- | fiçial de la rreal haçienda de esta Nueva Espana, |¹⁰ en virtud de la comision de su señoria para la | haueriguacion del vltimo descubrimiento | fecho por el gobernador don Jhoan de Oñate | en las probinçias del Nuebo Mexico, hiço pare- | zer ante si a hun hombre que dijo llamarse |¹⁵ Baltasar Martinez y ser natural de la villa | de Budia del rreyno de Toledo y obispado de Si- | guença y alguaçil rreal del capitan y cabo Ber- | nabe de las Casas que fue de socorro a las dichas | probinçias del Nuebo Mexico el año pasado |²⁰ de mill y seyscientos, del qual rrezibio juramento | por dios y por la señal de la cruz en forma de | derecho y prometio de dezir verdad y pregun- | tado por el thenor del dicho aucto de su señoria, | dijo que lo que sabe y pasa es que el dicho año de |²⁵ mill y seyscientos a veynte y tres dias del | mes de diziembre, este testigo entro en las | dichas probinçias del Nuebo Mexico con la jente | de socorro que a ella se llebo Bernabe de las | Casas cabo, que fueron ochenta soldados y este [fol. 161v] dia veynte y tres de diziembre llegaron al rreal | que el dicho don Juan de Oñate gobernador tenia | asentado, que se nombra el rreal de San Grabiell, pue- | blo de yndios de naçion teguas, en el qual dicho rreal |⁵ estaba el dicho gobernador don Juan de Oñate con to- | da la jente que a aquella saçon hauia en las dichas | probincias, que le parece serian otros ochenta om- | bres poco mas o menos y este testigo estuvo en | el dicho rreal seys meses pocos dias mas o menos y |¹⁰ en ellos no hiço este testigo jornada si no fue en | conpañia de algunos pocos conpañeros a los pue- | blos que estaban de paz çercanos por bastimentos.

¶ Preguntado si en el dicho tiempo de seys meses se hiço | alguna jornada por el dicho gobernador don Juan |¹⁵ de Oñatte o por alguno de sus capitanes y adonde, | dijo que el sargento mayor Vizente de Saldibar, | que oy es maestro de canpo y despues lo fue para | el nuebo descubrimiento que hiço el gober- | nador don Jhoan de Oñatte a las notiçias que |²⁰ tenia de la banda del norte, salio al castigo de | los yndios de las salinas y jumanas, que sigun | este testigo oyo deçir estan quarenta leguas | del dicho rreal de San Gregorio, con çinquenta com- | pañeros poco mas o menos y le parece que tardo |²⁵ en yr y bolber del dicho biaje treynta dias po- | co mas o menos y oyo dezir a los soldados que | fueron con el que hauia hecho el dicho castigo | y vio yndios y muchachos que trajeron | de presa al rreal y no se hiço otra jornada [fol. 162r] en todo el tiempo que este testigo estuvo | en el dicho rreal, porque ya el dicho don Juan de Oñate | se estaba aprestando para salir a vn nuebo | descubrimiento de que tenian notiçias a la van- |⁵ da del norte.

[LM] Que notiçias | tubo el ade- | lantado para | hazer la nueua | entrada ettcetera | folio 130.

¶ Preguntado si sabe que notiçias heran las que | el dicho gobernador tenia para salir a la jorna- | da que se estaba aprestando, dijo que las | que este testigo supo y entendio fueron como |¹⁰ hauia entrado a aquella parte el capi- | tan Leyba y el capitan Vmaña con treynta | conpañeros mas de ducientas leguas y que | dellos se les aparto o uyo vn yndio llamado | Jusepe de nacion mejicano, el qual este testigo |¹⁵ vio y conoze, el qual dezia que hauia mucha | jente en vna poblaçon muy

grande por | la qual hauia andado tres dias y que no hauia | llegado al fin della y que por hauer muerto | el capitan Vmaña al capitan Leyba su ²⁰ compañero e por otras ocasiones, los hauia de- | jado y se hauia buuelto y hauia estado cautibo | en la naçion apache que es la jente que anda | baqueando el ganado de Zebola, baliendose de | la carne, sebo, manteca y queros y vinien- ²⁵ dola a contratar con los yndios pecos y taos | y las demas naciones donde esta poblado | el dicho gobernador don Juan de Oñate y que [fol. 162v] [sin] lo que el dicho yndio Jusepe deçia, los espa- | ñoles dezian que hauia vn rrio muy | grande y que los españoles hauian passado | delante y este testigo no supo que el dicho go- ⁵ bernador tubiese otras noticias.

[LM] **Que abra po- | blados y pa- | cificos en lo | que gouierna | el adelantado | 16U yndios | folio 129 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado que jente le pareze que abra | al presente pacifica en lo que el dicho don Juan | gobierna, dijo que este testigo oyo a muchas | personas que hauian andado toda la tierra que ¹⁰ estaba poblada debajo del gobierno del dicho | don Juan de Oñate que serian los que estaban | pacificados y poblados diez y seys mil yndios | pocos mas o menos.

[LM] **Calidad de | gente y su | traxe, tie- | rra y vasti- | mentos ettcetera | fol. 129.**

¶ Preguntado que calidad tiene la dicha jente, ¹⁵ dijo que es jente de buena disposiçion, doziles | y de buenos yngenios, con natural mansedun- | bre y jente que bibe en ley natural y la | guardan muy justificadamente y se bisten | de mantas de algodón y otros de mantas de ²⁰ plumas de gallinas y otros de cueros de | bacas de Zebola y sienbran y cogen mucho | mayz, aunque les faltan los tenporales | algunos años por los muchos yelos, que lo son | muy grandes y por este rrespecto estiman ²⁵ en mucho el mayz y sienten mucho quando | se lo piden o toman.

¶ Preguntado si ay oro o platta o tienen [fol. 163r]

[LM] **Que en lo paçi- | fico no ay oro | ni plata, ni | sabe que lo co- | noscan y | qu'es gente | pobre y no | ay grange- | rias ettcetera.**

algunas granjerias, dijo que no sabe que | tengan oro o platta ni sabe que lo conozcan | y que tanpoco sabe tengan granjerias y | que es jente probe, generalmente cerimoniati- ⁵ cos y esto sabe y bio en lo que esta poblado y | andubo y lo oyo dezir a las personas que estaban | en las dichas probincias.

[LM] **Que salio con | el adelantado | al nueuo des- | cubrimiento | y por donde | comenso ettcetera | fol. 130 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado si salio con el gobernador don Juan | de Oñatte al descubrimiento de la jente ¹⁰ del norte y si salio con el o donde se junto en su | conpa[ñ]ia y que diga lo que vio y entendio de | el viaje que hiço el dicho don Juan de Oñate, | la calidad de la tierra por donde andubo y la | distançia de tierra que andubo y la jente ¹⁵ que vio en ella y lo que sabe y entiende del | numero y calidad della y de las esperanças | que pueden prometer las notiçias que tubie- | ron de lo que bieron y andubieron, | dijo que este testigo salio del dicho rreal de San ²⁰ Gregorio quatro dias despues que el dicho go- | vernador don Juan de Oñatte salio para la | dicha jornada, que fue a primero de jullio del | a[ñ]o pasado de seyscientos y vno, con algunos | compañeros y lo alcanzaron en el pueblo de ²⁵ Galisteo donde hauia hecho alto para esperar | la jente y caminaron el rreal todo junto sin [fol. 163v] el maese de campo y veynte compañeros que que- | daron atras y lo alcanzaron en el Rio de la Mada- | lena, poco mas de treynta leguas del dicho rreal | de San Gregorio y el dicho gobernador llebaba ⁵ por guia al dicho Jusepe yndio mejicano y | fueron caminando por entre el norte y el na- | çimiento del sol y el dicho camino desde el dicho Rio de |

la Madaglena, comenzaron ha uer jente de la na- | çion apache que son los yndios que matan y |¹⁰
baquean las dichas bacas para valerse por con- | trataçion de la manteca, sebo, carne y cueros |
dellas y es jente y nacion desnuda y que no tiene | poblacion y biben y se alojan en vnas tiendas |
que hazen de los cueros de las dichas bacas, las qua- |¹⁵ les dichas tiendas lleban cogidas ençima
de | vnos perros pequeños, quando se quieren mu- | dar, que les sirven de bagajes y los dichos
yndios | traen arcos y flechas que es con lo que matan | las dichas bacas y con que pelean con sus
enemigos |²⁰ y el mayor numero que vio junto de la dicha | jente fueron cien yndios y estos pocas
vezes | y quando caminan y se mudan de vnas par- | tes a otras, lleban sus mujeres hi hijos y a los
| hijos pequeños los cargan sus madres y no |²⁵ sabe ni a oydo dezir que los dichos yndios ten- |
gan otra manera de bimir mas que esta y | hauiendo caminado sesenta leguas poco mas | o menos
despues que partieron del dicho rreal [fol. 164r] de San Gregorio, comenzaron a ber el
monstruoso | ganado de bacas de Zebola.

[LM] **Modo y | hechura del | monstruoso | ganado de | Cibola ettcetera | folio 131 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado que diga por que llama monstruo- | so al dicho ganado, dijo que porque las dichas
vacas |⁵ son del grandor de las nuestras aunque son de ca- | ñas de bra[ç]os y pies mas cortas que
las nuestras | e todas son de color pardas sin otra mezcla de color. | Son muy lanudas y la lana
blanda y buena y | del medio cuerpo para adelante tienen mucho mas |¹⁰ larga la lana que de alli
para atras y la lana cor- | ta es mucho mejor y mas blanda y le pareze que | se podria hazer de la
dicha lana, escojiendola, pa- | ños y sayales y jergas y desde los braçuelos a | la cabeza tienen vna
grande corcoba arqueada |¹⁵ y enpinada en la qual tienen mucha manteca | y carne las que estan
gordas y las cabezas son las | ordinarias aunque no se les pueden ver los ojos | ni orejas por la
muchu lana que tienen y los | cuernos son de vna terçia de largor, bueltas de |²⁰ las puntas vna a la
otra y para erir tuer- | zen la cabeza y los cuernos son negros y luçientes | como açabache y muy
puntiagudos. Tienen | barbas muy largas como cabrones y les cuelgan | de las rrodillas vnas largas
vedijas de lana |²⁵ y las colas tienen como puercos y en las pun- | tas dellas tienen zerdas y las que
estan gor- | das tienen enpellas de tres dedos de grueso [fol. 164v] entre el cuero y carne y las
bacas no son de tan | grandes vbres y barrigas como las nuestras | y son muy mas ligeras que las
nuestras, casi | tanto como benados y asi les costaba mucho |⁵ trabajo matarlas porque no
aguardaban | y en todo el camino hasta la parte de donde se | bolbieron que le pareze serian
duçientas y | veynte leguas, vieron sienpre mucho del dicho | ganado que casi cubrio la tierra por
donde quie- |¹⁰ ra que yban y por todo el camino, que causaba | muy grande admiraçion y en todas
partes | del dicho camino allaron aguas a tres y a qua- | tro leguas y en partes mas çerca y en toda |
esta distançia nunca hallaron rrio caudaloso |¹⁵ aunque arroyos que corrian de rrazonables | aguas
y en todo el camino allaron ciruelas | de la tierra buenas, vermejas y coloradas, dul- | zes y de
buena carne y los arboles dellas muy pe- | queños y asimismo hallaron vbas silvestres |²⁰ e quando
hauia llovido bien se dejaban comer | y sabian bien y toda la tierra que andubieron | es muy llana
que jamas bieron sierra ninguna | desde que salieron del Rio de los Bagres, qu'es | vn rrio que
esta diez leguas antes de el de la |²⁵ Madalena y esta al pie de las sierras que dibi- | den los llanos
de Zebola y la tierra que oy esta | poblada que llaman Nuevo Mexico e mien- | tras mas adelante
yban, se mejoraba sienpre [fol. 165r] la calidad de la tierra de agua y pastos y arbole- | das y entre
ellos hauia nogales de los de la tierra y mo- | rales de Castilla de que se cria la seda y olmos de |
Castilla y rrobles con villotas gordas y por los me- |⁵ ses de jullio y agosto, que fue quando yban
cami- | nando, hacia tanto calor de dia y de noche como | en Madrid por el dicho tiempo y

hauiendo caminado | como ciento y veynte leguas del dicho rreal de San | Grabiél de donde salieron, no vieron mas yndios |¹⁰ de la nacion apache ni de otros en mas de sesenta | leguas y casi a ducientas leguas del dicho rreal | de San Grabiél comenzaron a ver yndios, a los | quales pusieron por nombre los escanjaques | porque les salieron a dar la paz, alzando anbas ma- |¹⁵ nos al sol e puniendoselas en los pechos, diziendo | “escanxaque” que es señal de paz e quando los comen- | zaron a ver fue en vna rrancheria grande que | le pareze que abria poco mas o menos de seys mill | personas poco mas o menos, ombres y mujeres, chicos y |²⁰ grandes, de vnos rranchos fechos de rramas y al- | gunos grandes, porque vbo rrancho que se midio | e tubo noventa pies de rredondez y algunos | dellos tenian por enzima los cueros de las va- | cas de Zebola adobados he hechos tiendas como |²⁵ los traen los apaches y es jente desnuda sin | ningun vestido y come de la carne de las | dichas bacas, que ay la cantidad dellas que tiene | dicho e pasa adelante por la notiçia que tubie- | ron de los dichos yndios, que por señales les dijeron [**fol. 165v**] que hauia muchas dellas adelante y no tienen otro | sustento porque no sienbran y es jente de la mis- | ma dispusicion que los apaches, mas corpulen- | tos e rrobustos que los de la nacion mexicana y es |⁵ jente muy sucia e negra e de rruynes fayciones | y a lo que se entendio della, es jente poco fiel en | amistad. Traen arcos y flechas e macanas de tres | quartas de largo de palo rrezio y en las puntas vnos | pedernales gruesos con que hazen golpe e por la |¹⁰ enpuñadura tienen vn fiador porque no se les | pierda al hazer el golpe y traen adargas grandes | de cuero de baca que se adargan y cubren to- | do el cuerpo, rrecoxiendose debajo dellas. Las mu- | jeres son muy rrayadas a su modo como las |¹⁵ chichimecas y se rrayan todo el rrostro y los | pechos y braços y andan tambien desnudas | en cueros, ecepto que traen cubiertas las partes | vergonçosas con vnos pedaçillos de cuero | blando.

[*LM*] **Que un genero | de yndios les dio | notiçia de | muchissima | gente adelante | ettcetera | folio 133.**

²⁰ ¶ Preguntado si del dicho genero de jente de nacion | escanxaque tubieron notiçia que hauia mas | cantidad de la que vieron en la dicha rrancheria | y que tanta y por que notiçias, dijo que los | dichos yndios les dieron a entender por señas |²⁵ que de la dicha su naçion avia otras rrancherias | a vnas partes y a otras e no sabe este testigo | por que no se pudieron entender donde ni quan- | ta jente y asimismo los dichos yndios les dieron | noticia por señas y por lengua de dos o tres |³⁰ yndios que hauia en la dicha rrancheria de [**fol. 166r**] la naçion apache que entendian y hablaban | con el dicho Jusepe yndio mexicano, guia del dicho | gobernador, que dos o tres jornadas de alli abia | vna poblaçion de jente rrayada que señala- |⁵ ban que las rrayas heran desde los ojos hasta las | orejas, que la jente hera muchisima y la pobla- | çion muy grande, porque dezian que tres dias | de camino tardaban en atrabesar la pobla- | çion y que en ella quemaron en vna casa o jacal |¹⁰ a los españoles que entraron con Leyba y que se | guardase el dicho gobernador y su jente dellos por- | que los auian de quemar como a los demas por- | que heran muchos y que ellos querian yr con | el dicho gobernador y su jente a pelear con la jen- |¹⁵ te de la dicha poblaçion porque eran sus enemi- | gos y pidiendoles el dicho gobernador guia para | yr a la dicha poblaçion, le dijeron que ellos querian | yr con el y sin embargo de esto el dicho gobernador | mando coger vno de los yndios de la dicha rranche- |²⁰ ria y lo llebaron en vna collera para que les | guiasse a la dicha poblaçion y hauiendo salido | de la dicha rrancheria donde estubieron medio | dia, salieron tras ellos como çien yndios y el | dicho dia los llebo el dicho yndio que tomaron por |²⁵ guia a parar a un arroyo tres leguas de la dicha | rrancheria, donde hiçieron noche y poco

despues | que asentaron rreal, llegaron los *dichos* çien yn- | dios y quisieran parar con la jente del
dicho go- | bernador, el qual no lo consintio y asi se aloxa- [**fol. 166v**] ron en el arroyo çerca del
 rreal y otro dia alzando | el rreal el gobernador y su jente para caminar, | caminaron junto a ellos
 los *dichos* çien yndios | vn poco desviados y fueron a hazer noche el ⁵ *dicho* dia a una loma
 peque[ñ]a junto a un rrio | mayor que los que hauian visto atras, de agua | turbia aunque dulce y
 rrio de buenas begas | y apacibles arboledas y luego que asentaron | el rreal dentro de vna ora
 vieron, como un ¹⁰ tiro de arcabuz del *dicho* rreal, llegaron mucha | cantidad de jente de los
 escanxaques de la rran- | cheria que quedaba atras y se alojaron y en | menos tiempo de vna ora
 hiçieron vna | rrancheria semejante a la que tenian atras ¹⁵ de mucha jente, que no se determina
 quanta era | mas de que le pareçe era menos que la *dicha* rran- | cheria que quedaba atras y
 camino el *dicho* rreal | del gobernador y su jente dos dias despues y sien- | pre fueron de los
dichos yndios alguna cantidad ²⁰ dellos, que serian menos de çiento, siguiendo | el *dicho* rreal y a
 vista del y algunas vezes | llegaban a ablar por señas con los soldados, di- | çiendoles por señas
 que ya llegaban zerca | de los enemigos con quien hauian de pelear ²⁵ y hazer mucho en su daño y
 en *nuestro* fabor y | despues de los *dichos* dos dias, llegaron al *mismo* | rrio que dejaban atras y
 desde vn alto, | antes de llegar a el los *dichos* yndios escanxaque, [**fol. 167r**] dijeron por señas
 que mirasen haçia vna lo- | ma de la otra parte del rrio donde este testigo | y los demas bieron
 mucha jente de la qual vie- | ron venir haçia el rreal alguna, todos enbijados ⁵ y con sus arcos y
 flechas y adargas y macanas, | que le pareze estaban dos tiros de arcabuz poco | mas o *menos* y el
dicho gobernador y su jente se a- | perzibieron para rrecibirlos y los llamaron | de paz y binieron
 mas de çiento de los *dichos* yn- ¹⁰ dios y llegaron al rreal y ablaron por señas, dando | a entender
 que querian paz, haçiendo las mismas | señaes que las de atras y diçiendoles el *dicho* gober- |
 nador por señas que queria yr con su jente | a su pueblo, le rrespondieron asimismo por señas ¹⁵
 que fuese y por ser tarde y no sabe[r] el vado de | el rrio para pasar las carretas, se ordeno de
 parar | a la orilla del y aquella tarde fueron y vinier- | ron algunos yndios de la *dicha* poblacion al
 rreal, | mostrando amistad pero muy gran admi- ²⁰ raçion de ver a los españoles y espantados y |
 suspendidos de ver qu[e] llebaban consigo el *dicho* | governador y su jente aquellos indios | sus
 enemigos y otro dia siguiente amaneciieron | en el rreal cantidad de setecientos v ocho- ²⁵ çientos
 yndios de los escanxaques, los cuales | binieron aperzibidos para pelear, envija- | dos y muy
 ferozes y el *dicho* gobernador les *mando* | apartar del *dicho* rreal y que se estuviesen [**fol. 167v**]
 todos juntos y los *dichos* yndios escanxaques tor- | naron a dar rrelaçion como en aquella
 poblaçion | era donde hauian quemado a los españoles y que | vn español estaba en la *dicha*
 poblaçion bibo, ⁵ quemados los pies, que se hauia escapado del fue- | go y el *dicho* gobernador
 llamo a su jente a con- | sejo de guerra y se acordo que antes que llega- | sen a la *dicha* poblaçion
 se prendiesen algunos yn- | dios de los que della venian al rreal para cobrar ¹⁰ y dar en trueque
 por el español que dezian | estaba bibo y luego binieron cantidad de los | *dichos* yndios de la
dicha poblaçion, cada vno con | vna maçorca de mayz que ofrezieron al gober- | nador, de los
 cuales se prendieron ocho para el ¹⁵ *dicho* efeto y preguntandoles por señas como | hauian
 quemado a los españoles y por que y | que trajesen vno que tenian con los pies que- | mados,
 dijeron y mostraron por señas que no | sabian nada de lo que se les preguntaba y que ²⁰ no
 creyesen a los yndios que les hablaban por- | que heran enemigos dellos y que se matauan | y
 comian vnos a otros y con todo esto se me- | tieron presos en collera y el rreal paso de la otra |
 parte del rrio aça la poblaçion, yendo con el *dicho* ²⁵ rreal los *dichos* setecientos v ochocientos

yndios | escanxaques y a vna vista de la dicha pobla- | çion, se hecho de ver que no hauia jente en ella | y que se hauian ydo y los dichos yndios escanxa- [fol. 168r] ques, luego que entendieron esto, partieron | vnos por vna parte y otros por otra a la poblacion | a saquealla y comenzaron a poner fuego a las casas | y viendo esto el dicho gobernador, ynbio cantidad |⁵ de soldados, entre los quales fue este *testigo*, con mucha | priesa para que no consintiesen que quemasen | las casas y que solo les permitiesen tomar algun | mays y se fuesen y asi se hiço y este dia siendo | tarde, visto el dicho governador que los yndios |¹⁰ de la dicha poblacion se hauian ydo y dejadola, solto | seys de los dichos yndios que hauia preso y les dijo | por señas que fuesen y llamasen sus compañeros | y les dijessen que se bolbiesen a su pueblo por- | que el y su jente heran sus amigos y no venian |¹⁵ a hazerles ningun daño y de los dos que queda- | ron presos, el vno a lo que pareçio era de mas ca- | lidad que los otros, porque a lo que preguntaban | mandaba rresponder al que estaba preso con | el y a los dichos dos yndios se les bolbio a pregun- |²⁰ tar por señas si hauian muerto alli los espa- | ñoles v donde y si estaba entre ellos el español | de los pies quemados y sienpre dijeron que no | sabian nada dello y la noche de este dia se huye- | ron los dichos dos yndios presos a un soldado que |²⁵ los velava y visto el dia siguiente que les fal- | tava guia, porque asimismo hauian suelto | al yndio que trayan de la rrancheria de los es- | canxaques, luego que descubrieron la pobla- [fol. 168v] çion, el dicho Gobernador mando a su jente que procura- | sen coger algun yndio de los escanxaques v de otra | naçion, el que allasen; se prendieron quatro | o çinco yndios todos de los escanxaques que an- |⁵ daban todabia saqueando las casas y se les pre- | gunto dieseen nueba rrelaçion de la poblacion y de | la tierra y dijeron que aquella poblacion tenia | tres dias de camino y que los yndios della esta- | ban ya todos juntos y conbocando a sus amigos |¹⁰ para benir a matar a los españoles y que hauia | muchos rrios en aquella comarca, todos pobla- | dos de mucha jente y se les pregunto, mostran- | doles algunos cabos de agujeta de color de oro y pla- | ta y otras cosas, si hauia de aquello en aquella tie- |¹⁵ rra y a todo esto dijeron que no, ni lo conocian | ni avian visto.

[LM] Traza de la | gran pobla- | çon que uie- | ron, desde | donde se uol- | uieron ettcetera | folio 135 vuelta.

¶ Preguntado si este testigo entro en la dicha pobla- | çion y en las casas della, si las vio y considero, | que diga que cantidad de casas abria y la forma |²⁰ dellas y lo que los yndios tenian en las dichas casas, | dijo que este testigo con todo el rreal entraron en | la dicha poblacion y en las casas della, la qual | dicha poblacion esta a la orilla de vn rrio peque- | ño que viene a entrar en el grande, de vna parte y |²⁵ otra del dicho rrio pequeño y las casas apartadas | vnas de otras a veynte y treynta y quarent- | ta pasos mas y menos y estas estan como ba- | rrios y en cada barrio como treynta o quarenta [fol. 169r] casas y de varrio a varrio ay baçios de a du- | çientos o treçientos pasos y las casas son de | vnos palos delgados, vara en tierra, muy | juntos vnos de otros, que se juntan en lo alto |⁵ vnos con otros en forma de pavellon y por | la parte de avajo son rredondos, que tendran | de zircuyto setenta o ochenta pies, con vnas | puertas tan pequeñas que es menester | para entrar yncarse de rrodillas y las cie- |¹⁰ rran con vnos palillos cubiertos de paja y | dentro de vna parte a otra como la mitad o ter- | cia parte de la casa, tienen vnos palos atrabesados | sobre los quales bienen a hazer vnas camas | del grandor de las de cordeles de Castilla, con vnos |¹⁵ palos atrabesados que es donde le parezio a este | declarante que dormian y a la quarta parte del altor | de la casa, atrabesado de vna parte a otra de ma- | nera que haçia como vn sobrado, al qual subian | por vna escalera de palo por la parte de fuera |²⁰ y entendio este

testigo y los demas que aquello | hera para en *tiempo* de calor y lo bajo tenia tan- | ta cantidad de pulgas que tenian por plaga el | entrar en ellas y de esta manera eran todas las | casas que este testigo vio y cubiertas por de fuera |²⁵ desde el suelo a lo alto de paja.

[LM] **En que parte | de casa tienen | el maiz, y si | tienen en ella muebles ettcetera | folio.**

¶ Preguntado donde tenian el mays que los | yndios enemigos les saqueaban y si tienen | algunas rropas o muebles v otra cosa den- [fol. 169v] tro de sus casas, dijo que dentro de las propias | casas tenian el mayz en maçorca en el suelo y que | la mayor cantidad que vio junto del *dicho* mayz | en vna casa serian dos anegas muy tasadas en |⁵ maçorca y que no bio comal ni metate en que | en esta tierra se hazen las tortillas y se muelen | y solo vio en *algunas* de las *dichas* casas vna piedra- | çuela pequeña como dos ladrillos juntos de | anchor y largo, con otra piedra pequeña como |¹⁰ guijarro, que parezio que devian moler | con anbas piedras algun poco de mays para al- | guna nezesidad, porque se entendio que no ha- | çian pan sino que asaban aquellas maçorcas | de quando en quando, porque su comida ordina- |¹⁵ ria se entendio que es la carne de aquellas va- | cas de Zebola, que es el mayor o mejor manteni- | miento que tienen y toda la jente que vieron | de esta poblacion la vieron en cueros como | a los demas y no bieron que tubiesen ropa nin- |²⁰ guna de algodón ni lana ni genero de lienço, por- | que si lo huuiera no dejaran de llebar alguno | de los *dichos* yndios *alguna* muestra de averlo | o se allara en *alguna* de las *dichas* casas y se acuerda | este *testigo* de que vio a vno de los *dichos* yndios |²⁵ escanxaques en vn arco, puesto por grande | gala, vn ylo de algodón y preguntandole al *dicho* | yndio por señas los españoles que donde hauia | de aquello, rrespondio por señas que de vnos [fol. 170r] pueblos, señalando a la parte de San Grabiél y | provincias de donde hauian ydo los *dichos* es- | pañoles, donde este testigo ha uisto algodón | y no en ninguna de las otras partes ni te- |⁵ nido noticia que lo aya.

[LM] **Quanto subio | mas arriba | el adelantado de la | poblazon grande y | que semente- | ras uieron ettcetera | folio 136.**

¶ Preguntado que tanto subio por las *dichas* poblacio- | nes el *dicho* don Juan de Oñate y en ellas, que se- | menteras vieron de mayz y si vieron otros je- | neros de mantenimientos de los que los yndios v- |¹⁰ san y tienen por costumbre sustentarse, dijo | que le pareze que el *dicho* governador y su jen- | te suvieron por vn lado de las casas de la *dicha* po- | blaçon por donde los carros podian caminar | hasta casi dos leguas, que le pareçio que hera el |¹⁵ fin de la *dicha* poblaçon y toda ella yba en ba- | rrios como tiene *dicho* y se acuerda oyr dezir | que contaron las casas quatro soldados y que | hallaron cerca de dos mill y que en toda la *dicha* | poblaçon las sementeras y rroças dellas son |²⁰ entre casa y casa, el espaçio que ay y algunas | salen a los lados de las *dichas* casas, aunque no | apartadas de la vista dellas y tambien se | vieron algunos pocos de frisoles y calaba- | zas peque[ñ]as y no otra cosa ni frutales, |²⁵ salbo algunos çiruelos y parrillas que lleban | las vbas silvestres que tiene *dicho* y esto no | cultivado y llegando al fin de la *dicha* poblaçon [fol. 170v] por vn lado, fue nezesario derrotarse açia la parte | del oriente buscando camino para los carros y vn | dia llegaron a un arroyuelo de mucha arboleda | muy apazible dos leguas mas adelante de la *dicha* |⁵ poblaçon y se hiço *diligencia* para buscar passo | para los carros y no se hallo y asi fue fuerza bol- | ber atras vn poco adelante de donde el dia atras | avian salido en demanda del rrio de la poblaçon | y se hiço alto en vn altillo aquel dia tenprano |¹⁰ y enbio el *dicho* governador doze soldados que | biesen que tierra descubria[n] adelante o si hauia | algun humo para procurar algun yndio que | les guiase y los *dichos* doze soldados bolbieron en | la noche, diziendo que la poblaçon yba suze- |¹⁵ sibamente el rrio arriba mas adelante de lo que | se hauia descubierto antes

y que no hauian | hallado indio que traer.

¶ Preguntado si pasaron adelante y que notiçias tu- | vieron de mas jente o mas velicosa de la que ²⁰ hauian visto, dijo que no pasaron delante y | que no tubieron mas notiçias de las que hasta | entonçes les hauian dado los yndios escan- | xaques y los de la dicha poblacion.

[LM] **Las causas que | tubo el adelantado | para no pasar | adelante | ettcetera folio 136 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado que rrazones y ocaçiones tubo ²⁵ el dicho governador don Juan de Oñate para | bolberse de la primera poblaçon que vio sin | tener notiçias ciertas ni continuas [fol. 171r] ni multiplicadas por diferentes naçiones | e jentes que le obligasen a no proseguir o hazer | alto para rreformat su jente y caballada, que rres- | peto del largo camino devia yr fatigada, ⁵ dijo que vn capitán que se nombra Dionisio de | Bañuelos tomo la mano viendo que los capitanes | y soldados yban de mala gana y el y otros capita- | nes solicitaron de hazer vna petiçion, la qual | presentaron protestando el rriesgo en que esta- | ¹⁰ ban y el rriesgo en que hauia quedado el rreal de | San Grabiél y diciendo en ella que conbenia dar | notiçia a su magestad de lo fecho y descubierto por ser po- | ca la jente y ver que estaban en tierra de ynfini- | dad de jente sigun las notiçias y que el ynbierno ¹⁵ se benia açercando y como era malo ynbernar en | partes tan rremotas y otras causas que alegaron | y protestaron en la dicha petiçion, la firmaron to- | dos los capitanes y soldados, ezepto seys v siete | *personas* que no fueron del dicho parecer y leyda la pe- ²⁰ ticion al governador, aunque mostro pesar- | le de que le pidiesen de parte de su magestad el no pro- | seguir su descubrimiento, probeyo que desde el dicho | paraje se bolbiesen al rreal de San Grego- | rio como se hiço.

²⁵ ¶ Preguntado si los caballos mulas y bueyes | que llebaban yvan ya cansados y flacos y de | manera que mostraban nezesidad de hazer [fol. 171v] alto y rreforçallos y si le parece a este testigo que he- | ra aquel sitio de calidad que se pudieran fortifi- | car en el y entretener el ynbierno y tomar noticia | entera de lo que entonçes se hauia comenzado ha uer, ⁵ que diga lo que entiende, dijo que los cavallos e | demas vestias yban ya fatigados aunque no | muy flacos y aunqu'es verdad que el puesto | era suficiènte para poder, aunque con mucho | trabajo de los soldados, hazer algun fuerte ¹⁰ o rreparo para poder ynbernar, era todo muy | dificultosisimo a causa de ver que los yndios | ya no podian ser amigos e que el bastimento que lle- | baban de arina de mays, se hauian ya gastado | las dos terçias partes dello y que con la comida ¹⁵ de mays sin poderlo moler por no hauer como- | didad para ello, le parece a este testigo que | se sustentaran con mucho trabajo y mas, | siendo nezesario que los caballos no podian | andar en la sabana sino que se hauian de ²⁰ enzerrar, a cuya causa era menester para | sustentarlos el mays que tenian y asi tie- | ne por cosa muy dificultosa que se pudieran | sustentar ynbernando alli sin mucho | rriesgo y tubo por azertada la buelta.

[LM] **La vtilidad que | se puede esperar | del nueuo des- | cubrimiento ettcetera | folio 138.**

²⁵ ¶ Preguntado conforme a las noticias que | tubieron y a la tierra que vio y dispusicion | della, si su magestad se sirviese de hazer merced | y socorro al dicho governador don Jhoan [fol. 172r] de Oñatte de faborezerle con jente para pro- | seguir el dicho descubrimiento y conquista, si yra este | testigo de buena gana a ella y que vtilidad | le parece que podria rresultar para acrezenta- ⁵ miento de la corona rreal de la dicha jornada, di- | jo que este testigo no yria a la dicha jornada por- | que entiende por lo que vio y oyo que en nin- | gun tiempo podria sacar provecho para el | ni que tanpoco entiende que a la corona rreal ¹⁰ puede ser de ningun provecho por ser tierra | tan

rremota y que por las notiçias que tubieron, | entendiieron que la mar esta desviada y para | hauer de poblar en ella y querer apremiar a los | yndios a sujecion sera de ningun efeto por- |¹⁵ que son jente sin dominio y quando se lo quie- | ran poner se mudaran como lo hazen donde | no se puedan subjetar por la larga distançia | que ay de tierra y toda de vna manera.

[LM] **Donde se pren- | dio el yndio | Miguel que | traxo a Mexico | el maestre de campo | ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado el yndio Miguel que se trajo a |²⁰ esta ciudad de Mexico y tiene en ella el maes- | tre de campo Vizente de Zaldibar, donde le tom- | aron y luego como le tomaron, si por señas se le | hiçieron preguntas como las que este *testigo* dize | se hicieron a otros yndios, mostrandoles me- |²⁵ tales de plata y oro y cobre y cosas de algo- | don, multitud y copia de jente, donde y como | la hauia, lo que rrespondia y lo que este *testigo* [fol. 172v] entiende y supo entonzes y despues aca, que lo | an tratado y comunicado por las *dichas* se[ñ]as, | dijo que el mismo dia que se determino la buel- | ta, que fue bispera de San Miguel del año pasa- |⁵ do, llegaron trenpano a las dos de la tarde a la pun- | ta de la poblaçon donde hauian llegado con los | yndios escanxaques, yendo el maese de can- | po delante con *algunos* conpañeros a rreconocer, | vieron que salian los yndios escanxaques |¹⁰ a ellos con muestras de guerra y que azercan- | dose mas, los comenzaron a flechar y el *dicho* ma- | ese de campo se rretiro al rreal que yba mar- | chando vn quarto de legua atras y conpuso | la jente y les dio orden y mando que nadie |¹⁵ ezediese della y el *dicho* gobernador mando que | ninguno disparase arcabuz asta que el dis- | parase o diese orden y mando que todos los | capitanes y soldados fuesen haçia los yndios, | dandoles la paz que ellos vsan y asi se hiço |²⁰ y de *ninguna* manera la quisieron admitir los | yndios sino que *antes* dijeron que no que- | rian ser amigos sino matallos y diçiendo | esto se pusieron en media luna y vinieron | envistiendo, disparando muchas flechas |²⁵ y mostrandose belicosos y el *dicho* maese de | campo y la jente que estaba aperzebida y | bien armada los ynbistieron y pelearon | y duro la rrefriega tres oras, porque los *dichos* [fol. 173r] yndios, luego que los comenzaron a derribar, | se fortificaron entre vnas peñas de donde sa- | lian a tirar y se bolbian a rreparar y el | gobernador, porque no matasen mujeres |⁵ y niños que estaban entre ellos, moderó la fuer- | ça y da[ñ]o que les pudiera hazer y en la *dicha* rre- | friega se prendieron ocho v diez muchachos, | barones y henbras, y al *dicho* yndio Miguel y | con esto se acabo lo que fue guerra y no vbo |¹⁰ en toda la yda y buelta de esta jornada otra | *ninguna* rrefriega ni guerra y quando bol- | bieron a la *dicha* poblaçon, bieron que los *dichos* yn- | dios escanxaques abian quemado muchas | casas de la *dicha* poblaçon y fecho y formado rran- |¹⁵ cheria y le parece a este *testigo* que los yndios que | dieron esta batalla serian dos mill y quinien- | tos o tres mill yndios y en este numero se con- | formaron los mas parezeres de los soldados y | abiendose rrecogido la jente a la noche de este |²⁰ dia y veladose con cuydado, otro dia prosiguie- | ron el viaje haçia San Grabiél y en todo el | camino este *testigo* no bio hazer ninguna pregunta | ni deligençia al *dicho* yndio Miguel ni sabe que se | hiçiese y entiende que la causa porque no se hiço |²⁵ fue por no tener esperança de que les podria dar mas | rraçon de la que los yndios sus conpañeros les hauian | dado y ellos hauian uisto y llegados al rreal de San | Grabiél, tanpoco entendio este *testigo* que pudiera [fol. 173v] el *dicho* yndio dar rrelaçion *ninguna* por entonzes que | fuese diferente de las que tenian y estando ya de partida | para salir a esta tierra de paz, que seria veynte dias des- | pues de la llegada a San Grabiél, oyo dezir este *testigo* |⁵ al capitan Baca y a otros soldados que el *dicho* yndio | avia dado al *dicho* capitan Baca muchas rrelaçiones | de que hauia mucho oro dos dias y medio de camino |

a un lado de donde hauian llegado y que dio otras rre- | laçiones de poblaciones y de que en ellas ay vn gran ¹⁰ capitan o rrey, las quales dichas rrelaçiones este testi- | go le oyo dezir y significar por señas desde que sa- | lieron del dicho rreal de San Grabiell asta esta çiuðad.

[LM] **Si son çiertas | las noticias | quel yndio | Miguel da ettcetera | folio 138.**

¶ Preguntado si este testigo tiene por ciertas las noti- | çias que el dicho yndio da o lo que siente dello, dijo que ¹⁵ nunca las a tenido y tiene por çiertas porque si lo | fueran, los demas yndios huuieran [dicho] algo dello | y que siente que el yndio lo diçe por entender que da | gusto en ello a los soldados y a los que se lo pregun- | tan.

²⁰ ¶ Preguntado si sabe el altura en que esta el rreal | de San Grabiell y si hauiendo caminado como dijo al | prinçipio la buelta del nordeste duçientas y veynte | leguas, que es entre el oriente y el norte como tie- | ne dicho, lo que multiplicaron del altura, si oyo dezir ²⁵ comunicar y conferir que tan zerca tenian la mar | y a que partes les pareçia que podian salir a ella, | que diga lo que sabe y a entendido, dijo que este | testigo a oydo decir muchas vezes que el rreal | de San Grabiell esta en treynta y siete grados ³⁰ de altura y lo demas que se le pregunta no lo sabe ni | lo oyo trat[ar]. [fol. 174r]

¶ Preguntado si de los soldados que vinieron a esta | ciudad en conpa[ñ]ia del maese de campo Vicente | de Saldibar, ay alguno que sea matematico o ma- | rinero, dijo que con el dicho maese de campo vino ⁵ vn Juan Rodriguez portugues, que dezian que | es pilotto y no sabe este testigo que lo sea por- | que en ocasiones que se ofrecieron de tratar don- | de le demoraba la mar y otras cosas zerca desto, | nunca dio rraçon dello ni mostro entenderlo.

[LM] **Lo que se | trata entre | los soldados | del descubri- | miento cerca de | boluer a el | folio 139 vuelta.**

¹⁰ ¶ Preguntado si a los soldados que bolbieron con don | Juan de Oñate de la jornada del norte, en este cami- | no ansi en la buelta desde la nueba poblaçon a San | Grabiell como de los que an venido con el maese de | campo a esta çiuðad, a oydo conferir y tratar de la ¹⁵ buelta a la conquista y descubrimiento de la dicha | nueba poblaçon y lo que les pareze y la opinion | comun de los dichos soldados y capitanes en la vti- | lidad que se seguiria de bolber a ella, dijo que | muchas vezes a oydo este testigo tratar de la buel- ²⁰ ta de la dicha jornada y del efeto que podra tener la | conquista y pazificaçion della y a pocos a oydo | que tengan esperança de buen suzesos, aunque o- | tros ay de parezer que si su magestad se lo pagase | bien volveran.

²⁵ ¶ Preguntado si estos soldados que dizen que pa- | gandoselo bolberan, si tienen officios en que gan- | nan de comer, dijo que es jente muy probe | y nezesitada y entiende este testigo que no tienen | officios ni orden para ganar de comer y que si lo ³⁰ tubieran no fueran la dicha jornada aunque | se lo pagaran bien. [fol. 174v]

[LM] **Que gente | bapçiada | ay en lo | poblado y | pacifico ettcetera | folio 139 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado en la poblaçon de San Grabiell si sabe | o a oydo dezir la jente de los yndios que ay bautizada, | y los que no lo estan por que causa lo dejan de estar, | dijo que no sabe que yndios de hedad esten bautiza- ⁵ dos y que algunos muchachos, que seran como treyn- | ta pocos mas o menos, se bautiçaron luego que lleg- | ron los españoles y tambien se bati[ç]aron otras | veynte yndias esclavas de los españoles que | estan en su seruiçio y entiende que la causa de ¹⁰ no hauer bapçiado mas jente por lo que a oydo | comunicar algunas vezes es porque los rreli- | giosos, considerando la flaqueza de la tierra, | no lo an fecho juzgando que no hauia de hauer | permanençia en ella.

¹⁵ ¶ Y esto es la verdad so cargo del juramento que hi- | ço en que se afirmo y rratifico, siendole leydo y | qu'es de hedad de veynte y tres años poco mas | o menos y no le va ynterese en esta causa ni le | tocan ninguna de las generales y lo firmo de su non- ²⁰ bre y el dicho factor don Francisco de Valverde, Bal- | tasar Martinez Coxedor, ante mi Hernando Esteban | escribano real.

[LM] **Testimonio | testigo Juan de Leon | soldado de | la jornada.**

¶ En la dicha ciudad de Mexico a veynte y | quatro dias del dicho mes de habril del dicho a- ²⁵ ño, el dicho factor don Francisco de Valverde pa- | ra la dicha ynformacion hiço parecer ante si | a vn hombre español que dijo llamarse | Juan de Leon y ser natural de la çiudad de Ma- | laga, del qual el dicho factor rrezibio juramento ³⁰ por dios y por la señal de la cruz en forma de [fol. 175r] derecho y prometio de dezir verdad y preguntado | por el auto de su señoria, dijo que este testigo entro a la | jornada del descubrimiento de las probincias del Nuebo | Mexico con el gobernador don Juan de Oñate y fue de los ⁵ primeros soldados que se hiçieron y asentaron para la | dicha jornada y fue por soldado de la conpa[ñ]ia del capi- | tan Alonso Gomez y siempre a estado y asistido en | las dichas provinçias hasta agora que salio dellas | el maese de campo Vizente de Saldibar y se allo y ¹⁰ sirbio en la paçificacion y descubrimiento de todos los | pueblos que al presente estan de paz y en todas las | jornadas que se hiçieron, como fue al descubri- | miento de las salinas y al primero descubri- | miento de las bacas de Zebola, ezepto a la jornada ¹⁵ que se hiço al descubrimiento de la mar del sur porque | por estar enfermo no pudo yr.

[LM] **Calidad de | gente y su | traxe, tie- | rra y vastimentos | ettcetera folio 140 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado diga la dispusicion y calidad que vio | y entendio de la jente y tierra que andubo de lo que | al presente esta paçifico, dijo que la jente que ²⁰ esta de paz es jente de buena dispusicion, hombres | y mujeres, sin rrayas aunque entre ellos ay vn | pueblo o dos de jente rrayada. Andan bestidos | los hombres con vnas mantillas cortas de algodón | bastas, muy pintadas de dibersas colores y con v- ²⁵ nos cueros aderezados de las bacas de Zebola, que son | a manera de bernias de Flandes y esto traen en tiempo | que haze frio y quando haze calor traen solas las | mantillas de la cintura abajo y otras mayo- | res que les cubre[n] todo el cuerpo. Es jente mansa y ³⁰ que en todo el discurso del descubrimiento no hubo [fol. 175v] alzamiento ni motin sino fueron los yndios juma- | nes, que son dos pueblos que mataron dos españo- | les y se halçaron, a cuyo castigo salio el sargento | mayor Vizente de Saldibar, que al presente es ⁵ maese de campo y en Acoma asimismo se alzaron | los yndios y mataron a Juan de Saldibar ma- | ese de campo y otros doze soldados suyos, a cuyo cas- | tigo asimismo salio el dicho Vizente de Saldibar | y con los dichos castigos quedaron paçificos y lo ¹⁰ estan y la tierra y poblaçiones son mas llanas | que fragosas y las poblaçiones estan asentadas | a las rriberas de rrios pequeños aunque el Rio | del Norte es algo mayor. Tienen sementeras de | mayz y frisoles y calavazas como lo que se da en ¹⁵ esta Nueva España, ezepto que difieren las ca- | [ñ]as del mays en ser mas pequeñas y tienen | mucha arboleda de pinos donde se coxe mucha | cantidad de piñones tan buenos como los de Casti- | lla y mejores y ay tunas peque[ñ]as. Crian ga- ²⁰ llinas de la tierra. Los pueblos son de poca ve- | zindad porque el mayor tendra quatroçientas | casas y de aqui abajo hasta treynta y en las co- | sechas de mayz ay años de abundançia y otros | de esterelidad por los yelos que son ordinarios, ²⁵ porque es tierra muy fria y muy continuas las | niebes que duran los seys meses del año, desde pri- | mero de octubre hasta fin de março y otros años mas.

[LM] **Que abrà po- | blados y pa- | çificos en lo | que gouierna el adelantado mas de 25U**

yndios que pueden pelear, y trabajar, sin mucho | numero de mugeres y criaturas. folio 141.

¶ Preguntado que cantidad de jente tendran ³⁰ todas las poblaciones que al presente estan pazifi- | cas, dijo que le pareze que habra mas de veynte [fol. 176r] y cinco mill yndios hombres que pueden pelear | y trabajar sin mucho numero de mugeres y | criaturas.

[LM] **Que notiçias | tubo el a- | delantado | para hazer | la nueva en- | trada ettcetera | folio 141.**

¶ Preguntado que notiçias fueron las que el dicho go- ⁵ vernador don Juan de Oñate tubo para salir a | la jornada que hiço a la parte del norte y llanos de Zebo- | la y poblaciones grandes y de quien, dijo que | estando el dicho governador en el rreal de San | Juan que fue el primero que tubo, vino a el vn ¹⁰ yndio mexicano que se nombra Jusepe, que di- | jo hauia entrado en las dichas provinçias con los | capitanes Leyba y Vmaña que entraron con | treynta conpañeros y el dicho yndio dijo al dicho | governador que los dichos capitanes con su jen- ¹⁵ te hauian allado una poblaçon muy grande | en la rribera de vn rrio y asimismo hauian | descubierto vn rrio muy ancho adelante de | la dicha poblaçon y que el dicho Jusepe y otro yn- | dio su conpañero se hauian vydo y en el cami- ²⁰ no hauian muerto a su conpañero y heridole | a el los yndios de la gran poblaçon y que los yn- | dios apaches, que son los que andan en los llanos | de Zebola baqueando para benir a contratar | con los poblados en el Nuevo Mexico en sebo, ²⁵ manteca, carne y cueros, lo hauian rrecogido | y curado y que hauia estado con ellos algun tiempo | hasta que tubo notiçia de los españoles, que | se huyo y vino a ellos y no supo este testigo | de otras notiçias porque entiende que con esta ³⁰ que dio el dicho Jusepe yndio se determino el [fol. 176v] dicho governador a hazer la dicha jornada.

¶ Preguntado si salio este testigo con el dicho gover- | nador a la dicha jornada y descubrimiento de las pobla- | çones y jente del norte, dijo que salio con el dicho go- ⁵ vernador a la dicha jornada con la demas jente | que a ella fue.

[LM] **Que saliò con | el adelantado | al nueuo des- | cubrimiento y por | donde comen- | çò ettcetera | folio 142.**

¶ Preguntado diga y declare lo que vio y entien- | dio del dicho viaje, la calidad de la tierra que an- | dubieron y la distançia della y la jente que vio ¹⁰ y el numero y calidad della y que esperanças | prometen las notiçias que tubieron y lo que | bieron y descubrieron, dijo que luego que asi sa- | lieron de las poblaciones a quatro leguas de ca- | mino, se les ofrecio una tierra poco fragosa, lle- ¹⁵ na de pinos, por la qual con fazilidad pasaron | los carros y carretas y todo el ejerçito y toda | la dicha sierra de subida y bajada tendra una | legua poco mas o menos y luego bajaron a v- | nos llanos por los quales caminaron ocho ²⁰ o diez leguas hasta un rrio que pusieron el | de los Bagres por que hauia muchos y de alli a- | delante sienpre se yban estendiendo mas los | llanos, por los quales ay arroyos, algunos ma- | yores que otros, que sienpre corren de muy ²⁵ buenas aguas y en sus rriberas muchas arbole- | das y entre los dichos arboles avia muchos zi- | ruelos y parras de vbas silvestres, las çirue- | las buenas y de buen sabor y que aunque se co- | mieron mucha cantidad no hiçieron daño y [fol. 177r] las ubas, las mas dellas, heran agrias y hauiendo | caminado por tierra semejante a la rreferida | casi quarenta leguas, descubrieron yndios | que son los que llaman baqueros apaches, que ⁵ como bieron la jente española se vinieron | a ella en quadrillas de a veynte y mas y menos, | los quales venian vestidos de unas xaquetas | de gamuça que les llegaba a la rrodilla y otros | con unos cueros de bacas adobados a manera de ¹⁰ vernias puestos como mantas y todos con sus | arcos y flechas y adargas

de cuero y macanas | de palo y al fin encajada una piedra a ma- | nera de hacha con un fiador para la muñeca | y todos trayan carne, sebo y manteca y lo daban ¹⁵ a los españoles con buena voluntad a lo que pa- | rezia y el dicho governador les mandaba dar y da- | ba vizcocho y tabaco y otras cosillas con que y- | ban contentos y despues de hauer uisto la dicha jen- | te vieron algunas rrancherías dellos que son ²⁰ unas tiendas pequeñas de los dichos cueros de | bacas adobados, que las ponen y alçan con fazilidad | y las rrecoxen y cargan en unos perrillos peque- | ños como los *nuestr*os, los quales andan matados | de la carga y el modo de caminar es que una yn- ²⁵ dia toma una senda y luego un perro cargado | tras ella y de vno en vno ban todos los demas | perros cargados detras y en acabando de pasar | los perros, van las mujeres y niños tras ellos [fol. 177v] y los yndios van desbiados a la vista en forma | de guerra, descubriendo si ven enemigos o caça, | como son bacas y venados y nunca hazen asiento | en vna parte porque sienpre andan siguiendo ⁵ el ganado y asi fueron caminando otros dos | o tres dias despues que descubrieron los dichos yn- | dios, que al fin dellos comenzaron a matar pa- | ra el sustento del campo y luego se les ofreçio | por todos aquellos llanos muy gran cantidad ¹⁰ de ganado, cuyo numero es tanto que no se puede | numerar porque casi cubre la tierra y este | ganado es monstruoso en su forma.

[LM] **Modo y he- | chura del | monstruoso | ganado de | Çibola ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado por que llaman al dicho ganado | monstruoso, que diga su forma, dijo que las ¹⁵ dichas rreses todas son pardas sin otra ninguna man- | cha y son del cuerpo y tamaño de las nuestras, | aunque son mas cortas de altor de manos y pies. | Son lanudas y la lana blanda y buena y del me- | dio cuerpo adelante tienen mucha mas la- ²⁰ na y mas larga y del medio cuerpo atras tie- | nen la lana mas corta y es mas blanda y le pa- | reze a este testigo que es lana que se puede labrar | y ylar y que se podra hazer paños y jergas, be- | nefiçandola bien y ençima de los bra[ç]uelos ²⁵ tienen una corcoba muy grande que les llega | a la tabla del pescuezo, enpinada mas que la cabeza, | y en la dicha corcoba y debajo de los braçuelos crian | la manteca que son como enpellas de sebones, | aunque se ponen amarillas en puniendolas [fol. 178r] al sol y la cabeza y oçico tienen como las nuestras, | aunque no se les ben bien las orejas y ojos por estar | muy llenas de lana y los cuernos son muy negros | y rreluçientes y las puntas bueltas vna a la otra ⁵ y tendran vna terçia de largo y para hazer gol- | pe buelben la cabeza. Son muy ligeras, mas que | las nuestras y tanto que para baqueallas les cos- | taban los caballos que les mataban y a este testigo | le mato vn toro vn caballo en que yba baquean- ¹⁰ do, que era ligero y de vna cornada que le dio en la | barriga le hecho fuera las tripas y vientre. Tie- | nen barbas largas como cabrones y les cuelgan | de las rrodillas vnas grandes vedijas de lana y | las colas son como de puercos delgadas y al fin tienen ¹⁵ vna vedijilla de lana gruesa. Es todo ganado muy | grueso y no tienen las bacas las vbres y bientres | tan grandes como las nuestras y nunca se les oyo bra- | mar sino grueñen como piara de puercos y avien- | dolas corrido, en dejandolas se hechan en el suelo ²⁰ y se rrebuelcan como las mulas lo haçen para des- | cansar. Son dificultosas de matar por su lijereza | y los yndios las flechean de ordinario. Hazen zezina | sin sal y la curan al sol y la comen sin asar ni | cocer y el dicho ganado lo fueron sienpre viendo ²⁵ por todo el camino y en la misma cantidad mas | de çiento y sesenta leguas porque le pareze que las | que handubieron en la dicha jornada fueron duçientas | y veynte y a las sesenta leguas del viaje y antes | las comenzaron ha uer y sienpre se yban conti- ³⁰ nuando de la misma manera y cantidad y tu- [fol. 178v] vieron notiçia que las hauia adelante y la tie- | rra sienpre se mostraba mejor de pastos, rrios y ar- | boledas y frutales de çiruelas y vbas, pinos y no- | gales de la tierra y morales, rrobles y olmos

con ⁵ villotas gordas y el tenple de toda la tierra | que andubieron era muy bueno porque no tu-
bieron calor ni frio que ofendiese y los yndios ba- | queros apaches los fueron biendo hasta çien
le- | guas de camino desde que salieron de San Grabiel ¹⁰ y Nuebo Mexico y de alli adelante no
los vie- | ron mas ni otros y veynte leguas poco mas | o menos *antes* que llegasen a la poblaçon
que des- | cubrieron, hauiendose adelantado el maese de | canpo Vizente de Saldibar con doze
compañeros ¹⁵ a descubrir, dio en un rrio grande, aunque enton- | zes no llebaba mucha agua
porque era berano, | y de mucha arboleda de los mismos arboles | que hauian visto atras y a la
orilla del *dicho* | rrio dio con una rrancheria de yndios que pusie- ²⁰ ron por nombre
e[s]canxaques porque ponian la | mano haçia el sol y luego la bolbian al pecho, | diziendo a
bozes “escanxaque” que era se[ñ]al de paz | y parezio a lo que se juzgo por todos que abria | en la
dicha rrancheria seys mill yndios que podian ²⁵ tomar armas y los rranchos eran pequeños, | de
palos y rrama y *algunos* cubiertos con cueros de | las *dichas* bacas adobados y toda hera jente
desnuda | sin ningun vestido porque los hombres no tie- | nen *ninguna* cosa cubierta y las mujeres
se cubren ³⁰ sus verguenzas con unos cuerezuelos y otros [fol. 179r] traen como mantillas y no
tienen mays ni | pareçia sementera *ninguna* y no tienen otro susten- | to mas que carne y la fruta
que les ofrezan los | arboles, sin que ellos los benefiçien ni cultiben ⁵ y son de la misma
dispuçiõn que los apaches | y es jente suçia y a lo que parezio despues, es jente | poco fiel y
traen por armas arco y flecha, adarga | y macana y las adargas son grandes, que les cubre | todo el
cuerpo rrecojiendose en ellas y las mujeres ¹⁰ son muy rrayadas en el rrosto pechos y braços.
[LM] **Que un genero | de indios les dio | notiçia de | muchisima | gente adelante ettcetera |**
folio 143.

¶ Preguntado si del *dicho* genero de jente de nacion | escanxaque tubieron notiçia huuiese mas
can- | tidad de la que vieron en la *dicha* rrancheria y | que tanta y por que notiçias, dijo que a los
dichos yn- ¹⁵ dios se les pregunto por señas si hauia mas rran- | cherias dellos y donde y
rrespondieron por las *dichas* | señas que hauia otras se[ñ]alando que estaban al- | rrededor de la
suya adelante y atras y asimismo | les dijeron por las *dichas* se[ñ]as y por lengua de Jose- ²⁰ pe
yndio mexicano, que se entendia con dos o tres | yndios que hauia en la *dicha* rrancheria de la na-
çiõn apache, que adelante dos o tres jornadas de | alli avia vnas grandes poblaçiones de jente |
rrayada, que señalavan estaban rrayados desde ²⁵ los ojos a las orejas y hacian seña que la jente
hera | muchisima y las poblaçiones muy grandes y | que en ellas hauian muerto a los españoles
que- | mandolos en un xacal y por señas daban a entend- | der al *dicho* governador se guardase de
aquella jente [fol. 179v] porque los hauian de quemar como a los otros es- | pañoles, porque
heran muchos y le ofrezieron yr- | se con el y con su jente a pelear con ellos, parezien- | doles que
hiba al castigo de los que hauian muerto ⁵ y el *dicho* governador mando cojer dos yndios | de la
dicha rrancheria que le fuesen guiando a las | *dichas* poblaçiones, los quales llebaron en collera |
porque no se vyesen y en la *dicha* rrancheria de | los escanxaques estuvo el rreal vn dia y otro sa-
¹⁰ lio en demanda de las *dichas* poblaçiones y los *dichos* yn- | dios de la *dicha* rrancheria se
fueron tras el rreal | a vna vista y aquel dia hiçieron noche en | vnos charcos que salian de vn rrio
de mucha | arboleda y abiendo caminado otros dos dias, ¹⁵ vn dia antes de mediodia descubrieron
vn | rrio muy grande, el mayor de los que hauian | visto y de mucha arboleda y junto a el des- |
cubrieron la poblaçon, que yba por vna y otra | *parte* del *dicho* rrio y hauiendo llegado antes los
²⁰ *dichos* yndios escanxaques, por ser como son | enemigos de los de la *dicha* poblaçon, salieron |
en arma para pelear con ellos y luego que | vieron a los españoles, hicieron alto y el *dicho* |

governador ynbio al capitan Bañuelos ²⁵ con seys compañeros, entre los quales yba este | testigo, a reconozar el paso del rrio para pasar | los carros y los çinco soldados con el *dicho capitan* fue- | ron por la *parte* de hauajo de vna quebradilla y | este testigo fue por arriba y yendo rreconociendo, [fol. 180r] le llamo a este testigo vn yndio biejo ha- | çiendo señal de paz, al[ç]ando la mano al sol | y poniendola en el pecho y este testigo llamo | al *dicho* yndio que se vino a el y le dio la mano en ⁵ señal de paz y luego este testigo llamo a sus con- | pañeros y les dijo lo que el *dicho* yndio hauia hecho | y el *dicho* yndio llamo a su jente y vino mucha | cantidad della adonde este testigo y sus conpa- | [ñ]eros estaban y luego llegaron el governa- | ¹⁰ dor y el maese de campo y se hiçieron señas | de paz vnos a otros y los yndios davan a | los españoles de vnas quentezuelas que | trayan a los cuellos y los españoles les daban | a ellos cuellos y otras cossas y por se[ñ]ales dijeron ¹⁵ que hechasen de si a los yndios escanxaques que | heran sus enemigos y que se fuesen con ellos | a su pueblo y les darian de comer y el *dicho* go- | vernador mando asentar el rreal a la orilla | del *dicho* rrio vn tiro de arcabuz de la *dicha* poblaçon ²⁰ sin querer entrar en ella y luego vinieron | al rreal çien yndios pocos mas o *menos* y cada v- | no dellos traya vna o dos maçorcas de mays | y las dauan al *dicho* governador, el qual las rre- | zibia y les hazia dar tabaco y otras cosas y los ²⁵ *dichos* yndios escanxaques dijeron por señas | al *dicho* governador que no se fiase de los yndios | de la *dicha* poblaçon porque le hauian de asegurar | y matar como lo hauian hecho con los demas | españoles e que les pidiesen vn español [fol. 180v] que dellos se hauia escapado y lo tenian, quemado[s] | los pies, y que ellos le ayudarian contra los *dichos* | yndios poblados porque heran muchos y el | *dicho* governador llamo a consejo a toda su ⁵ jente y trato de lo que se haria sobre cobrar | el español que dezian estaba en la *dicha* poblaçon | y se acordo que otro dia quando los yndios binie- | sen al rreal, se procurase prender vn capitan | de ellos y otros quatro o çinco yndios para dar- | ¹⁰ los en trueque del *dicho* español y cobrarlo y asi | se hiço, que otro dia vinieron haçia el *dicho* rreal | mas de quatroçientos yndios de la *dicha* poblaçon | con sus arcos y flechas y demas armas que vsan | y se quedaron de la otra *parte* del rio en frente ¹⁵ del *dicho* rreal y pasaron a el vn capitan y çin- | co yndios, los quales prendieron y luego les ofre- | çieron soltarlos porque diesen el español que | tenian y dijeron que ellos no tenian al *dicho* espa- | ñol y que estaba mas adelante lejos en otra po- | ²⁰ blaçon y que no creyesen a aquellos yndios | escanxaques que eran sus enemigos y que | ellos heran amigos de los españoles y les que- | rian dar de comer y el *dicho* governador les dijo | que soltaria a vno de los *dichos* yndios presos ²⁵ para que fuese a procurar trajesen el *dicho* es- | pañol y traydo los soltaria a todos y les daria | muchas cosas y seria su amigo y los *dichos* yndios | vinieron en ello y asi se solto vno de los *dichos* | yndios y toda la demas jente que hauia quedado [fol. 181r] de la otra parte del rrio, luego que vieron prender | al *dicho* capitan y los demas yndios, se fueron | y toda la jente de la poblaçon de manera que no | quedo ninguna persona segun despues pareçio ⁵ y el *dicho* governador mando levantar el rreal | y que pasase a la *dicha* poblaçon y asi pasaron y en- | traron en ella y con ellos los *dichos* yndios escan- | xaques y como vieron los *dichos* yndios escan- | xaques que avian despoblado, entraron en ¹⁰ las casas y tomaron del mays que en ellas | hauia y pusieron fuego a algunas de ellas y el | *dicho* governador mando a sus soldados que h[ec]ha- | sen fuera de la *dicha* poblaçon a los *dichos* yndios | escanxaques y no les permitiesen quemar ¹⁵ las casas y el *dicho* rreal se asento a la entrada | de la poblaçon entre las cassas, donde estubie- | ron vn dia y aquella noche dos yndios que | hauian quedado presos de los que se prendieron, | porque los demas se hauian suelto por el *dicho* ²⁰ governador para que

llamasen de paz a | la demas jente, se huyeron a un soldado que | los guardaba y otro dia
marcharon con el rreal | por fuera de la poblaçon junto a ella y cami- | narian dos leguas poco mas
o menos y siem- |²⁵ pre yban biendo la dicha poblaçon cuyas casas | estaban desviadas vnas de
otras y en | medio las milpas.

¶ Preguntado si este testigo entro en la dicha [fol. 181v]

[LM] Traza de la | gran pobla- | çon que vieron | desde donde | se voluieron | etcetera | folio
145.

poblaçon y la vio, que diga el modo y traza | de las casas y la cantidad que habria y la for- | ma
dellas y lo que dentro de las dichas casas hauia, | dijo que este testigo entro en la dicha poblaçon
|⁵ y en algunas casas della y las casas son de v- | nos palos del grosor del braço y en medio tienen |
vno mas grueso donde se juntan todos y son | a manera de pavellones y son grandes aun- | que de
la dicha hechura, todas con vnas barbacoas |¹⁰ lechos dentro y por la parte de afuera tienen | vnas
escaleras de palo por donde suben a un | sobradillo que tienen fecho de madera para en- | zerrar
mayz, porque en muchos dellos vieron | el dicho mayz y dentro de las dichas casas hallaron |¹⁵
piedras de moler a manera de los metates | con que en esta tierra muelen las yndias | el mayz y no
hallaron las manos de las dichas | piedras con que en ellas se muelen y allaron | ollas y jarros de
varro pardo y no allaron |²⁰ en la dicha poblaçon y casas della gallinas | ni plumas dellas ni perros
ni gatos ni otro | animal y los yndios de la dicha poblaçon | que este testigo vio hera jente muy
morena | y todos estaban en cueros, cubiertos algunos |²⁵ dellos con vnas gamuças que les cubrian
hasta | la rrodilla y no bio que ninguno dellos trujese nin- | guna cosa hilada de ningun jenero y no
bio [fol. 182r] ninguna mujer porque todos los que se | mostraron fueron hombres y este testigo |
no pudo ver mas de hasta seteçientas v ocho- | çientas de las dichas casas porque el exe[r]ç[i]to,
pa- |⁵ ra poder pasar las carretas, se desvio de la po- | blaçon y quatro o çinco yndios que el gover-
| nador abia mandado tomar para guias de los | escanxaques dezian que turaria la dicha pobla- |
çon tres dias de camino.

¹⁰ ¶ Preguntado si sabe que a los dichos yndios presos | o a los demas se les mostrasen algunas
cosas de pla- | tta y oro o cobre como agnusdeyes, cabos de aguje- | tas o otras cosas de esta
manera o si d[i]jeron | o dieron a entender que hauia la tierra adentro |¹⁵ de aquellos metales, dijo
que no vio que se hiçie- | se la dicha diligençia ni lo oyo deçir que se obiese fecho.

[LM] Que sementeras | tienen los yndios | de la poblaçon | grande etcetera | folio 146.

¶ Preguntado si bio las dichas sementeras que en | la dicha poblaçon hauia y de que eran y si
heran | muy grandes o pequeñas, dijo que las semen- |²⁰ teras ya estaban alzadas y que le pareze
eran | de mayz, calabaza y frijoles por las cañas y ma- | tas de las dichas semillas que estaban y se
mos- | traban y algunas hauia grandes y otras pe- | que[ñ]as y todo estaba ocupado entre las casas
|²⁵ de las dichas sementeras y el mayz que este testi- | go vio hera grueso mas que lo que
ordinaria- | mente se coxe en esta probinçia de Mexico. [fol. 182v]

¶ Preguntado que notiçias tubieron de adelante | y quien las dio, dijo que los dichos yndios
escan- | xaques y los que estubieron presos de la dicha po- | blaçon daban notiçia por señas que
adelan- |⁵ te hauia poblaçones muy grandes de mucha | jente y vestida de mantas.

¶ Preguntado por que señales dezian avia yn- | dios vestidos de mantas, dijo que preguntando- |
les a los dichos yndios si hauia jente vestida |¹⁰ adelante, señalandoles los vestidos que los espa-
[ñ]oles tenian, rrespondian por señas que la jente | de adelante no tenia vestidos como los dichos
espa- | ñoles sino de mantas, señalando las mantas | que los dichos españoles lleaban y que de |¹⁵

ellas estaban todos cubiertos.

[LM] **Las causas | que tubo el | adelantado para | no passar | adelante | etcetera | folio 146.**

¶ Preguntado que causas tubo el dicho goberna- | dor para volverse de la dicha poblaçon y no pasar | adelante a descubrir mas tierra, dijo que estan- | do asentado el rreal junto a la dicha poblaçon, ²⁰ tres dias despues que la descubrieron, algu- | nos capitanes y soldados del exerçito dieron | y presentaron al dicho governador vna pe- | tiçon en que le pedian y rrequerian no pasa- | se adelante y se bolbiese al rreal de San Grabi- | el, ²⁵ por la mucha notiça que hauia de jente y por- | que los españoles estaban faltos de armas | y caballos y porque con la estada se podria [fol.

183r] alzar y desbaratar el rreal de San Grabi- | el y que se | volbiese alli y se diese notiça de lo descubierta | a su magestad y que se podria bolber a el con mas fuerça | de jente y otras causas y rrazones que alegaron ⁵ y la dicha petiçon la firmaron los capitanes y | soldados del exerçito, ezepto çinco o seys y el dicho | maese de canpo, que no quisieron firmarla ni | este testigo la firmo, porque les pareçio que | hera bien entrar adelante y descubrir mas tie- | ¹⁰ rra y tomar mas notiça y aviendolo senti- | do mucho el dicho governador a lo que mostro, | determino de bolberse y luego otro dia si- | guiente alzaron el rreal y enpezaron a marchar | por donde hauian venido y llegando zerca ¹⁵ del alojamiento primero que tubieron en la dicha po- | blaçon, el dicho maese de campo con algunos conpañeros | se adelanto y no vio quantos fueron porque ve- | nia este testigo de rretaguardia y llegando al dicho | alojamiento, el dicho maese de canpo hallo a los dichos yn- | ²⁰ dios escanxaques con toda su rrancheria, hombres | y mujeres y niños, rrancheados y este testigo bio | volver al dicho maese de campo y a sus conpañeros | muy a priesa, diziendo que le hauian herido al- | gunos caballos de sus soldados y que le hauian sali- | ²⁵ do de guerra los dichos yndios escanxaques y mando | que todos los soldados tomasen los caballos de las | armas y se aderezasen y fuesen delante del rreal | descubriendo y yendo asi todos juntos, salieron [fol. **183v]** a ellos los dichos yndios, tirandoles muchas fle- | chas y puestos en media luna y le parece a | este testigo que serian quatro o çinco mill yn- | dios de guerra. Al prinçipio les derribaron con ⁵ los arcabuzes cantidad de jente, con que los rreti- | raron a unas peñas que estaban junto al rrio, | donde se fortificaron y de alli salian de quando | en quando a dar sus rruciadas y asi turo la rrefrie- | ga tres o quatro horas y en ella les prendieron ¹⁰ quatro o çinco mujeres y algunos muchachos | y muchachas, que serian siete v ocho y vn [yn]dio | que se dize Miguel, que esta en esta çiudad en casa | del maese de campo Vizente de Saldibar y | visto por el dicho governador don Juan de Oñate ¹⁵ que los yndios no osaban ya salir a pelear, | los deço y los mando bolber las mujeres y mar- | cho con su canpo al alojamiento que hauia tenido | al prinçipio de la dicha poblaçon como queda dicho | y de la dicha rrefriega salieron heridos treynta ²⁰ soldados de heridas de poca consideraçon y o- | tro dia marcharon y hiçieron su viaje haçia | San Grabi- | el por el mismo camino y alojamiento | que hauia traído, sin que en todo el dicho camino | viesen mas yndios escanxaques, hasta que ²⁵ llegaron ha uer los yndios apaches vaqueros | que les rrezibieron de paz como lo hiçieron | quando venian y los quatro o çinco yndios [fol. **184r]** escanxaques que se hauian tomado para guias | se hauian suelto por mandado del governador | antes de la rrefriega el dia que se determino a bolber.

[LM] **La utilidad | que se puede | esperar del | nueuo descu- | brimiento etcetera | folio 147.**

¶ Preguntado si conforme a las notiças que tu- | ⁵ bieron y a la tierra que vio y dispusiçon della, | si su magestad se sirbiese de hazer merced y socorro | al dicho governador don Jhoan de Oñate con | jente para proseguir el dicho descubrimiento y con- | quista, si yria este testigo de buena

gana a ella ¹⁰ y que utilidad le parece que podría resultar | así a la corona real como a los que fuesen al | dicho descubrimiento y jornada, dijo que si su magestad | se sirviese de dar socorro bastante para hazer | la dicha jornada, este testigo yria por las esperan- ¹⁵ ças de la notiçia que ay de que la tierra adentro ay | oro y por verlo y con que si no se descubriese | la tierra adonde dizen ay el dicho horo, pudiesen | bolberse dentro de vn año.

[LM] Si son çiertas | las notiçias | quel yndio | Miguel da | ettcetera | folio 147.

¶ Preguntado que notiçia es la que este testigo tie- ²⁰ ne de que ay oro la dicha tierra adentro y de | quien, dijo que despues que llegaron al rreal | de San Grabiél, el dicho yndio Miguel, estando | en casa del capitán Baca, dijo en presençia de | este testigo y de otras muchas personas por ²⁵ señas que dos jornadas de la poblaçon en que | le prendieron hauia mucha cantidad de oro | e tejos del y que los daban los naturales de la dicha | tierra por cueros de las vacas de Zibola [fol. 184v] porque conozen dellos.

¶ Preguntado si fue la primera vez que el dicho | yndio Miguel dijo lo que tiene dicho, la en qu'este | testigo se hallo presente a oyrse lo dezir y por que ⁵ se[ñ]ales se lo preguntaban y rrespondia y si | quando estuvieron en la dicha nueva poblaçon | a los yndios que tubieron pressos y a los demas | con quien comunicaron oyo dezir algo de lo que | el dicho Miguel dize o si bio a alguno de los dichos yn- ¹⁰ dios que tenian entre si las vacas y tiniendo | tan zerca como el dicho Miguel dize el oro, parece | verisimil que tubiesen alguna cosa del si la vio | o oyo dezir que algun yndio la tubiese, dijo | que de casa del dicho capitán Vaca salieron v- ¹⁵ nos soldados y dijeron que el dicho yndio Miguel | por señas dezia que adelante de su tierra avia | mucha cantidad de oro y este testigo para zer- | tificarse entro en la dicha casa y este testigo | y otras personas se lo preguntaron al dicho yndio por ²⁰ señas, mostrandole vnas sortijas de oro y el | dicho yndio rrespondio por señas que de aquello | que se le mostraba avia mucha cantidad dos | jornadas a vn lado de adonde le prendieron y se- | ñalava que dello hauia tejos, haçiendo señal ²⁵ con las manos y que en las dichas poblaçones co- | mo dicho tiene en este su dicho no lo hauia oydo dezir | a ningun yndio y que este testigo no bio en poder | de ninguno de los dichos yndios escanxaques ni | de los poblados cosa de oro ni platta. [fol. 185r]

[LM] Que abra me- | nester casa | soldado que | vuelua | a la jornada | para un año | ettcetera | folio 147 vuelta.

¶ Preguntado pues dize que si su magestad hiçiese | socorro de lo nezesario para la dicha jornada, | que bolbera a ella, que diga que le parece | que a menester cada soldado para hazella pa- ⁵ ra vn año, dijo que con quinientos pesos se po- | dra vn soldado hauir y probeer de lo nezesario | para vn año para la dicha jornada por ser las | tierras de tanta distançia y tan despobladas | y ser fuerça yr probeydos de caballos, bestidos ¹⁰ y armas para el dicho tiempo.

¶ Preguntado si sabe el altura en que esta | el rreal de San Grabiél y el viaje y camino | que hiçieron a las dichas nuevas poblaçones | y el altura que multiplicaron, si tubieron ¹⁵ notiçia que tenian la mar çerca y a que parte les | demoraba y podrian salir a ella, que diga | lo que sabe y entiende de esto, dijo que no | sabe ni entiende ni a oydo dezir cosa de lo | que se le pregunta. ²⁰

¶ Preguntado si sabe que en el dicho rreal y jor- | nada que se hiço a las dichas nuevas pobla- | çiones, espeçialmente de los que an benido con | el maese de campo a esta çiudad, ay algun sol- | dado que sea marinero o matematico de ²⁵ quien se pueda tomar rrazon de lo conten- | nido en la pregunta antes de esta, dijo | que a esta çiudad a benido en conpañia del dicho | maese de campo vn soldado que le llaman [fol. 185v] Jhoan Rodriguez; es piloto y si lo es, sabra de | lo que se

pregunta.

[LM] **Lo que se trata | entre los sol- | dados del des- | cubrimiento cerca | de voluer a el | folio 148 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado si a los soldados que bolbieron con | el dicho governador de la dicha jornada de las |⁵ nuebas poblaciones, asi desde la nueba pobla- | çion a San Grabiél como de los que an benido | con el maese de campo a esta çiuudad, a oydo tra- | tar de la buelta al descubrimiento y conquista de | las dichas nuebas poblaciones y lo que dizen |¹⁰ les parece a los dichos soldados y capitanes de | la buelta alla y de la vtilidad que se segui- | ria de su paçificaçion, dijo que a algunos | de los dichos capitanes y soldados les ha oydo dezir | este testigo, asi viniendo de la nueba pobla- |¹⁵ çion a San Grabiél como de alli a esta çiuudad, que | aunque toda la tierra estubiese llena de oro | no bolberian a ella por el mucho trabajo que | se pasa y a otros a oydo dezir que si su magestad les | faboreçiese como tiene dicho bolberian.

[LM] **Que gente bap- | tiçada ay en lo | poblado y paçi- | fico ettcetera | folio 148 vuelta.**

²⁰ ¶ Preguntado si en la dicha poblacion de San Gra- | biél sabe o a oydo dezir, como persona que lo | a andado todo, la cantidad de jente bautizada | que ay y los que no lo estan y por que causa | lo dejan de estar, dijo que este testigo no |²⁵ sabe que aya mas jente bautizada que las | yndias y muchachos que estan en seruiçio | de los españoles y otras tres o quatro mu- | jeres que se an casado con yndios mexicanos [fol. 186r] del seruiçio de los dichos españoles y que el no | hauerse bautiçado mas es porque los frayles | no los quieren bautiçar si no sauen las ora- | çiones y ellos no se las an enseñado y que le |⁵ parece que los que estan bautiçados, hombres | y mujeres, chicos y grandes, seran sesenta per- | sonas poco mas o menos.

¶ Preguntado de que grandor señalava el dicho | Miguel los tejos de oro que dize ay en las |¹⁰ nuebas poblaciones, dijo que el dicho yndio | señala que los dichos tejos son algunos como | ostias y otros menores y otros del tamaño | de vn platillo de plata, quitado el zerco.

¶ Lo qual dijo ser verdad so cargo del juramento |¹⁵ que hi[ç]o en que se afirmo y rratifico siendo- | le leydo y que es de hedad de mas de treynta | años y no le va ynterese ninguno en esta | causa ni le tocan ninguna de las jenerales | que le fueron fechas y lo firmo de su nombre |²⁰ y el dicho factor don Francisco Valverde, Juan | de Leon, ante mi Hernando Esteban escriuano rreal.

[LM] **Testigo | Diego de Ayardia | soldado de la | jornada.**

¶ En Mexico este dicho dia veynte y quatro de | abril del dicho año, el dicho factor don Francisco de Val- | verde y Mercado hiço parecer ante si a vn |²⁵ español que dijo llamarse Diego de Ayardia | y ser natural de la probinçia de Chiametla | en estas partes, del qual rrezibio juramento | por dios y por la señal de la cruz en forma de derecho [fol. 186v] y prometio de dezir verdad y preguntado por | el dicho aucto de su señoria, dijo que este testigo | entro al descubrimiento y jornada de las prouin- | çias del Nuebo Mexico con el governador don Juan |⁵ de Oñatte en la conpa[ñ]ia del capitan Alonso | de Sosa y sienpre estubo y asistio en el rreal | y salio a todas las jornadas y ocasiones que se | ofreçieron con el dicho governador y con [V]izente | de Saldibar, que fue sarjento mayor y al presente |¹⁰ es maese de campo, ezepto a la jornada que se hiço | al descubrimiento del Rio del Norte que fue luego | que se entro en las dichas provinçias.

[LM] **Calidad de gente | y su traxe | tierra y vasti- | mentos ettcetera | folio 149 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado diga la dispusiçion y calidad de la | tierra y jente que andubo y al presente esta |¹⁵ pazifica, dijo que toda la tierra de las pobla[ç]o- | nes paçificas que estan asentadas de paz en | la comarca de San Grabiél es tierra algo fragosa | y muy fria que nieba los ocho meses del año de |

media bara en alto de nieb[e] y la jente es muy ²⁰ corpulenta y vien ajustada y paçifica y to- | dos, hombres y mujeres, andan bestidos de mantas | de algodón bastas, pintadas y blancas y de | gamuzas y cueros de las bacas de Zibola y los | cueros que son como vernias los traen el tiempo ²⁵ del frío y quando haze calor las mantas y gamu- | ças y en todo el tiempo que este testigo a estado | en las dichas provinçias, no ha visto que la jen- | te se aya calzado sino fueron los yndios de A- | coma y jumanes, que mataron algunos solda- ³⁰ dos a cuyo castigo fue el dicho Vizente de Saldibar | y los apaçiguo y con esto quedaron ya en estado [fol. 187r] sienpre de paz y todas las poblaçones estan | a las rriberas del Rio del Norte a la vna parte | y a la otra y todos hazen sus sementeras de mayz, | frijol y calabaza conforme a las mujeres que tie- ⁵ nen porque tantas quantas mujeres tienen, tan- | tas sementeras hazen y todos los mas tienen | a dos y a tres mujeres y muy pocos tienen vna | y las sementeras son rrazonables porque las la- | bran bien y cada yndio coje de cada sementera ¹⁰ veynte y treynta fanegas de mays y es mays | bueno y algunos años les acuden mejor que otros, | segun que son mas o menos las niebes y nunca | les falta mays para su sustento y crian galli- | nas de la tierra, de las quales no se aprovechan ¹⁵ porque las crian para valerse de la pluma | para hazer mantas y tienen liebres y conejos | en cantidad, que matan con arcos y con vn^os | palos arrojadiços.

[LM] Que abrà po- | blados y pa- | çificos en lo | que gouier- | na el adelantado | 12U yndios de gue- | rra y trabajo | sin mugeres | y niños ettcetera | folio 150.

¶ Preguntado que cantidad de jente abra en ²⁰ todas las poblaçones que estan paçificas, dijo | que le parece que habra doze mill yndios po- | blados que pueden pelear y trabajar sin mu- | jeres y criaturas y es jente muy domestica | y vien mandada y sujeta de los espa[ñ]oles.

[LM] Que notiçias | tubo el a- | delantado | para hazer | la nueva | entrada ettcetera | folio 150.

²⁵ ¶ Preguntado que notiçias fueron las que el dicho | governador don Juan de Oñate tubo para | salir al descubrimiento de las poblaçones gran- | des de la vanda del norte y llanos de Zibola | y de quien, dijo que vn año poco mas o menos ³⁰ despues que el dicho governador llego a las [fol. 187v] dichas provinçias, vino a su rreal vn yndio me- | xicano que se llama Jusepe, que dijo hauia en- | trado con los capitanes Leyba y Umaña con | treynta conpañeros y le dijo que los dichos capi- ⁵ tanes avian descubierto a la vanda del norte | vn^{as} poblaçones muy grandes y vn rrio | muy ancho mas adelante dellas y que desde | alli se hauia huido el y otro yndio de los dichos | españoles y que a su conpa[ñ]ero lo hauian ¹⁰ muerto yndios en el camino y el hauia esta- | do con los yndios apaches, que son los yndios | vaqueros que matan bacas y tienen por | granjeria y contratacion la carne, sebo, man- | teca y cue[r]os dellas, que lo hauian rrecojido ¹⁵ y que luego que tubo notiçia de los españoles, | se hauia venido a ellos y asimismo los yn- | dios pazificos dezian muchas vezes al dicho | governador que adelante hauia mucha | jente y no sabe que tubiese otras notiçias.

²⁰ ¶ Preguntado si salio este testigo con el dicho go- | vernador a la jornada del descubrimiento de las | poblaçones de la vanda del norte, dijo que este | testigo salio a la dicha jornada con el maese de | campo Vizente de Saldibar, que salio quin- ²⁵ ze dias poco mas menos despues que el dicho go- | vernador salio y lo alcançaron con toda su | jente en el rrio que llaman de la Magdalena, | que esta veynte y quatro leguas del rreal | de San Grabiél. [fol. 188r]

[LM] Que saliò con | el adelantado | al nueuo des- | cubrimiento y por | donde comensò | ettcetera | folio 150 vuelta.

¶ Preguntado diga y declare lo que vio y en- | tendio del dicho biaje, la tierra que andubieron, | la
distançia della, la jente que vio y el nu- | mero y calidad de la jente y que esperanzas |⁵ prometen
las notiçias que tubieron lo que | vieron y descubrieron, dijo que desde el dicho | Rio de la
Madalena hasta las poblaçiones | del norte es tierra muy llana y de muchos pas- | tos y agujas de
rrios y ojos de agua y de muchas |¹⁰ arboledas a las orillas de los arroyos y rrios de | enzinas,
rrobles y nogales y muchos çirue- | los de buenas çiruelas y muy sabrosas y | vbas silvestres y
luego que salieron de los | pueblos de los pencos, que son yndios de paz |¹⁵ e asentados, a seys
leguas adelante toparon | yndios apaches baqueros que vienen a | tratar con los yndios de paz,
trayendo carne, | sebo y manteca y queros en vnas rrecuas de | perros pequeños y como otras
vezes los |²⁰ rrescibieron de paz, ofreçiendoles de lo que tenian, | los quales andan vestidos de
cueros de las | vacas adobados y de gamuças y algunos dellos | traen algunas mantas que rrescatan
de | los yndios de paz en trueco de lo que ellos |²⁵ les venden y todos traen arco y flechas y ma- |
canas de palo con vnas piedras al fin de | ellas con sus fiadores y adargas de cuero | grandes que
los cubren todos y hauiendo | caminado çinquenta o sesenta leguas [fol. 188v] por los dichos
llanos, pastos y aguas, comenza- | ron a descubrir toros y vacas de los de Zibola | de vna figura
estraña, porque son del gran- | dor de las nuestras y mas lanudas y cortas |⁵ de pies y manos y
corcobad[a]s y con cuernos peque- | ños y negros muy agudos y enarcados y muy | lijeras, de
buena carne y sabrosa, muy gordas | porque se les saca mucho sebo y manteca y | el numero del
dicho ganado es cosa que espan- |¹⁰ ta y la lana de las dichas rreses es larga y blan- | da y le parece
a este testigo que beneficiando- | se bien se podran hazer de ella sayales y jer- | gas y las vbres y
vientres son mas peque- | [ñ]as que las de nuestras bacas y no braman |¹⁵ sino tienen vn gruñido
como de puercos | y fueron sienpre continuadamente biendo el | dicho ganado mas de çiento y
sesenta leguas | hasta la poblaçion grande que descubrieron | y tubieron notiçia de los yndios que
tan- |²⁰ bien las ay adelante y yendo haçiendo | el viaje, vn dia el dicho maese de campo | se
adelanto con veynte conpañeros a descu- | brir y llego a vn rrio grande de mucha arbo- | leda y dio
con vna rrancheria de yndios en |²⁵ que habria, hombres y mujeres, chicos y | grandes, quatro o
çinco mill personas, que les | pusieron por nombre los escanxaques, | porque ponian las manos
haçia el sol | y la bolbian al pecho diziendo a bozes “es- [fol. 189r] canxaque” que era se[ñ]al de
paz y con esta nue- | ba bolbio el dicho maese de campo y sus soldados | a darla al rreal donde
yba el dicho governador y su | jente y se alojaron junto a la dicha rrancheria |⁵ vn tiro de arcabuz
della y los ranchos heran | pequeños de palos y rramos cubiertos de za- | cate y algunos estaban
cubiertos de cueros | de bacas y toda la jente desnuda en cueros sin | ningunos bestidos sino hera
vnos cueros |¹⁰ de las dichas bacas y de venados, hechados en- | zima como mantas y las mujeres
tenian | de la zintura para abajo vnas manti- | llas de camuça y de alli arriba en cueros | y no
tenian mayz ni sementera ninguna |¹⁵ y el sustento dellos es la carne de las dichas ba- | cas y
algunas frutas silvestres y son de la mis- | ma dispusiçion que los apaches. Es jente su- | çia y por
lo que despues suzedio, traydora. Traen | las mismas armas que los yndios apaches |²⁰ y demas
dellas traen vnas lanças de palos y el | cabo dellas tostado y con vn pedernal a ma- | nera de yerro
y las mujeres son todas rrayadas | en los rrostros, pechos y braços y tambien ay | algunos yndios
rrayados.

[LM] Que vn genero | de yndios les diò | notiçia de | muchissima | gente adelante | ettcetera | folio 152.

²⁵ ¶ Preguntado si el dicho genero de jente escan[j]aque | supieron o tubieron notiçia que huuiese

mas | cantidad que la que vieron en la dicha rran- | cheria y que tanta y por que notiçias, dijo | que
 los dichos yndios les dijeron por señas [fol. 189v] que hauia mucha mas jente della por alli |
 zerca, aunque no bieron ninguna | y asimismo les dijeron que hauia dos o tres | jornadas de alli
 vnas poblaçones grandes |⁵ de mucha jente rrayada desde los ojos a las orejas | y tambien se supo
 por lengua del dicho Jusepe yn- | dio mejicano, que se entendio con dos o tres yn- | dios apaches
 que estaban en la dicha rrancheria, | y que la jente hera mucha y que hauian |¹⁰ muerto al capitan
 Umaña y a su jente, | quemandolos en vn jacal y dijeron al dicho | gobernador y a su jente que
 para que yban | adelante que los hauian de matar los dichos yn- | dios, porque heran muchos y le
 ofreçieron |¹⁵ yrse con el a ayudarle y el dicho gobernador | mando se cojiesen algunos yndios de
 la dicha rran- | cheria para que los guiase a las dichas pobla- | ciones y se cojieron dos de los
 dichos yndios, que | se llebaron en collera por guia y el rreal estu- |²⁰ bo alli vn dia y otro
 prosiguieron su viaje | y siempre fue tras el rreal toda la jente de la | dicha rrancheria a vna bista y
 se alojaban zerca | de donde se [a]sentaba el dicho rreal a vn tiro y dos | de arcabuzes y a cabo de
 tres dias de camino, v- |²⁵ na mañana descubrieron vn rrio, el mayor | de los que hauian visto, de
 mucha arboleda | y junto a el descubrieron la pobla[ç]on de | la qual salio mucha jente armada
 con [fol. 190r] arcos y flechas y las demas armas que vsan | y el dicho gobernador los hiço llamar
 de paz y se | vinieron al rreal veynte yndios, poco mas | o menos y el dicho gobernador les dijo
 por señas |⁵ que no les venia ha hazer daño sino ha ser ami- | go dellos y les dio algunas cosas con
 que parezio | quedar contentos y por se[ñ]as dijeron al gover- | nador que los yndios escanxaques
 heran sus e- | nemigos y que los hechase de si y se fuese a su pueblo |¹⁰ donde le darian de lo que
 tenian y el dicho goberna- | dor hi[ç]o [a]sentar el rreal zerca de la poblaçon de esta | otra parte
 del rrio y luego vinieron muchos | yndios al rreal, que le pareze eran mas de ducien- | tos, todos
 con sus armas y cada uno traya vnas |¹⁵ mazorquillas de mays que daban al dicho gober- | nador y
 dezian que se fuesen a su pueblo y | les daria arina y los dichos yndios escanxaques | dijeron al
 gobernador y a su jente que los dichos | yndios del dicho pueblo heran bellacos y los |²⁰ hauian de
 matar como hauian fecho a los otros | españoles y que entre ellos estaba vno de | los dichos
 españoles, quemado todo vn lado y el | dicho gobernador trato con su jente del modo que | se
 tendria en cobrar el dicho español y se ordeno |²⁵ que se pre[n]diesen algunos yndios quando
 bolbie- | sen para darles en trueque del dicho español | y toda la jente del rreal ofrecieron para v- |
 na lampara de plata a nuestra señora por- [fol. 190v] que se sirbiese de que se cobrase y otro dia
 bolbieron | al rreal muchos yndios y se quedaron de la otra | parte del rrio y llegaron al rreal
 algunos, de los | quales se prendieron çinco yndios y luego les |⁵ dijeron que soltarian los dos para
 que fuesen | por el español y que traydo los soltarian a to- | dos y les darian muchas cosas, los
 quales dichos | yndios por señas dijeron que el español estaba | dos dias y medio de camino de alli
 y que lo |¹⁰ procurarian traer y que los dichos yndios es- | canxaques heran los que hauian muerto
 a los | espa[ñ]oles y asi solto el dicho gobernador dos yn- | dios de los dichos presos para que
 fuesen por el | español y aquella noche se huyo toda la jente |¹⁵ de la dicha poblaçion sin que
 quedase en ella ninguna | persona y otro dia por la mañana, biendo los | dichos yndios
 escanxaques que se hauia vydo | la jente de la dicha poblaçion, entraron en ella | y saquearon y
 pegaron fuego a algunas ca- |²⁰ sas y el dicho gobernador ynbio jente que se | lo estorbase como
 se hiço y el dicho rreal se alço | de donde estaba y entro en la dicha poblaçion y | se asento en
 medio de las casas y aquella noche | se vyeron dos yndios que quedaron presos |²⁵ y otro dia el
 rreal paso adelante por vn lado | de la poblaçion a orillas del rrio, porque los ca- | rros no podian

pasar por el, llebando por | guia los yndios escanxaques que se hauian [fol. 191r] tomado para el efeto en la rrancheria y las ca- | sas de la dicha poblaçon estaban apartadas v- | nas de otras y en medio parecia hauer fecho | sus sementeras.

[LM] Traza de la | gran pobla- | çon que vie- | ron desde | donde se vol- | vieron ettcetera | folio 152.

5 ¶ Preguntado si bio este testigo la dicha poblaçon | y entro en las casas della y bio lo que en ellas | habia, que diga la traza dellas y lo que dentro ha- | uia, dijo que las dichas casas todas heran de vnos | palos yncados en tierra, cubiertos de paja y |¹⁰ zerradas por harriba como pavellones, vnas | mayores que otras y dentro vnos lechos de pa- | los y paja y por de fuera vnos sobradillos con v- | nas escaleras lebadizas y dentro de las dichas casas | en el suelo en vnos oyos tenian el mais y frisoles |¹⁵ y algunas calabazas y tenian vnas piedras | del largo y ancho de tres ladrillos juntos con o- | tras piedras pequeñas que parezio heran pa- | ra moler y tenian algunas ollas de barro y | algunos tecomatillos de calabaza y no pa- |²⁰ rezio ninguna gallina ni pluma dellas y vio | algunos perrillos y no vio otro jenero de ani- | mal y la dicha jente que de la dicha poblacion vio | hera de buenos cuerpos y rrostros y todos en | cueros con vnas gamuçillas y cueros adobados |²⁵ de vaca y no bio que ninguno trajese ninguna | cosa ylada ni bio ninguna mujer y los dichos yndios, | asi estos como los escanxaques y apaches y los | poblados de paz en San Grabiél, hombres y [fol. 191v] mujeres, todos traen vn calzado a manera de | botines hasta media pierna que los azen la caña | de gamuça y la suela de cuero o anta gruesa de las | vacas y a este testigo le parece que en la dicha po- |⁵ blacion veria hasta dos mill casas y otros sol- | dados le dijeron que hauian visto muchas mas, | porque pasaron adelante con el maese de campo | y todos los yndios dezian por señas que la pobla- | çion llegaba adelante tres dias de camino.

¹⁰ ¶ Preguntado si sabe y vio que a los dichos yndios | presos se les preguntase si hauia en aquella | comarca oro o plata o cobre v otros me- | tales, mostrandoles a[^g]nusdeyes, cabos de a- | gujeta o otras cosas de esta manera y si dijeron |¹⁵ o dieron a entender que hauia a la tierra adentro | de los dichos metales, dijo que no vio ni enten- | dio que se les preguntase nada desto a los dichos | yndios mas de solo preguntalles si hauia po- | blaçiones grandes y donde y si heran de yndios |²⁰ vestidos y vio que los dichos yndios, quando | se les pregunto hesto, rrespondian por señas | que hauia muchas poblaciones y de mucha jen- | te y que estaban bestidos de mantas, porque se | las mostraban de las que los españoles llebaban |²⁵ quando se lo preguntaban.

¶ Preguntado si vio las dichas sementeras | en la dicha poblaçon y la cantidad que hauia | dellas y si heran grandes o pequeñas, [fol. 192r]

[LM] Que se- | menteras | tienen los yndios | de la poblaçon | grande ettcetera | folio 161 vuelta.

dijo que como tiene dicho, bio entre las casas de la | dicha poblaçon señales de hauer hauido semente- | ras de mays, frisor y calabazas, porque hauia de | los palos y rrayzes de las dichas semillas y heran |⁵ peque[ñ]as porque cada casa tenia junto a si | la sementera y aunque estaban coxidas, hauia | otras nazidas por el mes de septiembre, que hera quando | llegaron ha esta poblacion.

[LM] Las caussas | que tubo el | adelantado para | no passar a- | delante ettcetera | folio 153 vuelta.

¹⁰ ¶ Preguntado que causas tubo el dicho gover- | nador para volverse de la dicha poblaçon | y no pasar adelante a descubrir mas tierra, | dijo que como los yndios dijeron que adelante | hauia

muy gran numero de jente y la que el ¹⁵ governador llebaba era poca y temiendo esto | y que la jente que hauia quedado en el rreal de | San Grabiél no se fuese viendo la tardanza, | todos los capitanes y soldados dieron peti- | çion al dicho governador, pidiendole diese la ²⁰ buelta por las dichas causas y otras que le | alegaron y protestaron y presentada ante | el dicho governador, aunque mostro sentirlo | mucho, lo permitio y asi se determinaron | de volver y luego solto a los yndios ²⁵ escanxaques que llebaba por guias y les | pago, dando a cada vno dos mantas y otro | dia levanto su rreal y se volvio por el pro- | pio camino que hauia llevado y a las doze | del medio dia, llegando çerca del alojamiento ³⁰ que hauia tenido el rreal quando llego a la [fol. 192v] dicha poblaçon, hauiendose adelantado el dicho | maese de campo al dicho alojamiento, lo allo ocu- | pado de los dichos yndios escanxaques, los qua- | les le yrieron dos o tres cavallos y le hiçieron ⁵ rretirar y el dicho maese de campo vino a el rreal | y dijo lo que pasaba y dio orden que todos los sol- | dados tomasen sus cavallos y armas y | bolbio en orden con ellos, marchando delante del | campo y los dichos yndios escanxaques los salie- | ron a rrezibir de guerra en forma de media luna, | pegando fuego a la sabana por donde hauian | de yr para que les diese en los rrostros a los caba- | llos y asi se llegaron casi a juntar con los | españoles y hauiendo muerto algunos con los ¹⁵ arcabuzes, se fueron rretirando a vnas pe- | ñas que estaban zerca del rrio donde se fort- | ficaron y de alli salian a dar ruçiadas y en | el dicho puesto les mataron los nuestros mu- | cha jente y prendieron vn yndio que se dize ²⁰ Miguel, que trajo a esta çiudad el maese de | campo y vnas yndias y muchachos, que se- | rian ocho o diez personas y duraria la [re]frie- | ga desde poco despues de medio dia hasta çer- | ca de la noche y el dicho governador les mando ²⁵ volver las mujeres que les prendieron | y los yndios dezian que se las volvian de | miedo y asi se rretiro, biendo que los yndios | no salian a pelear y mando marchar y se | fue a alojar al dicho alojamiento y de los españoles [fol. 193r] salieron heridos treynta y dos soldados, algunos | mal heridos, aunque no murio ninguno y o- | tro dia prosiguieron su viaje por los mismos | parajes y alojamientos que trajeron a la ve- | ⁵ nida, sin ver los dichos yndios escanxaques | ni de otra naçion hasta llegar a los yndios a- | paches, que los rrezibieron de paz como amigos.

[LM] **La vtilidad | que se puede | esperar del | nueuo descu- | brimiento ettcetera | folio 154 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado si conforme a las notiçias que tu- | bieron y tierra que vio y disposiçion della, ¹⁰ si su magestad se sirviese de hazer merced y socorro | al dicho governador don Juan de Oñate con jente | para descubrir la dicha tierra y hazer la dicha | jornada, si hiria este testigo de buena volun- | tad a ella y que vtilidad le parece que po- | ¹⁵ dria rresultar, asi a la corona rreal como a los que | fuesen al dicho descubrimiento, dijo que haçien- | do su magestad el dicho socorro, rrespeto de las notiçias | que el dicho yndio Miguel da de que ay mucho | oro y que tratan y contratan con el y a las ²⁰ que dieron los yndios de que hauia muchas | poblaçiones y jente y de que la tierra parece | fertil, yria este testigo a la dicha jornada a gas- | tar algun tiempo, hasta vn año, por hauer | gastado tanto tiempo para ver si se azer- | ²⁵ taba con algo bueno.

[LM] **Si son çiertas | las notiçias | que el yndio | Miguel da ettcetera | folio 155.**

¶ Preguntado si la notiçia que el dicho Mi- | guel da de que ay oro y se contrata con el la | dio luego que le prendieron o donde y como | y que entiende y cree de lo que el dicho Miguel [fol. 193v] dize, dijo que este testigo no oyo ni supo que | el dicho yndio Miguel diese ninguna notiçia | de hauer oro en las poblaçiones donde le pren- | ⁵ dieron hasta que estuvo en San Gabriel, que | entonzes oyo dezir al maese de campo y a otros | capitanes y soldados qu'el dicho yndio dezia |

que çerca de la dicha poblaçion donde llegaron, | dos o tres jornadas della, hauia mucho oro | con que se contratava entre los yndios y des- |¹⁰ pues viniendo de San Gabriel a esta çuadad, | hestando en Santa Barbora el dicho maese de | campo, en presençia de este testigo, pregun- | to por señas al dicho yndio, mostrandole vna | sortija de oro y vn poco de platta, si hauia de |¹⁵ aquello donde dezia y el dicho yndio dijo que | hauia oro, señalando la sortija y que no | hauia platta y que sacaban el dicho oro de | vnos rrios en polbo y en arena y que lo fun- | dian con fuego y sacaban tejuelos, que a lo |²⁰ que señalaba heran como vna ostia, mayo- | res y menores; todo esto dezia por señas que | se dejaban entender y por hauerlo dicho el yn- | dio tantas vezes y de vna manera, le a dado | este testigo credito.

[LM] **Que abrà me- | nester cada | soldado que vu- | elua a la jor- | nada ettcetera | folio 155 vuelta.**

|²⁵ ¶ Preguntado pues dize que haçiendole so- | corro yra otra vez a la dicha jornada, que | socorro le obligara a ello y que vtilidad | le parece podra tener la corona rreal de | hazella, dijo que quando entraron a la [fol. 194r] dicha jornada, el que menos gasto en hauiar- | se de los soldados gasto seysçientos pesos | y al presente todos an salido desnudos y con tan- | ta nezesidad que hauian vendido sus arcabu- |⁵ zes para comer y vestirse y si huuiessen de | volver, para probeerse de lo que es menester | por ser la tierra tan apartada, tendria ne- | zesidad cada soldado de seysçientos pesos | y mas y si es verdad lo que el yndio dize de |¹⁰ hauer tanta cantidad de oro como sinifica, | su magestad sera muy servido de los rreales quin- | tos y derechos que le vendran, demas de la tie- | rra que se podra conquistar y pazificar | y almas que se ganaran.

|¹⁵ ¶ Preguntado si sabe en que altura esta el | rreal de San Grabiell y el viaje y camino que | hiçieron, a que rrunbo fue a las dichas nuevas | poblaçiones y si sabe el altura que mul- | tiplicaron, si tiene notiçia de que tenian la |²⁰ mar çerca y a que parte les demoraba y les | parecia podrian salir a ella, que diga lo que | sabe y entiende de esto, dijo que no | sabe ni a oydo dezir nada de lo que se le pre- | gunta, mas de que el camino que llebaron |²⁵ fue açia el norte y en la compaņia yba vn | soldado portuguez que se diçe Juan Rodri- | guez, que dezia se le entendia el altura | en que estaban y no se acuerda este [fol. 194v] testigo de lo que en rrazon de esto dijo y en- | tiende que el dicho Juan Rodriguez esta en esta | çuadad.

[LM] **Lo que se trata | entre los soldados | del descubrimiento | çerca de voluer | a el ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado si a los soldados que bolbieron |⁵ con el dicho governador de la dicha jornada de | las nuevas poblaçiones, asi dellas al rreal | de San Grabiell, como de los que an venido con | el maese de campo a esta çuadad, a oydo tratar | de la buelta al descubrimiento, conquista y pa- |¹⁰ zificaçion de las dichas nuevas poblaçiones | y lo que dizen y les parece a los dichos soldados y | capitanes de la buelta della, dijo que al- | gunos de los dichos capitanes y soldados dezian | que aunque les diesen vn tesoro no bolberian |¹⁵ a la dicha jornada y otros dezian que bolberian | y algunos hubo que no se quisieron venir y | se quedaron en San Grabiell con esperançã | de lo que se puede descubrir.

[LM] **Que gente | baptiçada ay | en lo poblado | y pacifico ettcetera | folio 156.**

¶ Preguntado pues ha andado todo lo que se a |²⁰ rreduzido de paz en la comarca de San | Grabiell, que gente se a bautizado des- | pues que el dicho governador entro en las | dichas provinçias y los que no se an bau- | tiçado, por que causa no se an bautizado, |²⁵ dijo que luego que entraron en las dichas | provinçias, se bautiçaron ocho o diez | muchachos de quatro y seys y

ocho años [fol. 195r] y este testigo fue padrino de vno dellos y despues | aca no ha uisto bautizar otros, porque siempre | andaba fuera del rreal y no sabe la causa por | que no se ayan bautizado.

5 ¶ Lo qual dijo ser verdad so cargo del juramento que | hiço en que se afirmo y rratifico siendole leydo | y dijo ser de hedad de veynte y seys años poco mas | o menos y no le va ynterese en esta causa ni | le tocan las jenerales y que no sabe firmar; |¹⁰ firmolo el dicho factor.

¶ Y dijo este testigo que toda la tierra que vio | y andubo y asi de Zibola como la de los escan- | xaques y nuebas poblaciones tiene gran can- | tidad de benados pardos y muy grandes |¹⁵ y los yndios los matan para comer la carne | y aprovechase de los cueros, de los quales se | visten porque son muy grandes y los curan. Fecha | vt supra, don Francisco Valverde ante mi Hernan- | do Esteban escribano real.

[LM] **Testigo | Miguel | Montero | alferes en | la jornada.**

²⁰ ¶ En la dicha çiudad de Mexico veynte y seis dias | del dicho mes de abril del dicho año, el dicho fator hiço | parezer ante si a vn español que dijo llamar- | se Miguel de Montero de Castro y ser natural | de esta çiudad y alferes del Nuebo Mexico, del | qual fue rrezibido juramento por dios y por la se- | ñal de la cruz en forma de derecho y prometio de | dezir verdad y preguntado por el thenor | del aucto de su señoria, dijo lo siguiente: que | este testigo entro a la dicha conquista y descubri- | [fol. 195v] miento del Nuebo Mexico de los primeros soldados | que en ella entraron, por soldado de la conpañia | del capitan Marzelo de Espinosa, juntamente | con el governador don Juan de Oñate y con la |⁵ jente que con el entro y siempre a estado y rresidido | en las dichas provinçias, sirviendo a su magestad | en la mayor parte de las ocasiones y entradas que | se an ofrezido.

[LM] **Calidad de gente | y su traxe, | tierra y vas- | timentos ettcetera | folio 157.**

¶ Preguntado diga y declare la dispusiçion y |¹⁰ calidad de la jente y tierra que al presente esta | asentada de paz de bajo del gobierno del gober- | nador don Juan Oñate, dijo que este testigo | a estado en todos los pueblos que estan paçificados | debajo del gobierno del dicho governador y los |¹⁵ ha uisto y considerado y la jente es rrobusta | y vien ajustada y de buenos ynjenios y gran- | des labradores de sus sementeras, jente paçifica | y umilde y bien mandada y todos andan bes- | tidos de mantas de algodnon o de gamuças o que- |²⁰ ros de las vacas de Zibola adobadas, trayendo | vna manta del dicho algodnon zeñida al cuerpo y otra | que los cubre de los hombr[o]s y todos traen calza- | do hasta media perna de ga[m]uça o de anta | de Zibola y la tierra generalmente es mas llana |²⁵ que fragosa y todos estan poblados a las rribes- | ras del rrio, ezepto los pueblos de Zuñi y Mo- | qui, que estos estan apartados del dicho rrio. | Es tierra fria porque nieba la mitad del año | y mas y de los dichos naturales ay rrayados [fol. 196r] los de los pueblos jumanes y todos sienbran | mays y frisol y calavaça y sandias y cojen | bastantemente lo que an menester y mas y buen | mayz y diferente del que se da en esta Nueva |⁵ España en solo ser muy mas corta la caña aun- | que las maçorcas son del mismo grandor y | vondad. Los yndios sustentan las mujeres que | pueden y algunas dellas hazen sementeras | y algunas no.

[LM] **Que abrà pobla- | dos y paçificos | en lo que gouier- | na el adelantado | 30 o 40U yndios | de guerra y | trabajo, sin | mugeres y | niños | folio 157 vuelta.**

¹⁰ ¶ Preguntado que cantidad de jente tendran | todas las poblaçiones que al presente estan pa- | çificas, dijo que le pareze qu'en todas podra ha- | uer treynta o quarenta mill yndios que pue- | dan tomar armas, sin las mujeres niños y |¹⁵ criaturas.

[LM] **Que notiçias | tubo el a- | delantado para | hazer la nue- | ua entrada ettcetera | folio**

157 vuelta.

¶ Preguntado que notiçias fueron las que el dicho | gobernador don Juan de Oñate tubo para | salir al descubrimiento de los llanos de Zibola | [y] de las poblaciones del norte, dijo que vn |²⁰ yndio mexicano nombrado Jusepe bino | al rreal del dicho gobernador y dijo que hauia | entrado con los capitanes Leyba y Umaña | y hauian llegado ha vna poblaçion tan | grande que en tres dias no la hauian podido |²⁵ atrabesar y que dezian los yndios de la dicha | poblaçion que adelante hauia notiçia de | hauer oro y que los dichos capitanes abian | entrado a descubrirlo y qu'el y otros dos yn- [fol. 196v] dios se hauian vydo de los dichos españoles y que | a sus dos compañeros los hauian muerto y que a el | lo hauian rrecojido los yndios apaches ba- | queros y que como tubo notiçia que hauian lle- |⁵ gado a las dichas poblaçiones españoles, se hauian | venido a ellos.

¶ Preguntado si salio este testigo con el dicho gober- | nador al dicho descubrimiento de las dichas poblaciones | grandes del norte, dijo que salio con el dicho go- |¹⁰ vernador.

[LM] Que saliò con el | adelantado | al nueuo des- | cubrimiento y por | donde comensò | ettcetera | folio 158.

¶ Preguntado diga y declare lo que vio y en- | tendio del dicho viaje y la calidad de la tierra | que andubo y la distançia della y la jente que | vieron y quanta y de sus costumbres y que es- |¹⁵ peran[ç]as prometen lo que vieron y descu- | brieron, dijo que del rreal de San Grabiell salio | el exercito del dicho gobernador con carros y | carretas y dos pieças de artilleria en carre- | tones y por todo la tierra se pudo caminar con |²⁰ ellos por ser llana, porque solo en los pueblos | de los Pecos ay un monte y no ynpidio el pa- | so de los carros y toda la demas tierra es muy | llana y mientras mas se entro en ella, mas | llana y es tierra apazible de muchas aguas |²⁵ y arboledas de frutales de ziruelos de Castilla | de seys o ocho jeneros, porque asi lo oyo dezir a | las personas que hauian hestado en Castilla | y muchos parrales de vbas buenas y no- | gales grandes y luego que salieron de los [fol. 197r] pueblos de los Pecos, que estan diez leguas del | rreal de San Grabiell, toparon yndios baque- | ros en rranchirias con sus mujeres hi hijos, | que es jente que vive de matar bacas de Zibola |⁵ y venados y pescar en los rrios y tratar con ello | con los yndios asentados de paz, dando la carne y | cueros, sebo y manteca en trueco de mantas y | mays y arina y de pizete y los dichos yndios ba- | queros se binieron de paz a los españoles y les die- |¹⁰ ron de lo que tenian y el dicho gobernador los rre- | galo y les dio de lo que llebaba y todos los dichos yn- | dios baqueros andan en cueros y traen enzima | vn cuero de Zebola adobado que le[s] sirbe de | abrigo y cama y es jente blanca y bien dispuesta |¹⁵ y sin ninguna rraya y abiendo caminado se- | senta o setenta leguas despues que salieron de | el dicho rreal de San Grabiell, enpezaron a ber las | vacas de Zebola, que son en numero ynfinito | porque los canpos estan llenos dellas, las qua- |²⁰ les son del tamaño de las nuestras poco menos, aun- | que los toros son mayores y todas son pardas | sin tener otro color ni mancha y son muy | lanudas de lana larga y blanda como de obejas | que se pued[e] labrar y hazer paños y son cor- |²⁵ cobadas espeçialmente los toros y son cortas | de pies y manos y mas gruesas que las | nuestras, porque tyenen mucho sebo y | manteca y la carne es mejor que la de carnero. [fol. 197v] Los cuernos tienen cortos y negros, bueltas | las puntas adentro y son muy brabos y lijeros | los toros, aunque las bacas son mas lijeras y | huiendo caminado duçientas leguas poco |⁵ menos desde el dicho rreal de San Grabiell, huien- | dose adelantado a descubrir jente de quien to- | mar notiçia, se descubrio vna rrancheria gran- | de de mas de seys mill yndios de arco y flechas, a los | quales pusieron por nombre los yndios de la |¹⁰ gran rrancheria y el maese de campo, con veynte | compañeros poco mas o menos que llebaba,

entro | en la dicha rrancheria que le rresçibieron de | paz y trajo al rreal algunos de[l]os dichos yn-
| dios, los quales dieron notiçia que tres jorna- |¹⁵ das de alli estaba la gran poblaçion donde ha-
| via mucha jente y que en ella hauian muer- | to y quemado a los españoles y que no fuesen | alla
| porque los hauian de matar y el dicho | governador hiço tomar dos yndios de la dicha |²⁰
| rrancheria que le guiasen a la dicha poblaçion | y los llebaron atados con vn cordel porque | no se
| vyesen y hauiendo caminado tres | o quatro dias, llegaron a un rrio grande don- | de estaba
| asentada la dicha poblaçion gran- |²⁵ de y los dichos yndios que hallaron en la gran | rrancheria les
| dieron notiçia de la gran | poblaçion. Es jente desnuda que solo traen | vnas cubiertas de camuça y
| de bacas [fol. 198r] de Zebola o de lobos que les sirve[n] de cubrirse | de dia y de noche. Es jente
| rrayada alguna | della y no sienbran ninguna cossa porque se sus- | tentan de la carne de las bacas
| y de pescado y fru- |⁵ tas silvestres que ay en aquella tierra y todos | traen arcos y flechas, harcos
| grandes y peque- | ños, y macanas de palo con piedras a la punta | de dos terçias de largo e mas y
| adargas de cuero | grandes y las yndias rrayadas el rrosto y |¹⁰ pechos y braços y todos los dichos
| yndios de la | dicha rrancheria o la mayor parte dellos fueron | siguiendo el rreal de los españoles
| a una bista | y los siguieron hasta llegar a la dicha gran po- |
| blaçion.

[LM] **Que vn genero | de yndios les diò | notiçia de | muchissima | gente adelante | ettcetera.**
|¹⁵ ¶ Preguntado si tubo notiçia este testigo de los | dichos yndios de la gran rrancheria avia mas |
| cantidad de la que vieron, dijo que los dichos | yndios por señas les dijeron que hauia muchos |
| yndios dellos por zerca de su rrancheria aun- |²⁰ que no se vieron.

[LM] **Traça de la | gran pobla- | çon que vieron | desde donde | se volvieron | ettcetera | folio
160 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado diga y declare lo que vio y paso en | la poblaçion grande que descubrieron, dijo |
| que antes que el rreal llegase a descubrir | la dicha poblaçion, se hauian adelantado los |²⁵ yndios
| de la gran rrancheria sin que pudiesen | ser detenidos y como enemigos que son de | los yndios de
| la dicha gran poblaçion, los | hauian desafiado y alvorotado y asi salie- [fol. 198v] ron de guerra y
| luego que descubrieron a los | espa[ñ]oles, se detubieron y el dicho governador | los llamo de paz
| y vinieron llegando al | rreal mucha cantidad de yndios, todos de arco |⁵ y flecha, que le parece
| a este testigo que serian | veynte mill yndios poco mas o menos y todos se | quedaron de la otra
| parte del rrio y algunos lle- | gavan a entrar en el rreal y trayan maçorcas | de mayz y tortas
| cozidas grandes y lo ofreçian |¹⁰ y daban al governador y a sus soldados y ellos les | daban pizete
| y otras cosas y siempre se hiçieron | con los españoles muestras de paz, que eran | alzando las
| manos al sol y poniendolas en los | pechos y los yndios de la gran rrancheria d[i]je- |¹⁵ ron al
| dicho governador por señas que aquellos | yndios habian muerto a los españoles y que | tenian
| vno dellos vivo y preguntandoles | a los dichos yndios de la dicha poblaçion por el dicho es- |
| pañol, dijeron que no sabian del y que ellos |²⁰ no hauian muerto a los españoles y el dicho go-
| vernador acordo de que se prendiesen algunos | yndios para darlos en trueque del dicho español |
| y otro dia se prendieron dos yndios para el dicho | efeto y la noche del dia que se prendieron, se
|²⁵ le vyeron a vn soldado que los tenia de guardia | y los dichos yndios de la gran poblaçion se rre-
| tiraron de sus casas y las dejaron vaçias | y los otros yndios de la rrancheria entraron [fol. 199r]
| en ellas y las saquearon y pegaron fuego a al- | gunas y el dicho governador ynbio jente que lo |
| estorbasse y hechase fuera de la poblaçion a los | dichos yndios de la rrancheria como se hiço y el
| dicho |⁵ governador con su canpo entro en la dicha pobla- | çon y se alojó entre las casas.

[LM] **Que tienen | dentro de las | casas ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado si este testigo entro en las casas de la | dicha poblaçon y las vio, que diga el modo y traza | dellas y la cantidad que habria y lo que ha- |¹⁰ bia dentro de las dichas casas, dijo que todas las dichas | casas son de vna forma qu'es de palos y paja, | anchas de abajo y angostas por lo alto a manera | de pavellon y de la mitad del altor para arri- | ba estan dibididas con vn sobrado, al qual su- |¹⁵ ben por de fuera por vna escalera de palo de | escalones y bajo del dicho sobrado tienen fechas | sus barbacoas para dormir en vnos oyos que | llaman estufas. Tienen enzerrado el mays | y frijol y calabaza y las dichas casas estan fun- |²⁰ dadas por el dicho rrio arriba de vna parte y o- | tra, apartadas vnas de otras y en medio hauia | sementeras de mays y de frisol y calavaça | y de la cantidad de las casas no puede este *testigo* de- | terminar quantas serian, porque no las conto |²⁵ ni pudo porque no se pudo ver toda la poblaçon | y dentro de las casas hauia ollas y cajetes de ba- | rro y no vio otra cossa ni vio gallinas [fol. 199v] ni otra cosa si no heran cueros de Zebola que | en muchas de las dichas casas se allaron y los yn- | dios que de la dicha poblaçon este testigo vio son | vien dispuestos y ajustados y todos rrayados |⁵ y desnudos, con las dichas mantas de camuça y | queros de Zebola cubijados y no bio ninguna | mujer ni a ninguno de los dichos yndios vio cosa | de lienço ni ylada y de la dicha poblaçon no se espero | ninguna cosa de provecho por lo que se vio.

¹⁰ ¶ Preguntado si save que a los dichos yndios que | se prendieron de la dicha poblaçon se les pregun- | tase si en ella o su comarca o adelante hauia | oro o platta o jente vestida como hauia dado | por notiça el dicho Jusepe yndio como tiene dicho, |¹⁵ dijo que no bio que se les preguntase lo suso dicho | y si se les pregunto, no fue en su presençia ni lo | oyo dezir, aunque este testigo y otros soldados | les preguntaban si adelante hauia jente | vestida, mostrandoles mantas y los dichos |²⁰ yndios les rrespondian que adelante hauia | mucha jente vestida y señalaban que | estaban zerca y que la jente hera muchisima | y que adonde yban que los hauian de matar.

[LM] **Las caussas | que tubo el | adelantado | para no pasar | adelante ettcetera | folio 162.**

¶ Preguntado que causas tubo el dicho gober- |²⁵ nador para volverse como se volvio y no | pasar adelante al dicho descubrimiento, dijo que | todos los capitanes y soldados del rreal [fol. 200r] dieron petiçon al dicho governador, pidien- | dole que se bolbiese al dicho rreal por la notiça | que hauia de la mucha jente que adelante hauia | y por estar los soldados fatigados y los caballos |⁵ cansados y por conserbar lo que hauian dejado | atras y porque se diese notiça dello a su magestad y | el dicho governador, visto que convenia al seruicio | del rrey, probeyo se volviesen y asi dieron buel- | ta el dia siguiente, que fue vispera de San Miguel, con |¹⁰ el rreal y marcharon por donde hauian venido | y llegando çerca del alojamiento que el dicho rreal ha- | uia tenido quando llegaron a la poblaçon y lle- | gando a ella, el dicho maese de campo y sus soldados | que yban de manguardia les co[m]enzaron a fle- |¹⁵ char los yndios de la gran rancheria que esta- | ban alojados en el dicho alojamiento y hirieron vn | cavallo a un soldado y el dicho maese de campo y | sus soldados se rretiraron al cuerpo de exerçito, | donde todos se apercibieron y en orden bolbieron |²⁰ al dicho alojamiento y los dichos yndios ynbestieron | en forma de media luna, flechando con grande | alarido y aunque los españoles les rrequi- | rieron de paz, no quisieron y asi les tiraron mu- | chos arcabuzazos y hauiendo derribado algu- |²⁵ nos de los dichos yndios, se rretiraron a unas | peñas donde se fortaleçieron y tiraban mu- | chas flechas y la rrefriega duro çinco o seys oras | y yrieron mas de treynta soldados españoles [fol. 200v] y de los yndios se mataron algunos y se prendie- | ron algunas mujeres y muchachos y vn yn- | dio que el maese de

campo trujo a esta ciudad que | se nombra Miguel y visto que los dichos yn- |⁵ dios no salian a pelear, el governador mando | recoxer y se rrecoxieron al alojamiento y mando | soltar a las mujeres y los dichos yndios deçian que | para que les bolbian las mujeres pues l[a]s hauian | ganado en guerra, si lo haçian de miedo y los mu- |¹⁰ chachos, que no sabe quantos fueron, se rrepar- | tieron entre los frayles y soldados y otro dia se | prosiguió el viaje y no vieron mas yndios | de los de la dicha rrancheria ni otros asta que lle- | garon donde andan los yndios baqueros que |¹⁵ les rrecibieron de paz.

[LM] **La utilidad que | se puede espe- | rar del nuevo | descubrimiento | ettcetera | folio 163.**

¶ Preguntado si conforme a las notiçias que tu- | vieron y a lo que vio en la dicha jornada, si su ma- | gestad se sirviese de hazer merced y socorro al dicho | governador don Juan de Oñate con jente |²⁰ para descubrir el dicho descubrimiento y con- | quista, si hiria este testigo de buena gana | a ella y que vtilidad le pareze que podria | rresultar asi a la corona rreal como a los sol- | dados que fuesen al dicho descubrimiento y jor- |²⁵ nada, dijo que si su magestad se sirbiese de dar | al dicho governador quatroçientos soldados | para la dicha conquista, respeto de las gran- [fol. 201r] des notiçias que ay de mucha jente y la que | el dicho yndio Miguel da de que ay oro, yria | este testigo de buena gana a la dicha jornada | y no de otra manera y le pareze que descubier- |⁵ tas las dichas poblaçiones y oro que dizen ay, | a la corona rreal se seguiria mucha vtilidad | y a los soldados que fuesen serian muy apro- | vechados y rricos.

[LM] **Si son çiertas | las notiçias | que el yndio | Miguel da | ettcetera | folio 163 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado las notiçias que el dicho Miguel |¹⁰ yndio a dado de que ay oro, si la dio luego que | lo prendieron o en el camino o donde la dio | o que entiende de lo que el dicho yndio dize, | dijo que este testigo no supo ni oyo dezir | que el dicho yndio Miguel diese la dicha noti- |¹⁵ çia en el camino desde que le prendieron | hasta que estuvo en el rreal de San Gabriel, | donde este testigo oyo dezir que el dicho yndio | daba la dicha notiçia de que hauia oro y | sabido lo pregunto al dicho yndio por señas, |²⁰ el qual dijo que dos jornadas y media a | vn lado de la dicha gran poblaçion abia oro | y señalava que hauia pedaços pequeños | como vn rreal de a ocho mas y menos y que | haçian vasos del como escudillas grandes |²⁵ con que comian y esto señalava, mostran- | do vn pedaço de tronpeta muy linpia | y rreluçiente y aunque le mostraron plata | y otros metales y le preguntaron si hauia [fol. 201v] dello, dijo que no lo hauia y este testigo | a creydo y cree que el dicho yndio dize verdad, | rrespeto de que haze señas de que se saca con zen- | drada y fuego y si el yndio no lo huuiera vis- |⁵ to hazer no lo dijera y oyo dezir este testigo | que la primera vez que el yndio dio la dicha | notiçia, la dio al capitan Vaca en el dicho | rreal de San Grabiél.

¶ Preguntado si a los yndios e yndias que vio |¹⁰ asi de la gran rrancheria como de los demas | de la gran poblaçon les vio algun jenero | de oro o plata v otro metal o mantas de | algodón, dijo que no vio a ninguno de los | dichos yndios cosa ninguna de oro ni plata |¹⁵ y que en algunos arcos bio algunos ylos de al- | godón de color y preguntandoles que de don- | de lo hauian traydo por señas, deçian que de | la tierra adentro.

[LM] **Que abrà menes- | ter cada soldado | que vuelua à | la jornada ettcetera | folio 164.**

¶ Preguntado pues dize que si su magestad hiçiese |²⁰ merced de dar socorro al dicho governador don | Juan de Oñatte de quatroçientos hombres | hiria a la dicha jornada, que paga y socorro le | pareze que se le podia dar a cada soldado pa- | ra que se hauie y adereze para ella, dijo que |²⁵ cada soldado a menester por lo menos para | aderezarse seysçientos pesos de oro comun | y le

pareze que si se asentase con los soldados [fol. 202r] que si haviendo entrado ochenta leguas de la pri- | mera poblaçon grande vltimamente discu- | bierta adelante no se allase lo que se a dado por | notiçia, se pudiesen bolber, abria muchos |⁵ soldados que fuesen con el dicho socorro y seria | hazertado no perder mas tiempo porqu' en este | podria su magestad tener el desengaño que con- | viene.

[LM] **Que gente | baptiçada ay | en lo poblado | y pacifico ettcetera | folio 164 vuelta.**

¶ Preguntado pues a andado todo lo que esta |¹⁰ pacifico en la comarca de San Grabiell, que jente | bio y a entendido que esta batiçada en la dicha | provinçia y los que no se an bautiçado por | que causa no lo estan, dijo que al prinçipio | que entraron en las dichas provinçias se bau- |¹⁵ tiçaron algunas criaturas en el pueblo de San | Jhoan y despues los frayles no quisieron | bautiçar, no sabe este testigo por que causa | ni los que ay bautiçados, porque siempre an- | daba este testigo fuera del rreal a las entradas |²⁰ y ocasiones que se ofrecian.

¶ Preguntado si sabe este testigo el altura | en que esta este asiento de San Grabiell | y lo que se multiplico hasta las nuebas po- | blaçiones conforme al runbo que llebaron |²⁵ y si tubo notiçia o oyo decir que tan zerca | tenian la mar, si se pregunto esto a los dichos yndios | y a que runbo les demoraba la mar, dijo | que no sabe ni oyo dezir nada de lo que se le [fol. 202v] pregunta y que entiende que dira de esto Juan | Rodriguez, soldado que fue a la dicha jornada | que es portugues y dizen que es piloto.

¶ Lo qual dijo ser verdad so cargo del juramento |⁵ que hi[ç]o en que se afirmo y rratifico siendo- | le leydo y qu' es de hedad de mas de treynta años | y no le tocaba ynterese en esta causa ni le to- | can las generales y lo firmo de su nombre | y el dicho fator don Francisco Valverde, Miguel |¹⁰ Montero de Castro, ante mi Hernando Este- | ban escribano rreal.

[LM] **Testigo | Juan Rodrigues por- | togues soldado | de la jornada.**

¶ En Mexico veynte y seys del dicho mes de abril del dicho | a[ñ]o, el dicho factor hiço parezca ante si a hun hombre | que dijo llamarse Juan Rodriguez y ser portugues, |¹⁵ natural del pueblo de Christuma serca de la ciudad | de Oporto, del qual rreciuio juramento por dios y por la se- | ñal de la cruz [en forma de derecho] y prometio de dezir verdad y | preguntado por el aucto de su señoria, dijo que este | testigo entro al descubrimiento y conquista de las pro- |²⁰ vinçias del Nuevo Mexico con el governador | don Juan de Oñate por caudillo de la compania de | el capitán don Francisco de Zuñiga y siempre a estado | y rresidido en las dichas provinçias y se a allado | ha todos los descubrimientos y jornadas que se an |²⁵ fecho en las dichas provinçias por el dicho governador | y por su maese de campo.

¶ Preguntado que dispusiçion y cal[i]dad tiene la jente | y tierra que al presente esta de paz y debaxo del gobierno [fol. 203r]

[LM] **Calidad de gente | y su traxe | tierra y vasti- | mentos ettcetera.**

del dicho don Juan de Oñate, dijo que la xente qu' esta | de paz es de buena dispusiçion, hombres y mujeres, | sin ningunas rrayas sino son los jumanes y que al- | gunos dellos estan rrayados y los hombres estan cu- |⁵ biertos con una manta de algodón basta o con vn cuero | de vaca de Zibola adobado con vnos delantales de | algodón y las mujeres todas traen mantas de algodón | gruesas pintadas y las mas dellas traen dos, la vna | que les sirve de naguas o saya y la otra que les |¹⁰ cubre el cuerpo. Es jente domestica y acuden | bien a servir a los españoles, aunque en los pue- | blos de Acoma y en los de los jumanes vbo vn | alçamiento y mataron en los jumanes dos españoles | y en Acoma a Juan de Saldibar maese de campo |¹⁵ y a diez soldados, a cuyo castigo y

paçficacion salio | Vizente de Saldibar sarjento mayor, que al presente es | maese de campo y con el castigo que hi[ç]o siempre | an estado de paz. Traen por armas arco y flecha y | macana, aunque no es jente guerrera y quando ²⁰ pelean en sus pueblos, la prinçipal arma de que | se valen es de piedras que tiran de lo alto de las | casas, que son de adobes de tres quatro y çinco altos | y sienbran mayz y frisol y calabaça y cojen mu- | cho, que este testigo ha visto en los dichos pueblos ²⁵ mayz de seys y siete años, que lo conservan en las | maçorcas debajo de tierra o en aposentos muy | zerrados como silos. Es tierra fria aunque se puede | hauitar y es muy fertil para senbrar trigo y | mayz y qualquier semilla. Nieba algunos años [fol. 203v] la mitad del año y mas, aunque vnos años nieba | mas que otros. Tienen los yndios todos dos, tres y | quatro y çinco mujeres que son las que pueden | sustentar y no las tienen juntas y quando las ⁵ muxeres se quieren apartar, lo hazen. Es jente | que con façilidad reziben la dotrina. Los pueblos | son de a çiento y duçientas casas y de aqui para abajo.

[LM] **Que abra po- | blados y pa- | çificos en lo | que gouierna | el adelantado | 30U yndios sin | mugeres y ni- | [ñ]os ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado que jente tendran todas las dichas pobla- | ¹⁰ çiones que estan de paz, dijo que este testigo las ha | visto y andado todas y le pareze que en ellos ha- | bra treynta mill yndios que pueden pelear po- | co mas o menos, sin las mujeres y criaturas que | son muchas.

[LM] **Que notiçias | tubo el ade- | lantado para | hazer la nue- | ua entrada ettcetera.**

¹⁵ ¶ Preguntado que notiçias fueron las que el dicho gover- | nador don Juan de O[ñ]ate tubo para haçer la jornada | que hiço a Zebola y a las grandes poblaçones, dijo | que estando asentado el rreal del dicho governa- | dor en el pueblo de San Juan, que fue donde prime- | ²⁰ ro hiço asiento, qu'es de la naçion tegua, vn año | poco mas o menos despues que entro en las dichas pro- | vinçias, bino a su canpo un yndio mexicano | que se dize Jusepe y dijo que hauia entrado con los | capitanes Umaña y Leyba que entraron con ²⁵ treynta soldados y que los dichos capitanes y su | jente abian llegado a vna poblaçion tan | grande que tardaron en pasalla dos dias y medio | y que adelante de la dicha poblaçion hauian lle- | gado a un rrio muy grande que menguaba y creçia ³⁰ que esta adelante de la dicha poblaçion sesenta [fol. 204r] leguas y que dezian los yndios del dicho rrio | que adelante hauia jente vestida de man- | tas y que desde el dicho rrio se hauia huydo el | dicho Jusepe y otros dos yndios y a los dos yndios ⁵ sus compañeros los hauian muerto en el | pueblo grande y el se hauia escapado y hauia | estado con los yndios apaches un año y que lue- | go que tubo notiçia que hauian llegado espa- | [ñ]oles al dicho pueblo de San Juan, se hauia uydo ¹⁰ de los apaches y desde que el dicho governador | tubo esta notiçia, siempre procuro hazer | el dicho descubrimiento y para ello ynbio por soco- | rro a esta Nueva España y luego que le lle- | go hiço la jornada.

¹⁵ ¶ Preguntado si salio este testigo con el dicho | governador a la dicha jornada y descubrimiento, | dijo que este testigo salio con el dicho governador | que fue el primero que salio de su rreal con la | mayor parte de su campo.

[LM] **Que saliò con el | adelantado | al nueuo des- | cubrimiento y por | donde comensò | ettcetera | folio.**

²⁰ ¶ Preguntado diga y declare lo que vio y entendio | del dicho viaje y de la calidad de la tierra que | andubieron y distançia della y la jente que | vio y el numero y calidad della y que espe- | ranças prometen lo que vieron y descubrie- | ²⁵ ron y notiçias que tubieron, dijo que como | tiene dicho este testigo salio con el dicho gover- | nador del asiento de San Grabiell y caminaron | hasta

el Rio de la Magdalena que llaman | el Salado, que estara del dicho asiento de San ³⁰ Grabiél
 veynte leguas poco mas o menos [fol. 204v] por el camino que hiçieron con las carretas | y de allí
 hiçieron jornada a otro rrio que lla- | man de los Bragues porque tiene muchos y | ambos rrios son
 de buenas aguas y arboledas ⁵ y aunque lo andado es tierra llana, de allí ade- | lante es mucho
 mas, particularmente de veynte | leguas adelante que es toda tierra muy lla- | na y desde donde
 enpeço a haber gran cantidad | de vacas de las de Zibola y çiruelas buenas ¹⁰ de Castilla de
 diferentes maneras y no se | acuerda a quales çiruelas de las de Castilla | parezen, mas de que eran
 de muy buen gusto | y no haçian daño aunque se coman mu- | chas y estas frutas estan en las
 arboledas ¹⁵ çerca de los rrios y tambien ay muchas parras | de vbas silvestres y algunas dulces y
 las | vacas son tantas que espanta y cubren la | tierra y la agostan en muchas partes. Son | mas
 largas que las nuestras y mas cortas de ²⁰ braços y piernas y muy lanudas, de lana larga | y blanda
 que se puede hazer paño della a lo | que le parece y son corcobadas y muy gordas | de mucha
 manteca y sebo y las vbres y ba- | rrigas tienen pequeñas. Los cuernos son cor- ²⁵ tos y negros y
 bueltas las puntas vna a | la otra. Son muy lijeras y por el dicho camino | vieron algunos yndios
 apaches, que son va- | queros que andan matando de la dichas bacas | y sacando la manteca y sebo
 dellas y lo ³⁰ venden y contratan con los yndios asentados [fol. 205r] a trueco de mays, mantas y
 piciete y estos yndios | andan en rrancherías que los lleban de vnas partes | a otras y cargan sus
 rranchos, que son de los cueros de | las vacas, en vnos perrillos pequeños que tie- ⁵ nen y todos
 andan desnudos y quando haze frio se | cubren con los dichos cueros y las mujeres andan cu- |
 biertas de la çintura abajo con vnas mantas de | gamuça de venado y quando haze frio se cubijan |
 con los dichos cueros y estos no siembran ninguna cosa ¹⁰ y solo se sustentan con la carne de las
 vacas que matan. | Traen arcos y flechas y siempre salieron de paz | y les daban de lo que tenían a
 la yda y buelta y por | el dicho camino vieron muchos venados pardos y | grandes, aunque junto a
 la gran poblaçon vieron ¹⁵ mas cantidad y mayores y las dichas vacas y en | la dicha cantidad
 sienpre las fueron viendo hasta | la dicha poblaçon grande y tubieron notiçia de | los yndios que
 las hauia adelante y que hauia | muchas salinas de sal y este testigo bio sal que pare- ²⁰ çia de la
 mar dentro de la dicha poblaçon en vna cassa | della y los yndios dezian que hera de las salinas | y
 donde vieron los dichos venados ay muchos rrobles | con muchas villotas gruesas y rredondas y
 mu- | chos nogales y morales y alamedas y fresnos y el ²⁵ temple de la tierra no muestra ser tan
 frio, porque cria | muchos pastos y a estos y a la yerba ancha y es- | tando ocho o diez leguas
 antes de la gran pobla- | çon que descubrieron, hauiendo adelantadosse | el maese de campo con
 doze soldados y entre ellos este ³⁰ testigo a descubrir, descubrieron vna rrancheria [fol. 205v]
 muy grande, que le parece habria çinco o seys mill | yndios de pelea, a los quales pusieron por
 nombre | los escanxaques, porque quando los vieron alzaban | las manos al sol y las ponian en los
 pechos en señal ⁵ de paz, diçiendo “escanxaque” y esta señal de paz | haçen tambien los yndios
 apaches y el dicho maese | de campo con sus conpa[ñ]eros entraron en la dicha rran- | cheria y los
 dichos yndios les dijeron por señas que dos | jornadas de allí estaba la gran poblaçon y que ¹⁰
 hauia mucha jente y que allí hauian muerto | a los españoles y el dicho maese de campo bolbio | a
 el rreal y con el se vinieron veynte de los dichos | yndios que dijeron lo propio al governador y
 los | rranchos que estos yndios tenían eran rredon- ¹⁵ dos de rrama y çacate y algunos dellos o los
 mas cu- | viertos con cueros de las vacas y no es jente | que sienbra ninguna cosa porque se
 sustenta con car- | ne y frutas y tienen por armas arco y flechas | y vnas macanas pequeñas y
 adargas de cuero ²⁰ grandes que les cubre la mayor parte del cuerpo. | Es jente, hombre y

mujeres, rrayada, altos de | cuerpo y de buena disposiçion y jente suçia y des- | nuda y andan vestidos de gamuças y cueros de | vacas como los yndios apaches y entre ellos ²⁵ ay algunos de los *dichos* yndios apaches de quien | tubieron la *dicha* notiçia, porque los entendia el *dicho* | yndio mexicano Jusepe y de alli pasaron en *demanda* | de la gran rrancheria, llebando dos yndios escan- | xaques por guias, aunque detras de el rreal [fol. 206r] se fue toda la jente de la rrancheria a vna vista y tu- | bieron notiçia de esta jente escanxaque que hauia | mucha della en otras rrancherias que estaban por | alli zerca y a cabo de quatro dias, despues que descu- | brieron la *dicha* rrancheria de los escanxaques, llega- | ron a un rrio cadaloso de mucha y buena hagua y | a la vna parte y otra de otro braço de otro rrio peque- | [ño] que entra en este grande, descubrieron la pobla- | çion y luego vino mucha jente del *dicho* pueblo y lle- | garon al rreal con señales de paz y todos trayan | maçorcas de mays que daban al gobernador y el | *dicho* gobernador les daba otras cosas y se entendio | que los *dichos* yndios escanxaques heran enemigos | de los de la pobla[ç]on y mas velicosa, porque los *dichos* ¹⁵ yndios poblados pretendieron hazer amistad con | ellos y los escanxaques no quisieron, los quales dije- | ron al *dicho* gobernador, por lengua del *dicho* Jusepe | y de yndios apaches que venian entrellos, | que los yndios de la *dicha* poblaçon abian muerto ²⁰ a los españoles y que vno dellos tenian vivo | que andaba enfermo con vn bordon y el *dicho* go- | vernador, para ynformarse de esto y para cobrar | al *dicho* español, hiço prender ocho v diez yn- | dios de la *dicha* poblaçon y les pidio le diesen el *dicho* ²⁵ español y que los soltaria y los *dichos* yndios por | señas dezian que no sabian nada y el *dicho* go- | vernador mando soltar çinco o seys de los *dichos* | yndios presos para que fuesen a dezir que no | les venia ha hazer daño sino ser su amigo [fol. 206v] y que le diesen el *dicho* español y nunca mas volvie- | ron, *antes* se rretiraron y alçaron todos los yndios | de la *dicha* poblaçon, que no paro *ninguno* y otro dia en- | traron en ella con el rreal y se alojaron entre las casas.

[LM] Traza de la | poblaçon grande | que vieron, des- | de donde se | uoluieron etcetera.

⁵ ¶ Preguntado si este testigo entro en las *dichas* casas de | la *dicha* poblaçon, que diga el modo y forma dellas | y lo que dentro se vio y allo, dijo que este testi- | go entro en la *dicha* poblaçon y en muchas | casas della y todas son de palos yncados en la ¹⁰ tierra y cubiertas de paja y por abajo anchas y | angostas por lo alto como pavellon y dentro tie- | nen a los lados unos lechos de palos y en lo alto | tienen vn sobrado, al qual suben por fuer[a] de la | *dicha* casa con vna escalera movediza y dentro de ¹⁵ las *dichas* casas abia algun mays aunque poco y frisol | y algunas calabças aunque pocas y fuera de las | casas zerca dellas, tienen vnos silos en que guar- | dan y conserban el mays y vieron ollas y cantaros | de barro y piedras de moler aunque muy toscas ²⁰ y diferentes de los metates y piedras con que muelen | en esta Nueva España y mas pequeñas y dijo este | testigo que quando salieron los *dichos* yndios de la *dicha* | gran poblaçon a rrezibir de paz al gobernador y | a su jente y vinieron al rreal, dijeron algunos ²⁵ dellos a los españoles en lengua mexicana que | se entendio bien que aguardasen que las yn- | dias estaban moliendo y entendieron este | testigo y los demas que lo oyeron que los *dichos* [fol. 207r] yndios hauian aprendido a dezir aquello en me- | xicano de los españoles que entraron con Leyba | y Umaña y dizen que mataron en la *dicha* pobla- | çion v de los yndios mexicanos que llebaban en ⁵ su seruiçio y los yndios escanxaques de la rran- | cheria, como vieron que la jente de la *dicha* pobla- | çion se havia rretirado, entraron en ella a saquear | y pusieron fuego a algunas casas y el *dicho* gover- | nador les mando que tomasen del mays que allasen ¹⁰ y no quemasen *ninguna* cassa y enbio jente que se lo es- | torbase y los echase de la poblaçon y en esta ocasion | ynformaron al *dicho* gobernador

los yndios de la | poblaçion que tenia presos y dos de los escanxaques | que el rrio arriba y por todas partes a la rredonda |¹⁵ abia muy grandes poblaçones de mucha jente | y que aquella poblacion hera muy pequeña rres- | pecto de las otras y señalavan que haçia el nor- | te hauia las mayores poblaçones y que hauia | en ellas mantas, señalando las que llebaban los |²⁰ españoles y la jente de la dicha poblaçion, toda la que | se vio que serian quatroçientos o quinientos yn- | dios, eran hombres corpulentos y todos rrayados | con vnas rrayas a los lados del rostro y todos | estaban en cueros sin tener ninguna cosa vestida, |²⁵ aunque en las casas allaron algunos cueros por | adobar y no bieron ninguna muxer y todos trayan | arcos y flechas muy pequeñas aunque con bue- | nos pedernales y por ser pequeños le pareze | a este testigo que haran poco daño de lejos, |³⁰ porque alcançaran poco y los yndios de paz [fol. 207v] de la comarca de San Grabiell llaman a los dichos yn- | dios de la poblaçion los jumanes, porque a todos los | rrayados llaman asi.

¶ Preguntado si sabe que a los dichos yndios presos, asi |⁵ de los escanxaques como de los de la poblaçion, se les mos- | trase algunas cosas de plata o oro o cobre como agnus- | deyes, cabos de agujeta v otras cosas de esta manera | y si d[i]jeron y dieron a entender que hauia la tierra | adentro aquellos metales, dijo que no sabe que se les |¹⁰ preguntase tal cosa ni lo oyo dezir.

[LM] **Que semen- | teras tienen | los yndios de la | poblaçion | grande etcetera.**

¶ Preguntado si bio las sementeras que hauia en la dicha | poblaçion y si eran muchas, grandes o pequeñas, dijo | que hauia muchas sementeras de mays aunque eran | pequeñas, porque se hazen entre las casas, aunque bio |¹⁵ mucho mays y bio que estando coxidas de pocos dias | las milpas, hauia otras sembradas y nazidas de | vn palmo.

¶ Preguntado si sabe que tubiesen otras mas noti- | çias de las que tiene dichas y de que, dijo que los yn- |²⁰ dios de la dicha poblaçion que estaban presos y al- | gunos escanxaques, quando dieron notiçia que | adelante y açia el norte hauia las muchas y grandes | poblaçones, las señalaron poniendo a la poblaçion | en que estaban diez y siete granos de mays y a las |²⁵ otras que dezian estaban adelante en cada vna | dellas pusieron seteçientos granos de mays, dan- | do a entender que heran mayores que aquella po- | blaçion quanto mayor era la una cantidad | de mays que la otra y asimismo pintaron en |³⁰ vn pliego de papel qu'el maese de campo les dio [fol. 208r] muchos rrios y diciendo que en ellos estaban las | dichas poblaçones y quando entraron en la dicha pobla- | çion, andubieron por ella y por vn lado dos leguas | poco mas o menos, rodeando con las carretas y se |⁵ fueron contando mill y seteçientas de las dichas ca- | sas que tiene dicho, las quales se acababan en aque- | lla parte y se mostraban otras muchas adelante | y el dicho gobernador ynbio diez o doçe soldados que | fuesen ha uer si [la] dicha poblaçion pasaba adelante, |¹⁰ los quales fueron y dieron notiçia que pasaba adelan- | te por el rrio arriba y que no parecia el fin dellas.

[LM] **Las causas que | tubo el adelantado | para no passar | adelante etcetera.**

¶ Preguntado que causas tubo el dicho governador | para volverse de la dicha poblaçion y no pasar ade- | lante a descubrir mas tierra de la poblada, dijo que |¹⁵ hauiendo tenido las dichas notiçias de la mucha jen- | te que en la dicha poblaçion tenia y de las demas de ade- | lante y que se tenia notiçia que se haçia junta | de mucha jente para dar en ellos, los capitanes | y soldados del campo dieron peticion al dicho go- |²⁰ vernador, pidiendole que por las dichas causas | y otras que le alegaron se bolbiese con todo el cam- | po al puesto de San Gabriel y que de alli se diese no- | tiçia a su magestad de lo descubierto y haciendole | muchos rrequerimientos y protestaciones por mu- |²⁵ chas vezes y el dicho governador contra su vo- | luntad, sintiendolo mucho, se resolbio a

que | se volviesen y se decreto asi. Luego otro dia si- | guiente alçaron el rreal y marcharon haçia | el puesto de donde hauian salido el dia de antes [fol. 208v] y llegando çerca del primero alojamiento que se tubo | quando se lleo a la dicha poblacion, el maese de | campo se adelanto con diez o doze compañeros | y llegando al dicho puesto, le salieron de guerra |⁵ los yndios escanxaques de la gran rrancheria, | diçiendo que no hauian de pasar por alli y le | tiraron algunos flechazos y el dicho maese de cam- | po se rretiro con sus soldados y bolbio al campo | que yba marchando y dio notiçia de lo suzedido |¹⁰ y luego toda la jente se puso en orden y bolbieron | marchando con ella haçia el dicho puesto, porque | hera fuerça pasar por alli y llegando zerca salie- | ron los dichos yndios escanxaques con grande gri- | teria, tirando muchas flechas y los españoles |¹⁵ arcabuzeandolos y tirandoles vna pieza de | artilleria y hauiendo derribado y muerto | algunos yndios, se rretiraron a vnas peñas don- | de se fortaleçieron y de alli salian de quan- | do en quando y les tiraban muchas flechas y |²⁰ les pusieron fuego a la sabana y duro la dicha | rrefriega quatro o çinco oras y salieron e- | ridos treynta y dos soldados, de heridas de poco | rriesgo y se les cautibaron algunas mujeres y o- | cho o diez muchachos y muchachas y vn yndio |²⁵ que trajo a esta ciudad el dicho maese de campo | Vizente de Saldibar, que pusieron por nonbre | Miguel y el dicho governador se alojó aquella | noche a la rribera del rrio grande que esta [fol. 209r] junto a la dicha poblacion vn quarto de legua de | donde se dio la vatalla, velandose toda la noche | y mando soltar las mujeres que se hauian preso | y los muchachos trujo consigo y dio despues a los |⁵ rreligiosos y otro dia prosiguieron su viaje | por los mismos alojamientos que a la yda hauian | tenido, sin que en el camino se viesen mas yn- | dios escanxaques ni de otra naçion hasta los a- | paches baqueros que les rrezibieron de paz y les |¹⁰ dieron de lo que tenian. [LM] **La vtilidad | que se puede | esperar del | nueuo des- | cubrimiento ettcetera | folio.**

¶ Preguntado si conforme a lo que este testigo vio | en el dicho viaje y notiçias que tubieron, si su ma- | gestad [se siruiese] de hazer merced al dicho governador don Juan | de Oñate de darle socorro de xente para proseguir |¹⁵ el dicho descubrimiento y conquista, si yria este tes- | tigo a ella y que vtilidad le pareze que podria | rresultar a la corona real y a los que fuesen | al dicho descubrimiento, dijo que si su magestad se sir- | viese de dar al dicho governador quatroçientos |²⁰ soldados, que le pareze a este testigo que este nu- | mero de jente es menester, yria con ellos de | buena gana por la notiçia que el dicho yndio | Miguel que se prendio da de que ay oro la | tierra adentro y por lo que este testigo bio |²⁵ de la buena calidad y dispusiçion de la tierra | y por las notiçias que los dichos yndios daban | de las poblaciones grandes y si esto se descu- | briese y fuese verdad lo que el yndio dize, | su magestad y su rreal corona seria seruid[a] y au- [fol. 209v] mentada y los soldados muy aprovechados.

[LM] **Si son çiertas | las notiçias | quel yndio | Miguel da | ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado que notiçias son las que este testigo | tiene de que ay oro la tierra adentro y de quien | y quando la tubo, dijo que este testigo nunca |⁵ supo ni oyo dezir de notiçia de que vbiese oro | hasta que de buelta del dicho viaje de la gran | poblaçon, estando en el rreal de San Grabiell, | oyo dezir este testigo a algunos soldados que | el dicho yndio Miguel deçia que hauia mucho |¹⁰ oro dos jornadas y media de donde llegaron, | espeçialmente lo dezia al capitan Vaca y en | presençia de este testigo se lo preguntaron des- | pues por señas y el dicho yndio por ellas dezia | que hauia mucho oro dos jornadas y media |¹⁵ de donde llegaron haçia el norte y señalaba que | se sacaba el oro del rrio e quando traya mas | agua se sacaba mas, que la arena o tierra que sa- | caban la amontonaban zerca del rrio y des- | pues lo fundian y juntaban con fuego y en |²⁰ basos y

hacían tejos del, grandes y pequeños, se- | ñalando como de vna libra y dos mas y menos | y que con el dicho oro contratan con otros yndios | y rescatan mantas y cueros y que esto no es | en su pueblo sino que hauiendo ydo dos v tres ²⁵ vezes adonde se coxe, lo vio sacar del agua y | fundir y juntar y que hauia vn rrey o señor | que se serbia con basos del dicho oro y que quan- | do el dicho rey abla que todos se vmillan y no | se abla sino con dos v tres y estos ablan con [fol. 210r] los demas y que tiene vna bestidura de los hon- | bros para abajo de manta y haçiendole en el va- | lle de San Bartolome el capitan Gordijuela al- | gunas preguntas al dicho yndio en presençia de ⁵ este testigo y del maese de campo y de muchos | soldados y mostrandole algunas pieças de oro, | deçia que de aquello hauia donde [de]çia y si le mos- | traban plata, cobre o yerro, deçia que no hauia | de aquello y que el dicho rrey, quando andaba ¹⁰ o caminaba, llebaba vn bordon y yba de- | lante y todos los demas yban detras y que el dicho | rrey tiene quatro mujeres que no muelen ni | hazen nada y que otras les vienen a servir | de fuera y este testigo por lo mucho que a dicho ¹⁵ y porque lo dize muchas vezes y de vna | manera lo cree.

¶ Preguntado si este testigo oyo dezir antes que | el dicho yndio Miguel llegase a San Grabiél, a el | o a otros yndios, algo de lo rreferido o si vio ²⁰ que alguno de los dichos yndios trujese consigo | alguna cosa de oro o de algodón, dijo que no lo oyo | al dicho Miguel ni a otro yndio hasta el dicho rreal | de San Grabiél ni vio nada de lo que se pregunta.

[LM] **Que abrà me- | nester cada | soldado que vuel- | ua à la jornada | ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado pues dize que si su magestad diese jente ²⁵ y socorriese para la dicha jornada, que le pare- | ze que a menester cada soldado para hazella, | dijo que le parece que tendra nezesidad cada | soldado de quatroçientos y cinquenta pesos de oro | comun para hauirse de armas y caballos [fol. 210v] y lo demas nezesario y que con menos no po- | dra hadereçarse.

[LM] **Que gente | baptiçada ay | en lo poblado | y pacifico ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado pues a andado todo lo que esta pa- | zifico en la comarca de San Grabiél, que jente ⁵ es la que esta bautiçada en ella y la que no esta | bautiçada porque causa no lo esta, dijo que en- | tiende y tiene por çierto que abra bautiçados | sesenta personas, grandes y chicos, hombres y mu- | jeres, y que no se an bautizado mas [y que] no sabe ¹⁰ por que caussa.

[LM] **En que altura | està lo poblado | y pacifico, y la | poblazon grande | donde llega- | ron ettcetera.**

¶ Preguntado si sabe este testigo la altura en que | esta el rreal de San Grabiél y lo que se multipli- | co de altura hasta las nuebas poblaçiones con- | forme al runbo que llebaron y que le parece ¹⁵ que habra desde las nuebas poblaçiones hasta | la mar del norte o del sur y mostrandole vna | carta general como persona practica que a sido | marinero, diga lo que le parece conforme [a] | lo que vio y andubo, dijo que el rreal de San ²⁰ Grabiél, aunque no tomo la altura porque | tubo con que tomarla, estara a lo que le pa- | reze en treynta y seys grados y medio, aunque | el capitan Brondate le dijo a este testigo que | hauia tomado el altura por vn quadrante y ²⁵ hauia allado que estaba en treynta y siete | grados y la rraçon porque le parece que esta en | los dichos treynta y seis grados y medio es por- | que este testigo tomo el altura en Puara quan- | do entro con Gaspar Castaño y hallo en el dicho [fol. 211r] puesto de Puara que estaba en treynta y qua- | tro grados y medio y juzgando lo que esta mas | al norte el dicho rreal de San Grabiél, le parece que | esta en los dichos treynta y seys grados y medio ⁵ y no mas y que el viaje y camino que hiço | el dicho governador don Juan de Oñate al nuebo | descubrimiento del norte fue siempre la buel- | ta del leste y quarta del nordeste y que quitan- | dole las bueltas de las carretas e zirculos que ¹⁰

hiço en el camino, le parece que no se multipli- | caron mas de dos grados y medio, de manera | que juzga las dichas nuebas poblaçones en treyn- | ta y nuebe grados y que conforme a esto le pa- | reze que ay de alli a la mar del norte quatroçien- |¹⁵ tas leguas poco mas o menos y la mar del sur | hesta mucho mas desviada y esto es lo que | entiende.

¶ Preguntado con la dicha carta general en la ma- | no, como dize que se halla quatroçientas le- |²⁰ guas de la mar del norte, pues estando en al- | tura de treynta y nuebe grados le demora la | mar del norte por la parte de la Florida, juzgan- | dola con el compas en la mano, yendo a la buelta | del sueste quarta al sur ciento y veynte leguas, |²⁵ viene a salir al rrio de cruz y ensenada | de la Magdalena de la dicha costa de la Florida, dijo que | como persona que camino sin aguja, sin astro- | labio, sin vallestilla ni sin otra cossa por | donde poder juzgar con puntualidad lo que [fol. 211v] como marinero [pudiera, si voluiera] llebando los estrumentos nezesarios | y que por la jornada que hiço, quando el maese de can- | po que oy es fue a descubrir a la mar del sur y por | la notiçia que tubieron della, se alla este testigo |⁵ lo que tiene dicho de quatroçientas leguas de la mar | del norte y aunque el yndio Jusepe a dicho que | bieron un rrio muy grande que menguaba y | creçia, si esto es asi, cree este testigo que es algun | estrecho que pasa de una mar a otra y esto es |¹⁰ lo que entiende y fuera de mucha ynportançia | que este estrecho se descubriera, que segun la noti- | çia del dicho yndio Jusepe estaban solas sesenta | leguas del dicho estrecho.

¶ Lo qual dijo ser verdad so cargo del juramento |¹⁵ que hiço en que se afirmo y rratifico y que es | de hedad de mas de quarenta y çinco años y que | no le tocan las jenerales ni le va ynterese en | esta causa y lo firmo y el dicho fator don Francisco | Valverde, Juan Rodriguez, ante mi Her- |²⁰ nando Esteban escribano rreal.

¶ Dilijençias fechas con Miguel | yndio que traxo del Nuevo Mexico | el maese de campo Vizente de Saldibar.

[LM] Mandò traer | el factor dife- | rençias de yndios | y traxeronse | para mostrar | al yndio. En la dicha ciudad de Mexico veynte y siete |²⁵ dias del dicho mes de abril del dicho año, el dicho fator | don Francisco Valverde y Mercado, para hazer | las dilijençias que convienen con Miguel | yndio que trujo a esta ciudad el maese de can- | po Vizente de Saldibar de las provinçias [fol. 212r] del Nuevo Mexico, hiço traer a las casas de su | morada cantidad de yndios naturales de | esta ciudad, envijados y rrayados y en forma | de guerra y otros con tilmas blancas y pin- |⁵ tadas y otros con tilmas ordinarias, para | que se muestren al dicho yndio y diga si ay | de la dicha jente en las dichas provinçias del Nue- | bo Mexico y donde y de que suerte de la dicha jen- | te, los quales dichos yndios trajeron a casa del |¹⁰ dicho fator en la dicha forma Juan Grande, yn- | terpette del juzgado de los yndios y don Juan | Bautista yndio, governador de la parte de | Santi[a]go y el dicho fator les mando poner cada | jenero y suerte de yndios en la sala de las casas |¹⁵ de su morada y lo mando asentar por aucto | y lo firmo don Francisco Valverde, ante mi | Hernando Esteban escribano rreal.

[LM] Mandò tra- | er vn tejo | de oro, | otras tejuelas | de plata, | pedaços de | cobre, | laton limpio, | joyuelas con | figuras an- | tiguas, | oro en polbo, | unos pedaçosillos | y granos de | laton que | parecian de | oro.

¶ Y luego este dia al dicho fator hiço traer a las | dichas sus casas vn tejo grande de oro y otros |²⁰ tejuelos de platta y pedaços de cobre y vno | de alaton limpio y vnas joyuelas de oro | vajo con figuras antiguas de las que se a- | llaron entre los yndios de esta Nueva Espa- | [ñ]a quando se descubrio y vn poco de oro en |²⁵ polvo y vnos pedaçosillos y granos de | alaton que parecian de oro,

para que todo se mues- | tre al dicho yndio y se le pregunte si ay dello | en su tierra o si ay notiçia de que lo aya [fol. 212v] en sus comarcas, lo qual por mandado del dicho | fator trujo Miguel de Torres ensayador y | valançario de la rreal caja y asimismo | el dicho fator mando traer vnos cueros de ¹⁵ triguere, leon y venado para que se le muestre | y todo se puso en la dicha sala de las casas del dicho | factor para el dicho efeto y mando se asiente | por auto y lo firmo don Francisco Valverde, | ante mi Hernando Esteban escribano rreal.

[LM] **Traxose al | yndio, que | no hablaba | sino por señas.**

¹⁰ ¶ Y luego el dicho fator mando a Anbro- | sio de Rueda a[1]guaçil executor de la rreal haçienda, ba- | ya a la posada de Baltaçar Mexia Salmeron, al- | guaçil mayor de esta çiuudad, donde esta desposi- | tado el dicho Miguel yndio y se lo pida y tray- | ¹⁵ ga a su presençia para hazer la dicha dilijen- | çia y el dicho alguaçil fue y trajo al dicho Mi- | guel yndio ante el dicho factor y a las casas de | su morada, el qual es vn [yn]dio de buen cuerpo | y de buenas fayçiones, de rostro algo mas ²⁰ moreno que los yndios mexicanos y el | dicho fator hiço con el dicho yndio las diligencias | y preguntas por señas siguientes, estan- | do presentes el doctor Contreras medico | y el dicho Juan Grande ynterpete y Anbro- ²⁵ sio de Rueda a[1]guaçil y don Juan Bautista | governador de Santiago.

¶ Primeramente el dicho fator mando al dicho [fol. 213r] Miguel yndio por señas que en vn pliego de papel | que se le puso en vna mesa pinte con vna pluma | y tinta los pueblos de su tierra y el dicho Miguel

[RM] **Disegno su | tierra en | vn papel | Miguel folio 172.**

en el dicho pliego de papel fue açiendo vnos zercos ⁵ como oes, vnos mayores que otros y todo de ma- | nera que se entendio bien lo que hera cada zercos | y por mandado del dicho fator, yo el presente escri- | bano fui escribiendo en cada vno de los dichos çercos | lo que el dicho yndio dijo heran para que se entiendan ¹⁰ y luego hiço vnas rrayas, vnas culebreadas y | otras por derecho, que dijo que heran rrios y cami- | nos por señas y tambien se puso por letra en | ellos lo que son como el dicho yndio lo dio a en- | tender y fecha la dicha pintura, el dicho yndio por

[RM] **Que de la tierra | donde era | natural fuè | preso y llebado | a otra, donde | se criò | y de alli fuè | a la guerra | contra los | españoles | donde fuè | presso.**

¹⁵ las dichas señas dijo de donde hera natural y | como de alli fue preso y llebado a otra tierra | por enemigos, donde se criò y que de alli abia | ydo a la guerra contra los españoles, donde fue | presso, de manera que por todos los que estaban ²⁰ presentes se entendio y todo como lo dezia por | las dichas señas se yba escribiendo por mi el dicho | escribano y el dicho fator mando que la dicha | pintura se ponga con estas informaçiones | y haueriguacion y tiniendo la dicha pintura ²⁵ que el dicho yndio hiço en vna mesa, se le fueron | haciendo por señas como mejor pareçio con- | venir las preguntas siguientes.

[LM] **Mostrosele | rrosas, ama- | polas, y | mansanillas | y dixo que sola la manzanilla ay en su tierra.**

¶ Mostrosele vn suchil que el dicho gover- | nador de Santiago dio al dicho fator, en que hauia ³⁰ rrosas y amapolas y flor de manzanilla [fol. 213v] y se le pregunto si hauia de aquello en su tierra y | el dicho yndio Miguel, hauiendolo mirado bien, | dijo que de la dicha flor de manzanilla ay en su | tierra y su comarca mucha y que lo demas ⁵ no lo hay.

[LM] **Mostrosele cla- | uellinas, y | dixo que en su | tierra ay muchos.**

¶ Y luego se le mostraron clavellinas y la mata | dellas y dijo que en su tierra y su comarca ay

muchas | dellas.

[LM] **Que en su tierra y | otras que no vie- | ron hespañoles | ay yndios como | se le mostraron.**

¶ Y luego el dicho fator le fue mostrando los yndios que ¹⁰ en la dicha sala estaban, vien vestidos de tilmas y | mantas blancas y pintadas como yndios prin- | çipales y otros con tilmas ordinarias de poco valor | y otros yndios ynbiados y otros rrayados con | arcos y flechas y plumeria en forma de guerra ¹⁵ y se le pregunto por sseñas si ay en su tierra y su | comarca jente de aquella manera y de qual y don- | de y haiendolos el dicho yndio visto con cuydado, | dijo que en su tierra y en otras donde no llegaron | los españoles ay yndios como los que se le mos- ²⁰ traron enbiados, aunque todos andan desnudos | y sin ningun vestido si no son cueros de venados | que los señalo porque estaban delante del, de los | quales traen cada yndio dos y tambien traen | cueros de las vacas que ay en su tierra.

²⁵ ¶ Y procurando preguntalle con se[ñ]as donde esta- | ba rrancheado quando los descubrieron los es- | pañoles, no le rrespondio, diçiendo por señas | que no entendia lo que se le preguntaba. [fol. 214r]

¶ Mostraronsele gallinas de Castilla y rrespon- | dio que no las ay en su tierra.

[RM] **Ay gallinas de | Yndias en su tierra | y en todo lo que | andubo.**

¶ Mostraronsele gallinas de la tierra y dijo | que las ay en su tierra y en todas las partes ⁵ que el andubo.

¶ Mostraronsele vnos chilchotes verdes; dijo | que no los ay.

[RM] **Que en su tierra | ay arcos y fle- | chas grandes | con pedernal.**

¶ Mostraronsele arcos y flechas con pedernal y sin | el y dijo que en la poblaçion donde el naçio y se ¹⁰ crio tienen arcos grandes con flechas grandes | con pedernal, mostrando arcos y flechas de los | mayores que trayan los yndios y que los

[RM] **Y los indios de la | poblazon grande | donde llegaron | españoles tie- | nen arcos y | flechas peque- | ños.**

| yndios de la poblaçion grande donde llegaron | los españoles tienen arcos pequeños y fle- ¹⁵ chas pequeñas negras.

[RM] **Que ay maiz | y piedras en | que se muele | en su tierra | y la poblazon | grande y | donde estubo | captiuo no lo | ay y comen | vacas y be- | nados.**

¶ Mostrosele vn metate y mano de piedra con | que muelen en esta tierra el mays para | hazer tortillas y en su presençia se molio del | dicho mays y dijo que las piedras con que muelen ²⁰ en su tierra son mas cortas y el mais mas | grueso, de que hazen vollos para comer y | que el mays lo ay en su tierra y en la poblaçon | grande donde llegaron los españoles y que | en la tierra donde estubo cautibo y se crio no ²⁵ lo ay y que se sustentan de vacas y vena- | dos que matan.

[RM] **Que en su tierra | ay vn rrey | grande.**

¶ Y dijo por las dichas señas que en su tierra ay [fol. 214v] vn rrey grande.

[LM] **Que en la pobla- | çon grande | ay vn rrey | grande y otro pe- | queño.**

¶ Y que en la poblaçion grande donde llegaron los | españoles ay vno grande y otro pequeño.

¶ Y que en la poblaçion donde estubo cautibo y se ⁵ crio ay muchos señores pequeños.

[LM] **Que de su tierra | à donde fue lle- | uado cautibo | ay 22 dias | de camino.**

¶ Y preguntandole por la pintura que hiço, | que siempre la tubo delante, la distançia de | camino que ay de vnas partes a otras, dijo que | de los pueblos de Tancoa donde nacio a la tierra ¹⁰ donde

fue cautibo y se crio ay veynte y dos | dias de camino, señalandolos con otros tantos | mayçes.

¶ Y que de la poblaçion grande donde los españo- | les le prendieron adonde fue cautibo de los |¹⁵ yndios ay quinze dias de camino.

[LM] **Que desde su | tierra àdon- | de esta el oro | ay 44 dias | de camino.**

¶ Y que del dicho su pueblo de Tancoa a Encuche don- | de ay oro ay quarenta y quatro dias de camino | y que del pueblo de Tzanoa a Vyana que tiene | señalados en su pintura a oydo deçir que ay |²⁰ treynta y seys de camino.

¶ Y que no sabe ni a oydo dezir el camino que | ay de su pueblo Tancoa a Vyana.

[LM] **Que desde | donde naçio | hasta donde | fue cautibo | ay vna gran | suma de gente.**

¶ Y que en las poblaçones donde nacio y se crio | y le prendieron los españoles ay mucha |²⁵ jente, haciendo vn gran encarezimiento | de que es mucha.

¶ Y dijo por las dichas señas que hauiendo nazido [fol. 215r] en Tancoa, en vna batalla que tubieron los | yndios de su tierra con los de Aguacane, le pren- | dieron siendo muchacho y que allí estuvo cau- | tibo hasta que agora, quando entraron los espa- | ñoles, fueron los dichos yndios de Aguacane y | su comarca a la guerra y hauiendola dado a | los dichos españoles junto a la gran poblaçion, | fue preso dellos y traydo a San Grabiél y a | esta çiudad por el maese de campo Vizente |¹⁰ de Saldibar.

¶ Y dijo que los yndios de la gran poblaçion | que el governador don Juan de Oñate des- | cubrio y los yndios de los pueblos donde se | crio son enemigos y se hazen guerra.

|¹⁵ ¶ Y luego el dicho fator mando salir de la dicha sala | a los españoles y yndios que en ella estaban | y quedando con el y conmigo el [^presente] escribano | los dichos Juan Grande y Ambrosio de Rueda, | se hicieron con el dicho yndio las diligençias |²⁰ y preguntas siguientes.

[LM] **Mostrosele el | oro y otros | metales.**

¶ Mostrosele vn tejo de oro cortado por me- | dio que dijeron tiene quatroçientos castellanos

¶ y las joyuelas de oro bajo con figuras anti- | guas y en vnos papeles vn poco de oro en pol- |²⁵ bo y vnos granos de cobre fundidos que | pareçian de oro

¶ y dos tejuelos de platta [fol. 215v]

¶ y vnos pedaços de cobre

¶ y otro de alaton linpio

¶ y se le pregunto si ay de aquello que se le mos- | tro en su tierra o en los demas pueblos que |⁵ tiene pintados y donde, el dicho yndio lo bio | todo, mostrando mirarlo con cuydado

[LM] **Veàse.**

¶ y dijo que en los pueblos de Encuche a oydo | dezir que ay oro, porque el no a estado en ellos | y que lo ha uisto llebar a Tancoa de dond'es |¹⁰ natural en tejuelos de grandor, a lo que | mostro, de rreales de ha ocho y mayores y | mas grandes y ha uisto basos del dicho oro pa- | ra ver y ha vevido con ellos, lo qual dijo | tomando el tejo de oro grande y las piezas |¹⁵ de oro y poniendolas enzima de donde pinto | a Encuche y pasandolas sobre donde esta pin- | tado Tancoa y lo demas por señas que se en- | tendieron que lo lleban para comprar | y trocar con el dicho oro carne y cueros |²⁰ de las vacas que ay en su tierra, porque no | las ay en [En]cuche donde ay el dicho oro.

¶ Y preguntandole el dicho fator si traen | a su tierra el dicho oro en polbo, mostrando- | le el oro en polbo que allí estaba, dijo que |²⁵ no lo lleban sino en los dichos tejuelos que | a señalado y en los dicho vasos.

¶ Y preguntandole si el oro se saca del rrio [fol. 216r] que en su pintura puso junto a Encuche,

dijo | que a oydo dezir que no se saca sino en vna laguna | que esta adelante de Encuche, que es honda de casi | vn estado de hombre, de donde lo sacan en polvo ¹⁵ y lo lleban a Encuche, donde lo hazen tejuelos | y el dicho yndio pinto la dicha laguna que hasta | esta pregunta no la hauia pintado.

¶ Preguntado que dias ay de camino de la laguna don- | de se saca el oro a Encuche donde lo juntan y hazen te- ¹⁰ jos, dijo que no sabe porque no lo ha visto ni | oydo dezir.

[LM] **Como se hazen | los tejos de | oro.**

¶ Preguntado si sabe y a visto como se hazen los te- | juelos de oro, dijo que vio dos vezes en Tancoa su | tierra hazer los dichos tejuelos, echando el oro en pol- ¹⁵ vo en vnos basos que tienen quatro agujeros | por las quatro partes del y que en cada agujero | esta vna persona puniendo le[ñ]a y abentando | con abentadores de cuero de baca y tiniendo | cubierto el vaso en tres o quatro dias lo funden ²⁰ y hazen los tejuelos del grandor que tiene dicho.

[LM] **Que seria de | 12 años quando | le cautibaron.**

¶ Preguntado de que cuerpo hera quando le cauti- | baron en su tierra y llebaron a la de Aguacane | y el dicho yndio mostro que hera del cuerpo de vn | muchacho que alli se trujo entre otros y el dicho ²⁵ muchacho parezio de hedad de doze años poco mas | o menos.

¶ Preguntado si quando vio fundir en su tie- | rra las dos vezes que dize el oro y hazer tejue- | los, si hera hombre v muchacho o de que al- [fol. 216v] tor, dijo que hera hombre quando lo bio hazer.

¶ Preguntado si del pueblo que le cautibaron | en su tierra y trajeron preso a la de Aguacane | volvio mas a su tierra, dijo que no bolbio ⁵ mas porque siempre estuvo en Aguacane | y de alli fue a la guerra a la poblacion grande | donde le prendieron y trajeron a San Grabiell | y a esta ciudad.

[LM] **Que en su tierra | y comarca | no ay metales.**

¶ Preguntado si en la dicha su tierra y comarca ¹⁰ ay platta o cobre o laton, mostrandose- | lo, dijo que no ay ninguna cosa dello.

¶ Y siendole mostrado vn yndio mexicano con | vna manta blanca como andan vestidos | de ordinari[o], se le pregunto si en su tierra ¹⁵ o en la donde estuvo cautibo o en otra parte ha uisto | o sabe que aya jente que ande vestida como | el dicho yndio hesta o lo a oydo, dijo que no | sabe ni a oydo dezir que en ninguna parte | aya jente que trayga el dicho vestido ni otro ²⁰ sino que todos los yndios de su tierra y de | la que ha uisto y oydo dezir andan vestidos | de cueros de venados y de vacas de Zebola.

¶ Y no se le hiço pregunta a este yndio sobre | la contradicion que haz[e], diciendo que le cau- ²⁵ tibaron en su tierra siendo muchacho y le | llebaron a Aguacane, de donde nunca mas bol- | bio a su tierra y que estando en su tierra | siendo hombre, bio fundir y hazer tejuelos [fol. 217r] de oro dos vezes y hauiendo dicho asimismo | que no bio traer a su tierra el oro en polbo sino | en tejuelos y basos, porque no se le supo ni pudo | dar a entender.

⁵ ¶ Y todo lo que al dicho yndio se le pregunto y rrespon- | dio fueron por señas que se le hiçeron y el hiço, | que se entendieron bien por el dicho fator y por | mi el dicho escribano y por las perssonas que | estuvieron presentes, sin tener duda en nin- ¹⁰ guna cossa de lo que se a escripto en esta dili- | jencia y fecha el dicho fator mando al dicho An- | brosio de Rueda a[l]guaçil llebe al dicho Miguel | yndio a casa del dicho alguaçil mayor donde | esta depositado por mandado de su señoria y se ¹⁵ lo entregue y el dicho Anbrosio de Rueda | lo llebo en mi

presençia, de que doy ffe y lo fir- | mo el dicho fator don Francisco Valverde y Mer- | cado, ante mi Hernando Esteban escriuano rreal.

¶ En el bosque de Chapultepeque a onze dias del mes |²⁰ de mayo de mill y seyscientos y dos años, don Gaspar de Çuñi- | ga y Azebedo Conde de Monterrey, señor de las casas y estado | de Biedma y Villosa, virrey lugarthiniende del rrey | nuestro señor, su gobernador y capitán general de la | Nueva España, presidente de la audiencia rreal que en |²⁵ ella rreside, ettcetera, dijo que por quanto su señoría por | aucto que probeyo, cometio y encargo a don Francisco de Val- | verde y Mercado, fator por su magestad de su rreal acien- | da de la Nueva España, hiçiese ynformacion de la jorna- | da del Nuebo Mexico y suzesos della y de la entra- |³⁰ da que vltimamente hiço la tierra adentro [fol. 217v] el gobernador don Jhoan de Oñate con algunos | soldados, la qual informaçion parece hiço el | dicho fator ante Hernando Esteban escribano rreal, | por tanto mandaba y mando al dicho escribano |⁵ saque della vn traslado y auturizado en manera | que haga ffe la entregue con el orijinal a Juan | Bautista de Vreda y asi lo mando y firmo el | conde [de] Monterrey, ante mi Benito de Sandianes | escribano. Va enmendado / lo / f / agnus |¹⁰ y / ad / o / de san / d / , vala; e testado / a / 2 / , no vala. [rubric]

E yo Hernando Esteuan escriuano rreal | lo fize escreuir por mandado del virrey desta | Nueva España y en testimonio de verdad fize mi signo [rubric]

[rubric] [symbol] Hernando Esteuan [rubric]

|¹⁵ escriuano rreal.

Syn derechos.

Variants and Paleographic Notes

A full list of variants appeared in Craddock 2002; here only the more significant are retained. Barbara De Marco discovered some variants that had been overlooked in Craddock 2002; they have been added in boldface.

P22	M25
f159r-v <i>cover leaf</i>	<i>lacks cover leaf</i>
f160r <i>marginal note</i>	<i>lacks this and all other marginal notes of P22</i>
f160r3 conde Monterrey	f1r3 conde de Monte Rey
f160r4-5 lu- garthiniente	f1r4 lugarteniente
f160r7 dijo	f1r6 digo
f160r16-17 cas- tigar a la jente	f1r15 castigar (^la gente) a la gente
f160r18 ha hauia	f1r17 la hauia
f160r17 prisidio	f1r17 presido
f160r26-27 rran- cheada	f1r24 rranchada
f160r30 entender por señas mas	f1r26 entender [^por señas] mas
f160v2 mejores	f1r29 mayores
f160v2 pusible	f1r29 posible
f160v2 para apurar	f1r29 para <i>marginal note at foot of page</i> testado la gente y entre rrenglones Por señas <i>rubric</i> f1v1 apurar
f160v7 descriçion	f1v4 discriçion
f160v8 estos	f1v4 otros
f160v8-9 modernos y tenga	f1v5 modernos tenga
f160v9 y yntiligencia	f1v5-6 e ynte- ligencia
f160v26 ynbio	f1v17 embio
f160v28 para	f1v19 por
f161r16 Budia del	f2r2 Budia (^natu) en el
f161v3 San Grabiell	f2r14 Sant Gabriel
f161v10 hiço este	f2r19 hiço (^mas) este
f161v15 alguno	f2r23 algunos
f161v21 sigun	f2r28 segun
f161v24 pareze que	f2r29 <i>parece</i> <i>marginal note at foot of page</i> testado mas <i>rubric</i> f2v1 <i>que</i>
f162r20 e por	f2v17 <i>om. e</i>
f162r24 y queros	f2v20 <i>om. y</i>

f162v1 si en
f162v12 pacificados
f162v17 bibe

f2v23 sin
f2v29 pacificos
f3r4 viuen

f163r *LM* (^*folio*)
f163r1 sabe
f163r3 sabe
f163r4 probe
f163r4-5 cerimoniati- | cos

f3r12 saue[^n]
f3r13 saue[^n]
f3r13 pobre
f3r14 seremoniaticos

f163v2-3 Mada- | lena
f163v5 Jusepe
f163v8 hauer
f163v12 tiene
f163v23 hi hijos

f3r29 Madaglena
f3v2 Juseph
f3v4 a ver
f3v7 tienen
f3v16 e hijos

f164r12 podria
f164r19 largor
f164r23 cuelgan

f3v27 podia
f4r4 largo
f4r8 cuelga

f164v1 el cuero
f164v5 trabajo matarlas
f164v7 duçientas
f164v10 yban y por todo el camino que

f4r11 *om.* el
f4r14-15 trauajo para | matarlas
f4r16-17 doçien- | tas
f4r18-19 iban por esto | de el camino que
pareçe que
f4r23 çirguelas
f4r24 *om.* y

f164v16 ciruelas
f164v18 y de

f165r1 agua
f165r1 y pastos
f165r4 villotas
f165r9 Grabiell
f165r11 ducientas
f165r13 escanjaques
f165r15 puniendoselas
f165r16 e quando
f165r18 abria poco mas o *menos*
de seys
f165r20 rranchos
f165r20 fechos
f165r24 he hechos
f165r26 come

f4v4 aguas
f4v4 *om.* el
f4v7 bellotas
f4v13 Gabriel
f4v12 doçientas
f4v14 escaijanes
f4v15 poniendoselas
f4v16 y quando
f4v17-18 abria [^poco mas o menos] seis
f4v19 ramos
f4v19 echos
f4v22 y echos
f4v23 comen

f165v5 jente muy

f165v5 e negra
f165v11 el golpe
f165v20 si del
f165v23 tanta
f165v26 e no
f165v29 lengua

f166r6 y la
f166r11 guardase
f166r12 a los
f166r16 y pidiendoles
f166r17 yr a

f166v1 y otro
f166v4 fueron a
f166v9 como un
f166v17 y camino
f166v20 serian menos

f166v22-23 di- | çiendoles
f166v28 escanxaque

f167r1 mirasen haça vna
f167r15 sabel
f167r21 qu llebaban
f167r24-25 V ocho- | çientos

f167v3 a los
f167v25 v ochocientos

f168r4 ynbio
f168r13 bolbiesen
f168r20 hauian
f168r20 alli los
f168r21 v donde
f168r21 entre ellos

f168v2 v de
f168v6 rrelaçion de
f168v11 comarca

f4v29 gente | *marginal note at foot of page*
fuera de margen. Poco mas o menos *rubric* |

f5r1 muy
f5r1 y negra
f5r6 *om.* el
f5r12 si el
f5r14 tantas
f5r17 y no
f5r19 lenguas

f5r25 que la
f5r28 guardasen
f5v1 *om.* a
f5v3 *om.* y
f5v4 *om.*

f5v15 y a otro
f5v17 fueron desuiados a
f5v21 como a vn
f5v27 *om.* y
f5v29 serian (^çiento) | *marginal note at foot*
of page testado. çiento *rubric* | f6r1 menos
f6r2-3 diziendo | los
f6r7 escanxaques

f6r8 mirasen a vna
f6r18 sauer
f6r23 que lleuauan
f6r25 o ochocientos

f6v1 *om.* a
f6v17 o ochoçientos

f6v23 embio
f6v29-7r1 vol | voluiesen
f7r6 hauia
f7r6 a los
f7r6 o donde
f7r6-7 en- | trellos

f7r13 o de
f7r16 (^pob)[^re]laçion y de
f7r20 comarco

f168v13 agujeta
f168v17 testigo entro
f168v25-26 las casas apartadas | vnas
de otras
f168v26 y treynta
f168v26-27 y quaren- | ta

f169r1-2 de a du- | çientos
f169r12-15 atrabesados . . . que es
donde le

f169r18 al qual
f169r19 de fuera
f169r20 aquello
f169r23 eran todas
f169r26 mays
f169r27 enemigos
f169r28 v otra cosa

f169v4 anegas
f169v9 anchor
f169v11 piedras algun

f169v11 mays
f169v24 vio a vno de

f170r2 de donde
f170r11 que le pareze
f170r15-16 ba- | rrios

f170v9 tenprano
f170v11 descubria
f170v13-14 *en* | la
f170v20 delante
f170v22 lees

f171r2 e jentes

f7r22 abujeta
f7r25 *testigo* vio y entro
f7v1-2 vnas casas a- | partadas de otras

f7v2 *om.* y
f7v2 *om.* y

f7v4-5 de | docientos
f7v12-13 atraesados (^ques donde
le)[^sobre los quales vienen | a hazer vnas
camas del grandor de las de cordeles de
castilla con vnos palos atraesados *que* es
donde le]

f7v15 a la qual
f7v16 de afuera
f7v16 esto
f7v18-19 hera en | todas
f7v21 maiz
f7v21 contrarios
f7v22 o otras cosas

f7v25 fanegas
f7v29 ancho
f7v30 piedras | *marginal note at foot of page*
testado *que* donde es y entre renglones sobre
los *quales* vienen a hazer | vnas camas del
grandor de las cordeles de castilla con vnos
(^pape)les a- | trauesados ques donde le
rubric | f8r1 algun
f8r1 maiz
f8r10 bio algunos de

f8r14 *om.* de
f8r20 *om.*
f8r24 varrio

f8v10 *om.*
f8v10 descubrian
f8v12 a la
f8v17 adelante
f8v18 les

f8v22 y gentes

f171r10 hauia
f171r14 sigun
f171r18 v siete
f171r19-20 la pe- | ticion

f171v1 rreforçallos
f171v5-6 e | demas
f171v11 de ver que
f171v12 e que
f171v LM: (^folio)
f171v21-22 tie- | ne
f171v23 sin
f171v26 vio

f172r13-14 a los | yndios
f172r16 como lo hazen
f172r17 puedan
f172r20-21 maes- | tre
f172r22 como

f172v2 senas
f172v4 fue bispera de
f172v4 San
f172v14 mando
f172v15 ezediese
f172v16 arcabuz
f172v22 matallos

f173r14-15 fecho y formado rran- |
cheria
f173r23 deligençia
f173r25 les
f173r28 pudieran

f173v8-9 rre- | laçiones de
f173v11 oyo
f173v LM: (^folio) folio
f173v15 y tiene
f173v16 demas
f173v16 huuieran hecho
f173v17 quee
f173v21 San Grabiell
f173v22 duçientas

f8v29 habian
f9r3 segun
f9r6 o siete
f9r5 la dicha peticion

f9r13 rreforcarlos
f9r16 y demas
f9r20 om. ver
f9r21 y que

f9r27 tienen
f9r28 con
f9v2 vieron

f9v12 om. a
f9v14 om.
f9v14 pueden
f9v17 maese
f9v18 que

f9v23 senas
f9v24 fue el dia de
f9v24 Santo
f10r3 modo
f10r3 excediese
f10r4 alcabuz
f10r9 matarlos

f10r24 fecho forma de rrancheria

f10v3 diligençia
f10v5 los
f10v7 pudiera

f10v14 rrelaçiones y de
f10v16 a oydo

f10v19-20 ni | tiene
f10v20 (^que) [^demas]
f10v20 ouieran dicho
f10v21 que
f10v23 Sant Gabriel
f10v24 doçientas

f173v24 del altura
f173v25 tenian
f173v26 les
f173v26 que podian
f173v27 entendido / dijo
f173v29 y siete
f173v31 trata
f173v31 trata | f174r Preguntado

f174r5 dezian
f174r5-6 que | es
f174r16-17 opinion | comun
f174r18 seguiria
f174r23 pagase
f174r27 probe

f174v6 pocos
f174v10 hauer batiçado
f174v10 mas jente
f174v23-24 y | quatro
f174v29 eel

f175r29 cubre
f175r30 discurso

f175v7 y otros
f175v17 arboleda

f175v18 tunas *with dot over the second upright of the u; could be read as trinas*

f175v21 tendra
f175v24 esterilidad
f175v30 que le

f176r3 criaturas
f176r12 Vmaña
f176r20 hauian

f177r14 carne sebo
f177r24 tras ellos

f10v25-26 de la | altura
f10v26 ternian
f10v27 le
f10v27 podrian
f10v27 entendido que dijo
f10v28 *om.*
f10v29 tratar
f10v29 tratar *marginal note at foot of page*
testado dicho / y entre rrenglones demas
rubric | f11r Preguntado

f11r4 dizen
f11r4 ques
f11r13 comun opinion
f11r14 seguira
f11r19 pagasen
f11r22 pobre

f11v1 poco
f11v4-5 ha- | uerse batiçado
f11v5 *om.*
f11v14 e quatro
f11v18 el

f12r15 cubren
f12r15-16 des- | curso

f12r21 y a otros
f12r29 carbosidad *in the emendations and deletions* arboleda *appears 40r4 but there is no evidence of a correction here*
f12v2 trinas

f12v3 terna
f12v5 esterilidad
f12v10-11 que al presente le

f12v12 niños
f12v19 Limaña
f12v25 hauia

f13v7 carne y sebo
f13v18 tras dellos

f177v12 forma
f177v LM: (^folio)
f177v23 y ylar
f177v23 y jergas

f178r3 llenas
f178r14 delgadas
f178r15 muy
f178r17 grandes
f178r18 grueñen
f178r20 lo haçen
f178r25 misma
f178r27 duçientas

f178v5 villotas
f178v7 ofendiese
f178v19 dio
f178v20 ecanxaques
f178v30 cuerezuelos

f179r8 cubre
f179r9 cuerpo rrecojiendose
f179r19 senas
f179r19-20 Jose- | pe
f179r28 xacal

f179v4 hiba
f179v19-20 hauiendo llegado antes
los | dichos yndios escanxaques

f180r12 quentezuelas
f180r21 pocos
f180r21-22 cada v- | no dellos traya vna
f180r29 e que

f180v1 se
f180v1 quemado
f180v5 de
f180v5 se
f180v5 sobre
f180v6 la
f180v14 otra
f180v18 que ellos

f13v27 forma p *line drawn through p*

f14r6 e ylar
f14r6 e xergas

f14r13 llenos
f14r23 delgada
f14r24 *om.*
f14r25 largas
f14r26 gruñen
f14r28 *om.*
f14v1 mas
f14v3 doçientas

f14v9 bellotas
f14v10 ofendiesen
f14v19 bio
f14v20 escanjaques
f14v28 coreçuelos

f15r4 cubren
f15r4-5 cuerpo y | rrecojiendose
f15r13 señ(^d)as *emendation noted f40r5*
f15r13 Juseph
f15r20 xajal

f15r24 yban
f15v6 hauiendo llegado los dichos yndios
escanjaques antes

f15v21 conteçuelas
f15v27 poco
f15v28 cada vno traya y cada vno traya vna
f16r3 y que

f16r4 *om.*
f16r4 quemados
f16r6-7 so | bre
f16r7 *om.*
f16r7 para
f16r7 el
f16r14 *om.*
f16r17 aquellos

f180v26 traydo

f181r21 se

f181v6 del braço

f181v12 de madera

f181v18 muelen

f181v25 vnas

f181v26 trujese

f181v26-27 nin- | guna

f182r3-4 v ocho- | çientas

f182r4 exeeçirto

f182r8 turaria

f182r12 agnusdeyes

f182r12-13 aguje- | tas

f182r13 dejeron

f182r16 obiese

f182r21 frijoles

f182v6 vestida

f183r10-11 senti- | do mucho el
dicho governador

f183r15 en la

f183v8 turo

f183v11 v ocho

f183v11 vndio

f183v16 los mando

f184r8 proseguir

f184r15 de que

f184r28 Zibola

f184v3 la en queste

f184v9 a alguno

f184v10 tiniendo

f184v12 verisimil

f184v19-20 por | señas

f184v23 lado de adonde

f185r4 hazella

f16r22 traidos

f16v9 le

f16v19-20 de vn | braço

f16v24 *om.*

f16v28 muele

f17r3 algunas

f17r4 trujesen

f17r4 *alguna*

f17r7 y ochocientas

f17r7 exercito

f17r10 duraria

f17r13 Agnusdeis

f17r13 abujetas

f17r14 dixeron

f17r16 huuiese

f17r20 frisoles

f17r28 vestidas

f17v19-20 sen- | tido el dicho
gouernador mucho

f17v23 de la

f18r10 duro

f18r12 o ocho

f18r12 vn yndio

f18r15-16 les | mando

f18r29 descubrir

f18v4 de (^la) que

f18v13 Cebola

f18v16 la que este

f18v20 *om.* a

f18v21 teniendo

f18v22 veresimil

f18v29 *om.*

f18v30 lado donde

f19r8 hazerla

f185r11 altura en que esta
f185r16 podrian
f185r18 dezir cosa de lo

f186r9 dize
f186r17 le va ynterese
f186r18 tocan
f186r22 dicho
f186r22 y quatro

f186v6 estubo y asistio
f186v8 Fizente
f186v10 ezepto
f186v19 nieba
f186v23 Zibola
f186v31 ya en estado

f187r4 frijol
f187r10 y treynta
f187r10 es mays
f187r11 acuden
f187r24 sujeta
f187r28 Zibola

f187v2 Jusepe
f187v13 granjeria
f187v13-14 sebo man- | teca
f187v14 cueros

f188r9 rrios
f188r11 enzinas
f188r15 e asentados
f188r18 sebo y manteca
f188r24 trueco
f188r24 lo que

f188v2 Zibola
f188v5 corcobados
f188v6 enarcados
f188v12 de ella
f188v23 grande de
f188v27 escanxaques
f188v29 la

f19r13 altura questa
f19r16 podian
f19r18 *om.* cosa de

f19v23 dixo
f19v29 le toca interes
f20r1 toca
f20r4 *om.*
f20r4 e quatro

f20r12-13 asistio y | estuuo
f20r14 Vicente
f20r16 eceto
f20r23 nieue
f20r26 Cebola
f20v3 y an estado

f20v5 frisol
f20v10-11 e | Treinta
f20v11 el maiz
f20v11 acude
f20v21 subjeta
f20v24 Cebola

f20v27 Juseph
f21r5 grangerias
f21r6 sebo y manteca
f21r6 cueros

f21r24 rrio
f21r26 encinos
f21r29 y asentados
f21v1 *om.* y
f21v6 trueque
f21v6 los que

f21v11 Cebola
f21v13-14 corcoba- | das
f21v14-15 en- | arqueados
f21v19 *om.*
f21v27-28 grande | y de
f21v30-22r1 es | escanxaques
f22r2 las

f189r2 y sus
f189r6-7 za- | cate
f189r9 hera
f189r13 camuça
f189r19 yndios
f189r25 escanaque

f189v6 Jusepe
f189v7 mejicano
f189v9 mucha y que
f189v23 sentaba
f189v24 arcabuzes
f189v27 la poblacon

f190r11 sentar
f190r11 de esta
f190r13-14 ducien- | tos
f190r16 y dezian
f190r25 prediesen
f190r26 darles

f190v2 rreal y muchos
f190v5 dos
f190v16 biendo

f191r10 zerradas

f191v12 v otros
f191v13 al(^gu)nusdeyes *this emenda-
noted with a reference mark in the left
margin and listed fol. 217v9 as agnus*
f191v16 de
f191v18 preguntalles
f191v19 heran

f192r3 frisor
f192r28 del medio

f192v22-23 la free- | ga *with dot over
the first e*

f193r18 yndio
f193r21-22 pareze | fertil

f22r4 a sus
f22r7 sacate
f22r9 heran
f22r12 gamuça
f22r17 mismos
f22r22 escanjaque

f22r30 Juseph
f22r30-v1 mexi | mexicano
f22v3 *om.* y
f22v12 asentaua
f22v13 alcabuz
f22v15-16 la dicha | poblaçon

f22v24 asentar
f22v25 desta
f22v27 docientos
f22v28 y le deçian
f23r6 prendiesen
f23r7 dallos

f23r10 rreal muchos
f23r13 dichos
f23r21 huiendo

f23v8 cerrados

f24r1 o otros
f24r1 agnusdeys

f24r3 *om.*
f24r5 preguntarles
f24r5-6 he- | ra

f24r14 frisol
f24r30 de medio

f24v15 la refriega

f25r1 *om.*
f25r4 parece (^esta) fertil

f193r24-25 si se azer- | taba

f193v3-4 pren- | dieron hasta
f193v18 y en

f194r6 es menester
f194r15 sabe en que altura esta
f194r19 tenian

f194v9-10 y pa- | zificacion
f194v12 buelta della

f195r8 ynterese
f195r12 Zibola
f195r17 fecha

f195v20 Zibola
f195v22 hombres
f195v23 gazmuça
f195v23 anta
f195v24 Zibola
f195v13 Zuñi

f196r4 en esta
f196r12 que le parece quen todas
f196r18 Zibola de

f196v1 dichos españoles
f196v28 muchos

f197r3 rranchirias
f197r4 Zibola
f197r7 cueros sebo
f197r7 trueco
f197r8 pizete
f197r13 le
f197r24 pueden
f197r27 t(^ra)[^y]enen *this emenda-
tion noted with a reference mark in the left
margin and listed fol. 217v10*

f197v4 duçientas
f197v12 le

f25r6 om. se

f25r11-12 prendieron | ni hasta
f25r21 om. y

f25v2-3 an | menester
f25v8 saue el altura que esta
f25v9-10 ten- | drian

f25v21 om. y
f25v23 vuelta a ella

f26r8 interes
f26r11 Cebola
f26r15 fecho

f26v9 Cebola
f26v10 hombros
f26r11 gamuça
f26r11 ante
f26v11 Cebola
f26v13 Cuni

f26v18 a esta
f26v22 que que en todas
f26v26 Çebola y de

f27r5 dichos (^yndios) spañoles
f27r25 muchos

f27r27 rrancherias
f27r28 Çebola
f27r30 cueros y sebo
f27r31 trueque
f27r31 piçiete
f27v4 les
f27v12 puede
f27v14 tienen

f27v18 doçientas
f27v24 lo

f197v13 dellos
f197v28 v de

f198r1 sirve
f198r7 la punta
f198r8 e mas
f198r9 rrayadas el rostro
f198r9-10 rostro y | pechos

f198v9 lo
f198v10 y a sus
f198v11 pizete
f198v11 siempre se hiçieron
f198v12 eran
f198v14-15 deje- | ron
f198v20-21 el dicho go- | vernador
f198v25 guardia

f199r3 estorbese
f199r9 habria
f199r15 por vna
f199r16 y bajo
f199r22 calavaça

f199v1 heran
f199v5 camuça
f199v6 cubijados
f199v8 espero

f200r14 manguardia
f200r20 ynbestieron

f200v8 les hauian

f201r6 seguiria
f201r10 la
f201r11 lo
f201r12 o que

f201v12 v otro
f201v14 ni plata

f27v24 delos
f28r4 o de

f28r4 siruen
f28r9 las puntas
f28r10 y mas
f28r11 rrayadas el cuerpo rostro
f28r11 *om.* y

f28v1 la
f28v1 *om.* a
f28v2 pisiete
f28v2 *om.* se
f28v3 hera
f28v4 dixeron
f28v8 *om.* dicho
f28v12 guarda

f28v15-16 estor- | basen
f28v20 hauia
f28v25 con vna
f28v25-26 y de | baxo
f29r1 calabaças

f29r5 hera
f29r8 gamuça
f29r8 cobijados
f29r10 vio

f29v3 vanguardia
f29v7 embistieron

f29v18 las hauian

f30r2 seguiria
f30r5 las
f30r5 le
f30r6 y que

f30r25 o otro
f30r26 y plata

f202r6 porquen
f202r12 no se an bautiçado

f202v6 que e de
f202v7 en esta causa
f202v9 Francisco Valverde
f202v13 parezca
f202v15 pueblo
f202v17 cruz y
f202v27 caldad

f203r3 ningunas rrayas
f203r4 estan
f203r6 Zibola
f203r9 naguas
f203r12 de los jumanes
f203r23 mayz y frisol

f203v2 dos tres
f203v7 duçientas
f203v10 todas
f203v26 pasalla

f204r12 ynbio
f204r18 de su rreal
f204r24-25 descubrie- | ron

f204v9 Zibola
f204v17 espanta
f204v24 cuernos

f205r1 piciete
f205r8 cubijan
f205r10-11 matan | traen
f205r23 villotas
f205r25 cria

f205v5 paz diçiendo
f205v15 çacate
f205v17 sustenta

f206r20 que vnos dellos tenian vivo

f30v7 porque en
f30v11 no estan baptiçados

f30v24 ques de
f30v25 *om.*
f30v26 Francisco de Valverde
f30v29 parecer
f30v30 puerto
f30v32 cruz en forma de derecho y
f31r8 caldad

f31r11 *ninguna* rraya
f31r12 andan
f31r13 Cebola
f31r16 nagas
f31r18 *om.* los
f31r27 mais frisol

f31v3 dos y tres
f31v7 docientas
f31v9 todo
f31v21 pasarla

f32r2 embio
f32r6 del rreal
f32r10 descubrimiento

f32r19 Cebola
f32r25 espantan
f32r30 cuer^(^p)(^{^n})os

f32v3 pisiete
f32v9 cobijan
f32v10 matan y traen
f32v19 bellotas
f32v21 crian

f32v28 paz y diçiendo
f33r4 sacate
f33r6 sustentan

f33r30 *que* tenian vno dellos viuo

f206r23 v diez

f206v1 el *dicho*
f206v7 allo y dijo
f206v12 palos
f206v13 fuero
f206v23 rrezibir

f207r4 v de
f207r9 allasen
f207r10 quemasen
f207r16-17 rres- | pecto
f207r27 pequeñas

f207v5 como de los
f207v5-6 mos- | trase
f207v6-7 agnus- | deyes cabos
f207v7 agujeta v
f207v8 dejeron
f207v8 y dieron
f207v10 tal cosa

f208r2 en
f208r2-3 pobla- | çion andubieron
f208r8 ynbio
f208r9 si el
f208r *LM*: (^*folio*)
f208r15 tenido las *dichas* notiçias
f208r25 contra
f208r27 asi luego
f208r29 dia de antes

f208v5 los yndios

f209r4 trujo
f209r9 les
f209r12-13 ma- | *gestad* de

f209v11 al
f209v17 o tierra
f209v21 y menos
f209v24 v tres
f209v26 y juntar

f33v2 o diez

f33v7 al *dicho*
f33v11 hallo dixo
f33v15 palo
f33v16 fuera
f33v23 rreceuir

f33v30 o de
f34r3 hallase
f34r3 quemase
f34r8 rrespeto
f34r16 pequeños

f34r22 *om.* de
f34r22 mostrasen
f34r23 agnus o cabos
f34r23 abujeta o
f34r24 dixeron
f34r24 o dieron
f34r25 *om.*

f34v10 por
f34v10-11 pobla- | çion y anduuieron
f34v15 embio
f34v15 si la

f34v20 [^tenido] notiçia
f34v27 con
f34v29 asi y luego
f34v30 *om.* de

f35r2 los *dichos* yndios

f35r21 trajo
f35r24 los
f35r27 *magestad* se siruiese de

f35v13 el
f35v17 otra
f35v20 o menos
f35v22 o tres
f35v23 o juntar

f209v29 v tres	f35v25 o tres
f210r2 para	f35v26 hasta
f210r7 que de aquello hauia	f35v29-30 que (^de) aquello hera lo que hauia (<i>deletion noted</i> f40r5)
f210r7 don deçia	f35v30 donde deçia
f210r13 otras les	f36r2 otros las
f210r22 hasta el	f36r8 al
f210r24 diese	f36r9 hiciese
f210r26 hazella	f36r10 hazerla
f210v9 mas no	f36r17-18 mas y que no
f210v18-19 conforme lo	f36r23 conforme a lo
f210v20 la altura	f36r24-25 el altura
f210v24 el altura	f36r27 la altura
f210v27 dichos	f36r29 <i>om.</i>
f210v28 el altura	f36r29 la altura
f211r2 esta	f36r31 estaua
f211r27 sin aguja	f36v15 si aguja
f211r27-28 astro- labio	f36v16 estrolabio
f211v1 marinero llebando	f36v17 marinero pudiera si voluiera lleuando
f211v11 segun	f36v24-25 si- gun
f211v16 de mas de quarenta	f36v27 <i>om.</i> mas de
f212r6 diga	f37r7 digan
f212r7-8 del nue- bo	f37r7-8 de la nueua
f212r9 trajeron	f37r9 trujeron
f212r13 les	f37r11 los
f212r15 aucto	f37r13 auto
f212r21 alaton	f37r17 laton
f212r26 alaton	f37r20 laton
f212v5 triguere	f37r24 tigre
f212v11 algauçil executor	f37r28-29 algauçil y e- xecutor
f212v18 vn dio	f37v2 vn yndio
f212v24 ynterpete	f37v6 interprete
f212v25 aguaçil	f37v6 algauçil
f212v27 el dicho fator mando	f37v8 mando el dicho factor
f213r10 culebreadas	f37v15 culebradas

f213r20 entendio y todo
f213r21 escribiendo
f213r24 tiniendo

f37v21 *om.* y
f37v22 escreuiendo
f37v24 teniendo

f213v13 ynbijados
f213v27 no le rrespondio
f213v27 rrespondio diçiendo

f38r3 embijados
f38r13 *om.* le
f38r13 respondio y diziendo

f214r24 crio

f38r28 crio

f214v18 de Tzanoa

f38v7 del Tianda

f215r27-v1 de platta | y vnos

f38v27 *om.* y

f215v2 alaton
f215v5 donde el
f215v9 dondes
f215v15 de donde
f215v16 sobre donde
f215v21 ay en cuche
f215v25 lleban sino en
f215v26-27 vasos | y preguntandole

f38v28 laton
f38v29-30 donde | y el
f38v32 donde es
f39r3 de adonde
f39r4 donde sobre
f39r6 ay en cuche
f39r9 *om.* sino
f39r10 *om.* y

f216r10 no sabe
f216r10-11 ni | oydo
f216r15 agujeros
f216r16 agujero
f216r17 puniendo
f216r18 cuero
f216r18 tiniendo
f216r19 vaso en
f216r24 trujo
f216r29 v muchacho

f39r17 no lo saue
f39r17 ni lo a oydo
f39r20 abujeros
f39r21 abujero
f39r21 poniendo
f39r22 cueros
f39r22 teniendo
f39r23 vaso y en
f39r26 trajo
f39r29 o muchacho

f216v7 le
f216v14 ordinarios
f216v21 y oydo
f216v24 hazen
f216v25 le

f39r33 lo
f39v3 *ordinario*
f39v7 y a oydo
f39v9 haçe
f39v10 lo

f217r12 aguaçil
f217r22 lugarthiniente

f39v19 alguacil
f39v27 lugar teniente

f217r29 suzesos

f217v5 auturizado

f217v7 Vreda

f217v7 firmo y el

f217v8 conde Monterrey

f217v9-10 [*emendations and deletions*]

f217v16 syn derechos

f39v31 suceso

f40r1 autoricado

f40r2 Vreta

f40r3 firmo yo el

f40r3 conde de Monterrey

f40r4-6 Va enmendado o dize nunca / o pa /
arboleda dela | cintura ti que presente vala y
testado d, v, tierra / fuesen i, d, n, m, de, |
emp, no vala

f40r8 *om.*

f40r9-13 [*in another hand*] concuerda con
los auctos ynformacion | y demas diligencias
oreginales y esta | copia se saco por orden de
los señores del Consejo Real | de las Yndias
en madrid a 12 de septiembre 1606 | Joan
Lopez de Hernani [rubric] | [*at the foot of
the page*] corregida [rubric]

Commentary.

All references are to P22, unless otherwise indicated.

159r7 The use of the definite article with the place name in “las proujncias del Nueuo Mexico” suggests that the full force of the adjective *nuevo* was still felt, i.e., approximately with the meaning ‘another Mexico’; the feminine form of the phrase, as used in the title of Pérez de Villagrà’s *Historia de la Nueva México* (1610), does not occur in the interrogatory.

160r2 “conde [de]”: classic case of haplography, the omission of the second of two identical or similar syllables; see also fol. 217v8. Similarly, note “donde [de]çia” (fol. 210r7).

160r4-5 In “lu- | garthiniente” for *lugarteniente* the mid front vowel [e] has been raised to [i] by anticipation of the palatal glide [j] in the onset of the following stressed syllable, i.e., by metaphony. See also “lugarthiniente” (fol. 217r22) vs. M25 “lugarteniente” (fol. 1r40), “lugar teniente” (fol. 39v27), and compare “tiniendo” (fol. 184v10, 213r24, 216r18) vs. M25 “teniendo” (fol. 18v21, 37v24, 39r22); “ynbio” (fol. 160v26, 168r4, 179v24, 190v20, 204r12, 208r8) vs. M25 “embio” (fol. 1v17, 6v23, 15v9, 23r24, 32r2, 34v15) for *envió*. The mid back vowel [o] is similarly affected in “puniendo” (fol. 165r15, 216r17) vs. M25 “poniendo” (fol. 4v15, 39r21) for *poniendo*. The two manuscripts agree with regard to “conbinien- | tes” (fol. 160v16-17), M25 “conuinientes” (fol. 1v10) for *convenientes*, and “rruciadas” (fol. 183v8), M25 “rucia- | das” (fol. 18r9-10) for *rociadas* ‘volleys (of arrows, firearms)’; both words invariably have high vowels in the antepenultimate syllable.

160r9 “con hauiso de ser buelto el gobernador”: relic of an archaic construction in which *ser* functions as the auxiliary verb of the perfect tenses of intransitive verbs, as in medieval Spanish (Penny 1991:142); compare the more modern type “por | hauer venido con yntento” (fol. 160r15-16); cf. Kania 2000:713-714.

160r17 “poco a” for *hace poco*; in medieval and early modern Spanish, phrases expressing the passage of time were construed with *haber* rather than with *hacer* (cf. Kania 2000:705-707).

160r18 “[l]a hauia”: P22 has the meaningless reading “ha hauia”; the first word is a pronoun whose antecedent is “la jente” in line 17.

160r19 “prisidio”: the first “i” is dotted in the manuscript, hence this reading appears to represent a pronunciation, rather than scribal carelessness in rendering the letter *e*. The raising of the mid vowel [e] to [i] when the next syllable contains the high front vowel [i] ([e] - [i] > [i] - [i]) goes against the dissimilation of high front vowels in successive syllables ([i] - [i] > [e] - [i]) long established in the history of Spanish (cf. Lloyd 1987:286, Penny 1991:159). Compare M25 “discriçion” (fol. 1v4 vs. “descricion” fol. 160v7) for *descripción*; “yntiligencia” (fol. 160v9 vs. M25 “ynte- | ligencia” fol. 1v5-6) for *inteligencia*; M25 “estirilidad” (fol. 12v5 vs. “esterelidad” fol. 175v24) for *esterilidad*. It seems likely that the dissimilatory tendency produced uncertainty especially with regard to the proper pronunciation of learned words, and frequent hypercorrection was the consequence.

160r23 “vn yndio prisionero”: Miguel.

160r25-26 “vna naçion de | yndios”: the Escanxaques.

160r26 “los llanos de Zibola”: it is curious that Cibola, originally a name for the Zuni nation, by 1602 had come to designate the vast region to the east of New Mexico, and to be associated

particularly with the bison, whose herds did not migrate as far west as the Rio Grande, let alone to Zuni. On the etymology and history of the name, see Craddock 1999:106-107.

160r26-27 “andaban rran- | cheada”: that is, the Indians formed camps (*rancherías*) as they moved from place to place in pursuit of the buffalo.

160r30 “por señas”: on the use of sign language among the plains Indians, see Taylor 1996:275-282.

160v2 “pusible” vs. M25 “posible” (fol. 1r29): a high vowel in a following syllable, sometimes stressed, sometimes unstressed, accompanies various cases of mid-vowel raising. Compare “sigun” (fol. 161v21, 171r14) vs. M25 “segun” (fol. 2r28, 9r3) for *según*; M25 “si- | gun” (fol. 36v24-25) vs. “segun” (fol. 211v11); “cubijados” (fol. 199v6) vs. M25 “cobijados” (fol. 29r8) for *cobijados* ‘covered, protected’; “cubijan” (fol. 205r8) vs. M25 “cobijan” (fol. 32v9); “aturizado” (fol. 217v5) vs. M25 “autorizado” [*sic*] (fol. 40r1) for *autorizado* ‘authorized’; “rranchirias” (fol. 197r3) vs. M25 “rrancherias” (fol. 27r27); see Bravo García 1989:634.

160v6-7 “Yndias oçidentales | y descriçion”: in learned words consonant clusters are frequently simplified. The clusters [ks] and [ps] (which became [kθ] and [pθ], respectively, in modern Peninsular Spanish) have lost the stop consonants in the two words cited here, in both manuscripts, cf. M25 “oçidentales” (fol. 1v3) for *occidentales* and M25 “discriçion” (fol. 1v4) for *descripción*.

160v8 “[otros] descubrimientos”: P22’s reading of “estos descubrimientos” destroys the contrast intended in the passage between “estas Yndias,” that is, in effect, “[el descubrimiento] de estas Yndias” and other discoveries known to history.

160v9 “platica y yntiligencia”: ‘experience and knowledge’; in the meaning ‘experience’ *plática* is an obsolete variant of *práctica*. Concerning [kt] > [t] see the commentary on “fator” below (160v12).

160v10 “mandaba y mando, cometia y cometio”: this pairing of the two aspects of the past tense, so common in bureaucratic prose of the period, seems to emphasize the inchoative aspect of the preterite, the moment of command, while the imperfect indicates that the command once given remains in effect until it is fulfilled.

160v12 “fator”: with regard to the sequence [kt] in learned words, P22 prefers “fator” by a wide margin over “factor,” the form that predominates in M25 (fol. 1v7, etc.), but “efeto” (fol. 167v15), M25 (fol. 6v9) for *efecto* is the norm for both copyists. On occasion, P22 shows the form preferred in modern Spanish, e.g., “rrespecto” (fol. 162v24, 207r16-17), while M25 presents the more popular variant “rrespeto” (fol. 3r9, 34v8), but the two copyists just as often agree: “rres- | peto” (fol. 171r3-4), M25 (fol. 8v23).

160v15 “auctos”: P22 prefers the hypercorrect “aucto” vs. M25 “autos” (fol. 1v9). The copyist of the latter adheres exclusively to the standard *auto* ‘decree’, a semi-learned form in which the velar stop of the [kt] cluster in *acto* was vocalized to a labio-velar glide [w].

160v22 “mill”: the palatal lateral *ll* [λ] became uncanonical in word-final position in late Medieval Spanish (cf. Penny 1991:72), but the spelling of this word with *ll*, if not the pronunciation with [λ], was long maintained, no doubt as an archaizing scribal tradition. However, M25 uses only the modern standard “mil” (fol. 1v15 *et passim*).

160v30 “fazer”: another archaizing spelling popular with notaries involves the verb *hacer* (< Old Sp. *fazer*), whose etymological initial *f* is from time to time restored, especially in notarial

formulae, as here. Compare “fechos” (fol. 165r20) vs. M25 “echos” (fol. 4v19); “fecho” (fol. 171r12), M25 (fol. 9r1); “lo fize escreuir” (fol. 217v12), M25 (fol. 40r6), “fize mi signo” (fol. 217v13), M25 (fol. 40r8); see Kania 2000:664-665.

161r [LM] “folio”: in various instances, the folio number of the model that was being copied was omitted in the marginal notes. Sometimes the abbreviation “folio” was marked out when no number accompanied it, as in the first marginal note of fol. 163r.

161r16 “Budía”: in the province of Guadalajara, some 40 km due east of the provincial capital.

161r17 “capitan y cabo”: *cabo* was at this time an important rank, like captain; in modern armies, it designates the corporal, the first rank above common soldier.

161r24 “dijo que lo que sabe y pasa es que”: this formula, which often initiates testimony, constitutes an anacoluthon, in that “lo que” functions simultaneously as the direct object of “sabe” and the subject of “pasa.” It should be understood as “lo que sabe [el testigo] y lo que pasa.”

161v3 “San Grabiél”: The metathesis of [r] in this name occurs consistently in P22, with very few exceptions (e.g., fol. 201r16, 208r22); M25 consistently writes “Sant Gabriel.” The metathesized form of the name is current in New Mexico (cf. Espinosa 1930-1946, 1:258, §212). Compare “probe” (fol. 163r4) vs. M25 “pobre” (fol. 3r14) for *pobre*; “trenpano” (fol. 172v5), which also occurs in M25 (fol. 9v25) for *temprano* ‘early’; “bragues” (fol. 204v3) alongside M25 “brages” (fol. 32r15), for *bagres* ‘catfish’.

161v20 “la banda del norte”: literally the “lado” or ‘side’ on the north, i.e., in a northerly direction.

161v21 “los yndios de las salinas y jumanas”: on this punitive expedition, see Simmons 1991:150-152. The Salines and Humanas were two Pueblo groups, no longer extant, located well to the east of the Rio Grande, and southeast of Albuquerque, in the Estancia Basin, on the eastern foothills of the Manzano mountains (cf. Schroeder 1979b:240-241; Barrett 2002:22-24, map. on p. 4).

162r12 “ducientas”: this form of the number 200 is consistently preferred by the copyist of P22 “ducientas,” while M25 has only forms with *o* in the initial syllable, e. g., “doçientas” (fol. 2v12, etc.). The *u* in the initial syllable is metaphonic, and corresponds to Old Spanish *duzientos/as*, a variant of *dozientos/as*, the regular outcome of Lat. *ducentos/as* (cf. Penny 1991:135). The etymological form was replaced by the morphologically transparent *doscientos/as* by the end of the seventeenth century.

162r [LM]: the folio numbers noted in this and the following two marginalia in fol. 162v run backwards, i.e., 130, 129v, and 129.

162r14 “Jusepe”: archaic form of the name *José* consistently preferred by P22, vs. “Juseph,” the spelling most often found in M25 (fol. 3v2 and *passim*). A mid back vowel [o] occurs rarely in the first syllable: “Jose- | pe” (fol. 179r19-20) vs. M25 “Juseph” (fol. 15r13).

162r16 “poblaçon”: the noun derived from the verb *poblar* ‘to populate’ appears in two competing forms, one with the vernacular form of the suffix, as here, and the other with the learned form, e.g., M25 “poblaçon” (fol. 8v4, etc.). P22 prefers the former, and M25 the latter, but with numerous exceptions in both manuscripts. No shade of meaning seems to distinguish the two forms, used in the interrogatory interchangeably to designate permanent settlements like those of the Pueblo Indians and the Indians of Quivira, as opposed to *ranchería* ‘nomadic

encampment', e. g., of the Apaches and the Escanjaques (cf. Kania 2000:806).

162r23 “San Gregorio”: the witness mistakenly substitutes this name for San Gabriel here and elsewhere (e.g., fol. 163r19-20).

162r25 “los yndios pecos y taos”: here the names of the pueblos of Pecos and Taos are used as adjectival designations. On Pecos, see the introduction; Taos is the largest and northernmost of the Pueblos. Like Pecos, Taos had maintained commercial relations with the plains Indians from before the Spanish period. The Taos Indians, along with those of Picuris, speak northern Tiwa (cf. Bodine 1979).

162v [LM]: “U” is a symbol for 1,000.

162v1 “[sin] lo que el dicho yndio Jusepe deçia, los espa- | ñoles dezian”: P22’s reading “si es” makes no sense; the preposition *sin* in the archaic meaning ‘in addition to, besides’ fits the context perfectly.

162v15 “dispusiçion”: also M25 “dispussiçion” (fol. 3r3), for *disposición*. In P22 and M25 the word is never spelled with an *o* in the second syllable. See the comment on fol. 160v2. In this case the preterite of the verb *disponer*, i.e., *dispuso*, may have had some influence.

162v17 “ley natural”: the witness no doubt means here that the Pueblo Indians lived without such major *pecados contra natura* as idolatry, human sacrifice, and sodomy.

162v19-20 “mantas de | plumas de gallinas”: these were *gallinas de la tierra*, or turkeys. The Pueblo Indians raised them for their feathers rather than for food, as was noted by Diego de Ayerde: “crian galli- | nas de la tierra, de las quales no se aprovechan | porque las crian para valerse de la pluma | para hazer mantas” (fol. 187r13-16); see Bravo García 1989:735.

162v21 “Zebola”: alternations among stressed vowels are rare in the interrogatory, but the legendary place name *Cíbola* often, perhaps in a majority of cases, appears with a stressed mid vowel, as here. See also M25 “Çebola” (fol. 2v20) vs. “Zibola” (fol. 159r26), M25 “Çibola” (fol. 1r23), etc. The alternation continues throughout the text in both copies, with no apparent pattern.

162v22 “tenporales”: cf. *temporal* ‘tiempo de lluvia persistente’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

162r4 “probe”: on the metathesis of [r], see the annotation to fol. 161v3. This variant of *pobre* ‘poor’ is current in many dialects (cf. Espinosa 1930-1946, 1:258, §212).

163r4-5 “cerimoniati- | cos”: only this witness refers to the rich ceremonial life of the Pueblo Indians, albeit in a jocose manner.

163r24-25 “el pueblo de | Galisteo”: principal settlement of the Tano-speaking people, who occupied three other pueblos, San Marcos, San Lázaro, and San Cristóbal, in the Galisteo basin, located to the east of the Rio Grande and south of Pecos pueblo. These pueblos have been abandoned, and the language is no longer spoken; it was a member of the Tanoan family of languages, which includes Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa (cf. Barrett 2002:40-42, 129-130; Schroeder 1979:247-248).

163r27 “caminaron el rreal todo junto”: example of *ad sensum* agreement of a singular collective noun with a plural verb, unless “el rreal todo junto” is a species of absolute construction along the lines of *habiéndose reunido todo el ejército, caminaron*.

163v2-3 “Mada- | lena”: the cluster [gd] is sporadically simplified to [d] here and elsewhere, thus M25 “Madalena” (fol. 3v4, 21r16), “Madalena” (fol. 164v25) for *Magdalena*. Compare also “sinifica” (fol. 194r10) vs. M25 “significa” (fol. 25v5) for *significa*. M25 “Madaglena” (fol. 3r29) and P22 “Madaglena” (fol. 163v8) show an unusual metathesis of the [g].

163v7 “el dicho camino ... comenzaron”: understand *en el camino* or *durante el camino*.

163v16-17 “perros pequeños, ... que les sirven de bagajes”: to describe the dogs that pulled travois, the witness makes use of a somewhat inappropriate metonymic term for ‘beast that carries baggage’, i.e. *bagaje* ‘bestia que, para conducir el equipaje militar y en ocasiones algunos individuos del ejército y sus familias, se tomaba en los pueblos por vía de carga concejil, pero mediante remuneración’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.). The Spaniards were fascinated and amused by this form of canine transport (cf. Craddock and Polt 1999:13-15, 29). On the pre-history and early history of the plains Indians’ use of dogs with travois, see Swagerty 2001:258-260.

164r5 “grandor”: deadjectival noun derivatives in *-or* for designations of size or extent, a type no longer current in modern Spanish, are relatively common in the interrogatory. For other instances of “grandor” see fols. 186r8, 196r6, 215v10, 216r20, and compare “largor” (fol. 164r19), “anchor” (fol. 169v9), “altor” (fol. 177v17; 199r13, 216r29-v1), and “grosor” (fol. 181v6).

164r5-6 “ca- | ñas de bra[ç]os y pies”: here the witness appears to use *caña* with the meaning of *canilla* ‘cualquiera de los huesos largos de la pierna o del brazo y especialmente la tibia’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.); speaking of quadrupeds, *brazo* designated the foreleg and *pie* the hindleg.

164r12 “escojiendola”: the witnesses may be using *escoger* ‘to choose’ in a technical sense I have been unable to verify. Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:840) translate the gerund as ‘sorting’.

164r13 “braçuelos”: cf. *brazuelo* ‘aquella parte que está junto a la paleta [shoulder blade], o juego de las manos [forelegs] de las reses’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.; see Craddock 1998:520).

164r19 “terçia”: cf. *tercia* ‘tercera parte de una vara’ (*DRAE* CD-ROM, s.v.). The *vara* is approximately equivalent to a yard.

164r23 “Tienen | barbas muy largas como cabrones”: *cabrón* ‘billy goat’ had not yet become an insult so stigmatized socially that the word, even intended with its original meaning, could not be used in good company; now *macho cabrío* is preferred.

164r27 “enpellas” = *pellas* (*de manteca*) ‘balls of fat’ (cf. *DRAE* CD-ROM, s.v. *empella*). Another instance of “enpella” in fol. 177v29.

164v3 “muy mas ligeras”: modern Spanish requires *mucho* as the intensifier of comparisons, *mucho más*, *mucho menos*, etc.

164v16 “ciruelas”: in M25’s variant reading “çirguelas”(fol. 4r23) for *ciruelas* ‘plums’, the labio-velar glide [w] has developed a consonantal onset as [gw], a frequent phenomenon in popular varieties of Spanish (cf. Bravo García 1989:637-638; Kania 2000:679).

164v23 “el Rio de los Bagres”: ‘catfish’ river has been identified as the Gallinas River by Bolton (cf. Craddock 1998:516), a tributary of the Pecos River that runs through Las Vegas, New Mexico.

165r4 “villotas”: a variant of *bellota* ‘acorn’ that I have not come across elsewhere (also 205r23). The high front vowel [i] of the first syllable perhaps reflects the close articulation of the following palatal lateral [λ]. Compare M25 “bellotas” (fol. 4v7, 32v19).

165r5 “jullio”: this spelling, vs. M25 “julio”(fol. 4v7) may represent an actual pronunciation, in which the glide [j] has palatalized the preceding lateral consonant.

165r13 “escanjaques”: on the Escanjaques (the more frequent spelling), see the introduction.

165r18-19 “poco mas o menos”: the repetition of the phrase seems to have existed in the model

of P22 and M25, since in the latter, the corrector, in collating M25 with the model, restored the first occurrence in the right margin of fol. 4v: “que abria [ˈpoco mas o menos] | seis mil personas poco mas o menos”.

165r20 “ranchos”: here *rancho* as a specific designation of ‘teepee’ (cf. Bravo García 1989:762-763).

165r28 “pasa adelante”: understand “[el testigo] pasa adelante”.

165v1 “muchas dellas”: that is, of the *vacas de Cibola*.

165v5 “fayciones” = *facciones* ‘features’: the velar stop of the [ks] cluster (> [kθ] in Peninsular Spanish) has been vocalized as a palatal glide [j]; cf. also M25 “façiones” (fol. 5r1, 37v3).

165v7-13: this description of the weapons and shields of the Escanxaques is far more detailed than in the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:502). Particularly curious is the detail of the strap (“fiador”) that secured the club (“macana”) to the warrior’s wrist, also mentioned by Juan de León, but with reference to the arms of the Apaches (fol. 177r13).

165v8 “quartas”: cf. *cuarta* ‘one fourth of a yard’.

165v13-14 “Las mu- | jeres son muy rrayadas a su modo”: *rayado*, lit. ‘striped’, refers to tattoos of a striped design.

165v15 “chichimecas”: *chichimeca* was a general term of opprobrium for the Indians of northern New Spain who fought the Spanish advance so fiercely in the second half of the sixteenth century (cf. Craddock and Polt 1999:29; Bravo García 1989:730-731).

165v17 “ecepto” for *excepto*; the prefix *ex-* presents a complicated cluster when added to words beginning with *c-*: [kʃs] (> [kʃθ] in modern Castilian Spanish). Simplification could be radical, as in this instance and in “ezediese” (fol. 172v15) vs. M25 “excediese” (fol. 10r3) for *excediese*. The simplification of both [kʃs] and [pt] can be observed in M25 “eceto” (fol. 20r16) vs. “ezepto” (fol. 186v10).

165v23 “que tanta”: analytical periphrasis that often replaces the indirect interrogative *quánto*; note also “Preguntado que tanto subio por las dichas poblacio- | nes el dicho don Juan de Oñate” (fol. 170r6-7), and other instances (fol. 179r14; 189r27). Similarly *qué tan* replaces *cuán* in “si oyo dezir | comunicar y conferir que tan zerca tenian la mar” (fol. 173v24-25; 202r25-26); see Keniston 1937:152, 158.

166r9 “jacal”: ‘native dwelling, grass lodge’, also spelled “xacal” (fol. 179r28).

166r18-21: the episode of taking of a hostage from the Escanxaques as a guide, and binding him by the neck (“en vna collera”) to prevent his escape, is lacking in the “Relación cierta y verdadera.”

166r28 “quisieran”: this form occurs in an implicit past contrary to fact conditional construction, hence corresponds to *hubieran querido* in modern Spanish. The *-ra* paradigm, now exclusively a past subjunctive, descends etymologically from the Latin pluperfect indicative.

166v1 “otro dia”: here and often, this phrase means *al día siguiente*.

166v5-6 “un rrio | mayor que los que hauian visto atras”: the Arkansas River, according to Bolton (cf. Craddock 1998:523).

166v10: “llegaron mucha cantidad”: grammatically singular collective nouns and indefinite pronouns are often construed *ad sensum* with plural verbs. Compare “ni le | tocan ninguna de las generales” (fol. 174v18-19; 186r18); “de los | quales traen cada yndio dos” (fol. 213v22-23; M25 fol.38r10-11). In “[es] jente suçia y des- | nuda y andan vestidos de gamuças y cueros de | vacas”

(fol. 205v22-24), both the verb (“andan”) and the predicate nominative (“vestidos”) show concordance *ad sensum* (cf. Keniston 1937:480-490; Kania 2000:728-731).

166v12-13 “en | menos tiempo de vna hora”: the rapidity with which nomadic Indians formed their *rancherías* astonished the author of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:503).

166v19-20 “fueron... siguiendo”: uncommon separation of auxiliary and main verb. The subject noun phrase is both hyperbatonic and redundant; one should understand “alguna cantidad de los dichos indios... siempre fueron siguiendo...” Note also the agreement of singular collective noun and plural verb.

166v28 “los dichos yndios escanxaque”: the lack of number agreement here, vs. M25

“escanxaques” (fol. 6r7), adumbrates a modern Spanish preference, as in *indios hopi*, etc.

167r4 “embijados”: ‘wearing war paint’; also “ynbijados” (fol. 213v13) vs. M25 “embijados” (fol. 38r3). The adjective is derived from *bija* ‘the dye of the annatto tree’ (cf. Bravo García 1989:732-733).

167r15 “no sabe[r] el vado”: P22’s reading “sabel” does not appear to involve a phonetic phenomenon, but rather an inadvertent, and purely graphic, anticipation of the following “el.”

167v26 “a vna vista”: in modern Spanish, *a la vista* means ‘on sight’, that is ‘immediately, without delay’; perhaps “a vna vista” meant ‘at a glance’, thus ‘right away, instantly’, which seems to fit the context of this example.

168r3 “saquealla”: the final consonant of infinitives frequently assimilates to the initial consonant of clitic pronouns, more often in P22 than in M25 (but in agreement here with P22, fol. 6v22). Compare “rreforçallos” (fol. 171v1) vs. M25 “rreforçarlos” (fol. 9r13); “matallos” (fol. 172v22) vs. M25 “matarlos” (fol. 10r9); “hazella” (fol. 185r4) vs. M25 “hazerla” (fol. 19r8); M25 “dallos” (fol. 23r7) vs. “darles” (fol. 190r26); “preguntalles” (fol. 191v18) vs. M25 “preguntarles” (fol. 24r5); see Bravo García 1989:655-656; Kania 2000:699.

168r6 “priesa”: both P22 and M25 (fol. 6v24) retain the diphthong present in the medieval form of modern Spanish *prisa* ‘haste’ (cf. Kania 2000:687).

168r10 “se hauian ydo y dejadola”: in constructions containing coordinated perfect tenses, the auxiliary is often omitted from all but the first verb, and any clitic pronouns pertaining to the second or following coordinated verbs are attached to the participle, as here. Compare “abiendose rrecogido la jente a la noche de este | dia y veladose con cuydado, otro dia prosiguie- | ron el viaje” (fol. 173r19-21) and “en el cami- | no hauian muerto a su conpañero y heridole | a el los yndios de la gran poblaçion” (fol. 176r19-21); see González Ollé 1983; Kania 2000:756-757.

168r16-17 “el vno... de mas ca- | lidad”: the “catarrax” of the Quiviran settlement, see the introduction, esp. note 11.

168v13 “agujeta”: M25 consistently replaces [g] with [b] in this word, thus “abujeta” (fol. 7r22, 34r23) for *agujeta* ‘small needle’, M25 “abujetas” (fol. 17r13), and in *agujero* ‘hole, opening’, cf. M25 “abujeros” (fol. 39r20), M25 “abujero” (fol. 39r21). On this phenomenon in New Mexican Spanish, see Espinosa 1930-1946, 1:170.

168v17-169r12: the description of the dwellings accords well with anthropological evidence; see Newcomb 2001:553, and the photographs of grass lodges on p. 554.

168v27: “mas y menos”: illogical variant of “mas o menos,” but supported by the reading of M25 (fol. 7v2-3).

169r8 “es menester”: the archaic construction *ser menester* ‘to be necessary’ was still common at this time and remains current in regional dialects; see also fol. 171v20. Compare *haber menester* ‘to need’: “que a menester cada soldado para hazella” (fol. 185r4), which preserves the meaning ‘to have’ that the verb *haber* has yielded to *tener* in modern Spanish.

169v4 “dos anegas muy tasadas”: understand ‘a very skimpy two *fanegas*’ (‘Spanish bushels’), to judge by the meaning of *tasadamente* ‘escasamente’ (*Diccionario de autoridades*, s.v.), from *tasar* ‘to fix the price of merchandise, foodstuffs, etc.’

169v5-6 “no bio comal ni metate en que | en esta tierra se hazen las tortillas y se muelen”: “esta tierra” is New Spain; the phrase would be more comprehensible if the witness had avoided the ellipsis and consequent anacoluthon; understand “se hazen las tortillas y se muele [el mayz].” *Comal* ‘flat skillet for tortillas’ (cf. Bravo García 1989:728-729) and *metate* ‘grinding stone’ are characteristic Nahuatl loanwords in the Spanish of New Spain.

169v7-8 “piedre- | çuela”: derived from *piedra* ‘stone’. The formation of certain diminutives matches the criteria of medieval Spanish, in particular, that disyllabic paroxytones ending in *-a*, *-o*, and containing the diphthongs *ie/ue* in the first syllable regularly formed diminutives with the suffix *-uelo* preceded by the interfix *-ez-*. Compare “cuerezuelos” (fol. 178v30), M25 “coreçuelos” (fol. 14v28), derived from *cuero* ‘hide’; “quentezuelas” (fol. 180r12), M25 “conteçuelas” (fol. 15v21), derived from *cuenta* ‘bead’. The monophthong in the first syllable of the latter two of M25’s diminutives is a remarkably archaic feature for the first years of the seventeenth century (cf. González Ollé 1962:202; Craddock 1965:320-322).

169v11-12 “se entendio que no ha- | çian pan”: this witness failed to see or partake of “vnos panes rredondos tan grandes como | vnas adargas de tres o quatro dedos de grueso, hechos del mesmo ma- | yz,” thus enthusiastically described in the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:503). Montero de Castro mentions that “tortas cozidas grandes” (fol. 198v9) were part of the peace offering brought to the Spaniards by the Indians of the *gran población*.

169v19-23 “no bieron que tubiesen rropa nin- | guna de algodón ni lana ni genero de lienço, por- | que si lo huuiera no dejaran de llebar alguno | de los dichos yndios alguna muestra de averlo | o se allara en alguna de las dichas casas”: present and past contrary-to-fact conditions sometimes appear with identical verb morphology. The temporal relevance of the condition must be derived from the context. The passage cited here presents both meanings, present and past, in the same passage, the first case equivalent to mod. Sp. *si lo hubiera, no dejarían* (present contrary to fact with reference to a continuing state), while “se allara” refers specifically to the inspection the expeditionaries made of the dwellings of the Indians of Quivira, hence is past contrary to fact, corresponding to *se hubiera hallado* in modern Spanish.

170v11 “enbio el dicho gobernador doze soldados que | biesen que tierra descubria[n] adelante”: the subject of the last verb is “soldados”, hence the emendation; it is possible that P22 intended to write “se descubria”.

171r6 “tomo la mano”: cf. *tomar la mano* ‘comenzar a razonar o discurrir sobre una materia’; fig. ‘emprender un negocio’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v. *mano*); either meaning fits the context.

170r19 “irroças”: cf. *roza* ‘land cleared for cultivation’.

170r23 “frisoles”: this archaic spelling, and presumably pronunciation, for *frijoles* ‘beans’ alternates with the more evolved form. Compare M25 “frisoles” (fol. 17r20) vs. “frijoles” (fol. 182r21); M25 “frisol” (fol. 20v5) vs. “frijol” (fol. 187r4); “frisor” (fol. 192r3) vs. M25 “frisol”

(fol. 24r14); see Bravo García 1989:604, 734-735.

170v1 “derrotarse”: ‘desviarse’; derived from *derrota* in the meaning *rumbo* ‘direction’.

170v11-12 “si hauia | algun humo para procurar algun yndio”: smoke coming from a lodge supposedly would indicate it was occupied.

171v19 “sabana”: ‘treeless plain, savanna’.

172v4 “bispera de San Miguel”: Sept. 28, the feast of St. Michael Archangel being the 29th; see also 200r9.

172v5 “trenpano”: unusual metathesis of [r], supported by the reading in M25 (fol. 9v25). See above, fol. 161v3.

172v26 “aperzebida”: this form, cf. also M25 “aperceuida” (fol. 10r12), preserves the medieval stem vowel [e], as opposed to modern Spanish *apercibida*. Note likewise M25 “receuir” (fol. 33v23) vs. “rrezibir” (fol. 206v23) for modern Spanish *recibir*; “escreuir” (fol. 217v12, M25 fol. 40r6) for *escribir* (cf. Kania 2000:694-695).

173v16 “huuieran [dicho]”: P22’s reading “huuieran hecho” fails to fit the context, which involves verbal reports of gold, etc., on the part of the Indians.

173v20-27 “si sabe...”: this long and complex indirect question should be read as “si sabe el altura... y hauiendo caminado... [si sabe] lo que multiplicaron... y si oyo dezir...”

173v20 “el altura”: the allomorph *el* of the feminine singular definite article appears sporadically before words beginning with the vowel *a*, though the latter is not stressed. Thus also fol.

173v20, 24; M25 fol. 10v23; “la | altura” fol. 10v25-26 (cf. Bravo García 1989:656-657 and Kania 2000:734-735). In this context “altura” has the technical meaning ‘latitude’.

173v24 “lo que multiplicaron del altura”: here *multiplicar* seems to have a technical sense I have been unable to verify, but the general idea is clear: the question asks for the increase in latitude that was reached in Quivira vis-à-vis that of San Gabriel.

173v28-29 “el rreal | de San Grabiell esta en treynta y siete grados”: a significant error; the site of San Gabriel lies just above the 36th parallel.

173v31 “trat[ar]”: P22’s “tratra” involves a purely graphic inversion of the last two letters of the word.

174r7-8 “don- | de le demoraba la mar”: a mariner’s idiom, cf. *demorar* ‘corresponder un objeto a un rumbo o dirección determinada, respecto a otro lugar o al sitio desde donde se observa’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

174r12 “ansi”: archaic and regional variant of *así* with a nasal coda in the first syllable; note also M25 “ansimismo” (fol. 12v22, 15r12). See Amado Alonso *apud* Espinosa 1930-1946, 1:411-416; Bravo García 1989:651; Kania 2000:679-680.

174r25-26 “si estos... si tienen”: the second conjunction is quite remarkably redundant in this instance, since the first clause lacks a predicate. See Keniston 1937:684, §42.823, who observes that this redundancy occurs only with “annunciative” *si*, i.e., the *si* that introduces indirect questions, rather than the *si* that introduces the protasis of conditions.

174r26 “oficios”: cf. *oficio* ‘profesión de algún arte mecánica’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

174v2 “bautizada”: P22 favors this form which is preferred in modern Spanish. Historically, the cluster [pt] was simplified to [t] in vernacular words and maintained in learned words, but there was besides a semi-learned development that involved the vocalization of the [p] to the glide [w], as in this instance. M25 is in general faithful to the etymological form of the cluster, “baptizada”

(fol. 11r26); compare also M25 “captiuo” (fol. 38r28) vs. “cautibo” (fol. 214r24). However, both P22 and M25 contain instances of simplification, i.e., “batiçado” (fol. 174v10 vs. M25 “baptiçado” (fol. 11v5); “batiçada” (fol. 202r11) vs. M25 “baptiçada” (fol. 30v10); M25 “batiçada” (fol. 36r14) vs. “bautiçada” (fol. 210v5); M25 “catiba- | ron” (fol. 39r24-25) vs. P22 “cauti- | baron” (fol. 216r21-22); see Kania 2000:676-677.

174v18 “ynterese”: the final vowel of this form, also in M25 (fol. 11v10), marks it as a learned imitation of Lat. *interesse*.

174v18-19 “ni le | tocan ninguna de las generales”: these are the *preguntas generales de la ley*, whose primary purpose was to oblige witnesses to confess to any bias they might harbor in favor of or against the parties to a lawsuit (cf. Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:433, n. 6). They had become so routine that it is uncommon to find any of these questions specified in a legal action. At the conclusion of Jusepe’s testimony, cited in the introduction, one gets a glimpse of the sort of problems the “preguntas generales” involved: “no le tocan las generales | de la ley mas de auer sido criado del dicho Antonio Gutierrez |⁴⁰ de Vmaña e no por esso ni auer sido yndustriado de | ninguna persona a dexado de decir la uerdad” (AGI, Patronato 22, fol. 1020r).

175r8 “agora”: this archaic form of the adverb predominates in both manuscripts, see also fol. 215r4, M25 “agora” (fol. 11v25, 38v14), for *ahora*, except in one of the marginal notations of P22, “la entrada | del adelantado | que aora | hizo hazia | el norte” (fol. 160r).

175r12-13 “fue al descubri- | miento de las salinas”: a contingent under the command of Captain Marcos Farfán de los Godos was sent off to explore a salt lake in the vicinity of the Zuni pueblos on Nov. 8, 1598; see Simmons 1991:127-128, and the document published by Hammond and Rey 1953, 1:406-407, translated from AGI, Patronato 22, ramo 13, fols. 1190r-1191r.

175r13-14 “al primero descubri- | miento de las bacas de Zebola”: this exploration of the plains east of New Mexico was led by Vicente de Zaldívar, nephew of the governor, and lasted from 15 Sept. to 9 Nov. 1598 (cf. Craddock and Polt 1999).

175r14-15 “la jornada | que se hiço al descubrimiento de la mar del sur”: while at Zuni Oñate decided to explore in the direction of the Pacific Ocean (“la mar del sur”), but the expedition was aborted by the conflict at Acoma on 4 Dec. 1598 (cf. Simmons 1991:132). Vicente de Zaldívar led an unsuccessful, and poorly documented, attempt to reach the Pacific in the spring of 1600 (cf. Simmons 1991:150), evidently the “jornada” that the witness has in mind. It was only in 1605 that Oñate reached the Gulf of California (cf. Simmons 1991:173-177).

175r21-22 “sin rrayas aunque entre ellos ay vn | pueblo o dos de jente rrayada”: some Indians of the southeast pueblos bore tattoos, like the Indians of Texas and the great plains, and were therefore called “jumanas” or “jumanes,” a general designation for tribes that indulged in this form of bodily decoration (cf. Bravo García 1989:740).

175r23 “mantilla”: diminutive of *manta* ‘cloak’, not to be confused with the elegant lace scarves the term now designates.

175r24 “de dibersas colores”: here the noun *color* retains the feminine gender it possessed in medieval Spanish; M25 agrees (fol. 10r11).

175r26 “bernias”: *bernia* ‘cloak, cape’ (also fol. 177r10).

175r29 “otras mayo- | res que les cubre[n] todo el cuerpo”: P22’s singular “cubre” appears to reflect anticipation of the singular direct object of the verb.

175v1-2 “los yndios juma- | nes”: see the annotation to fol. 161v21.

175v5 “Acoma”: Oñate’s war with this pueblo in 1598-1599 was the major event of the early part of his occupation of New Mexico, and is the theme of Pérez de Villagrà’s epic poem (1610). See the discussion of the witness Juan de León in the introduction. Acoma is situated on a prominent mesa some forty miles west of Albuquerque, and may be the oldest continuously inhabited city in North America, exclusive of Mexico. The language of Acoma is a dialect of Keresan, spoken neighboring Laguna pueblo and by the Rio Grande pueblos Cochití, Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Santo Domingo; the language is an isolate, i.e., with no proven relatives (cf. García-Mason 1979).

175v12-13 “el Rio | del Norte”: the Rio Grande.

175v15-16 “las ca- | [ñ]as del mays”: the witness uses *caña* with the meaning of *tallo* ‘stalk’; cf. also 196r5.

175v19 “tunas”: ‘prickly pears’.

175v19-20 “ga- | llinas de la tierra”: ‘turkeys’.

175v25 “es tierra muy fria”: accustomed to the mild climate of the Mexican highlands, the Spaniards who came to New Mexico frequently complained of the long and bitter winters. It may be relevant to note that the period of Oñate’s incursion into New Mexico occurred during the “Little Ice Age” that affected the earth’s climate from 1450 to 1850 (cf. Barrett 2002:16).

176r2 “sin mucho numero de mujeres”: here the preposition *sin* has the meaning ‘in addition to’, i.e., ‘without counting [the large number of women]’.

176r19 “se hauian vydo”: *se habían huido*.

176v14 “se les ofrecio una tierra poco fragosa”: “poco” appears to mean “un poco” in this passage.

176v17 “la dicha sierra”: part of the Sangre de Cristo range in northern New Mexico.

176v22 “estendiendo”: before occlusive consonants, the cluster [k_s] of the prefix *ex-* regularly loses the velar stop in colloquial pronunciation, a phenomenon reflected graphically in this instance, also in the corresponding form of M25 (fol.13r20). The spelling “exsamine” (fol. 160r32 vs. M25 “examine” (fol. 1r28) may be a hypercorrect reaction to the simplification just described.

177r1 “las ubas, las mas dellas, heran agrias”: compare Martínez Cogedor, who claimed that the wild grapes “quando hauia llovido bien se dejaban comer | y sabian bien” (fol. 164v20-21).

177r1-13: this description of the arms of the Apaches corresponds in some details to the description Martínez Cogedor gave of the arms of the Escanxaques (fol. 165v7-13); the two nations appear in general to have possessed similar cultural characteristics.

177r17 “vizcocho y tabaco y otras cosillas”: first specific mention of any of the *rescates* ‘trade goods’ that Oñate brought with the expedition.

177r23-24 “andan matados | de la carga”: here “matados” means ‘with sores (*mataduras*) from the chafing of the harness’ (cf. Craddock and Polt 1999:29).

177v5-8 “fueron caminando otros dos | o tres dias despues que descubrieron los dichos yn- | dios, que al fin dellos comenzaron a matar pa- | ra el sustento del campo”: “al fin dellos” understand “al fin de los dos o tres dias”. The omission of the direct object of *matar* is awkward, leaving the impression that this is a relative clause modifying “yndios”. No doubt the understood object is *vacas de Cibola*, and the clause is adverbial, with the conjunction “que” meaning approximately *pues, ya que*.

177v8 “campo”: approximate synonym of “rreal” in the meaning ‘army’; see also fol. 199r5.

177v23-24 “be- | neficiandola bien”: cf. *beneficiar* ‘hacer que una cosa produzca fruto, rendimiento o se convierta en algo aprovechable’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

177v26 “la tabla del pescuezo”: cf. *tabla* ‘parte algo plana de ciertos miembros del cuerpo’, *tabla* del pecho, del muslo (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

177v29 “enpellas de sebones”: ‘great balls of fat’; the augmentative suffix *-on* would have more properly applied to *empellas* than to *sebo* ‘fat, suet’.

178r17-18 “nunca se les oyo bra- | mar sino grueñen como piara de puercos”: first mention of the noises buffalo make; compare Diego de Ayarde “no braman | sino tienen vn gruñido como de puercos” (fol. 188v15-16). The diphthong of “grueñen” is highly irregular, by Castilian standards, in a verb like *gruñir* ‘to grunt’, compare M25 “gruñen” (fol. 14r26). The only parallel that comes to mind, and not a very close one, is *juega* from *jugar* ‘to play’.

178r22-24 “Hazen zezina | sin sal y la curan al sol y la comen sin asar ni | cocer”: *cecina* ‘dried beef’ is used here as an equivalent of native American *jerky*.

178v15 “dio en un rrio grande”: a tributary of the Arkansas River.

178v20 “e[s]canxaques”: P22’s “ecanxaques” could represent aspiration and loss of syllable-final [s]. For other possible instances of aspiration and loss, see the comments to fol. 180v1-2, 195v23, 197r13.

179v8 “se vyesen”: *se huyesen*.

179v9 “vn dia y otro”: understand “vn dia y otro [dia],” i.e., *al día siguiente*.

179v12 “a vna vista”: the meaning of this phrase noted above (fol. 167v26). i.e., ‘right away, instantly’, seems not to fit the present context. The phrase recurs in the parallel passages of three other witnesses, thus “siempre fue tras el rreal toda la jente de la | dicha rrancheria a vna bista” (fol. 189v21-22; Diego de Ayarde); “todos los dichos yndios de la | dicha rrancheria o la mayor parte dellos fueron | siguiendo el rreal de los españoles a una bista” (fol. 198r10-12; Miguel Montero); “detras de el rreal | se fue toda la jente de la rrancheria a vna vista” (fol. 205v29-r1; Juan Rodríguez). However, the parallel passage in the first witness’s testimony provides a significantly different wording: “sien- | pre fueron de los dichos yndios alguna cantidad | dellos, que serian menos de çiento, siguiendo | el dicho rreal y a vista del” (fol. 166v18-21; Baltazar Martínez), which suggests that the phrase should actually read “avn a vista”, i.e., ‘still in sight’, though the word division “a vna vista” is quite clear in both manuscripts.

179v15-16 “vn | rrio muy grande, el mayor de los que hauian | visto”: the Arkansas River.

179v28 “quebradilla”: diminutive of *quebrada*, here with the meaning ‘arroyo o riachuelo que corre por una quiebra’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

180r11-14 “los yndios davan a | los españoles de vnas quentezuelas que | trayan a los cuellos y los españoles les daban | a ellos cuellos y otras cossas”: *cuentezuela* is the diminutive of *cuenta* ‘bead’, as noted above anent fol. 169v7-8. It appears the Indians gave the Spaniards bead necklaces. The supposed return gift, “cuellos” ‘collars’ (same reading in M25 fol. 15v22), seems an unlikely trade good for the Spaniards to have been carrying. Unless the word was inadvertently repeated from the previous line, one would perhaps have to imagine that some Spaniards removed the collars they wore and offered them to the Indians in exchange for the bead necklaces they received. Perhaps it is worth noting that some of the expeditionaries came well supplied with collars, thus Baltazar Martínez lists among the supplies he brought with him

to New Mexico in 1600 “dies cuellos de olanda” (AGI, Patronato 22, fol. 536v12; “Cala y cata de Juan de Sotelo Cisneros y Juan de Gordejuela Ibarguen, 30 August-5 September 1600”). The bead necklaces offered by the Quivirans are mentioned in the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:503), but not what the Spaniards may have given in return.

180r12 “de vnas quentezuelas”: here the preposition *de* is used with a partitive meaning no longer current in modern Spanish. Compare “entraron en | las casas y tomaron del mays que en ellas | hauia” (fol. 181r9-11); “hauia a la tierra adentro | de los dichos metales” (fol. 191v15-16); “son va- | queros que andan matando de la dichas bacas | y sacando la manteca” (fol. 204v28); “en su presençia se molio del | dicho mays” (fol. 214r18-19); see Keniston 1937:266.

180v1-2 “quemado[s] | los pies”: M25’s reading presents the accustomed form of the absolute construction, whereas P22’s grammatically singular “quemado,” if not merely an instance of aspiration and loss of word-final [s], could perhaps be defended as a so-called “Greek accusative,” in which case the participle would agree with “vn español | que dellos se hauia escapado” (fol. 180r29-v1), and the meaning would be ‘burned with respect to his feet’ (cf. Keniston 1937:38, §3.35).

181r12-13 “h[ec]ha- | sen”: in “hceha- | sen” P22 inverted the second and third letters of the form.

181r27 “milpas”: ‘corn fields’ (also fol. 207v16); see Kania 2000:786.

181v9-10 “todas con vnas barbacoas | lechos”: unique case in the interrogatory of an apparent head noun + modifying noun construction, as in modern Spanish *buque escuela* ‘training ship’.

However, the modifying noun would not normally be pluralized, so “lechos” may have been added by the witness as an offhand gloss to “barbacoas.” Martínez Cogedor provides a more detailed description (fol. 169r11-16), without using the word *barbacoa*, and concludes “es donde le parezio a este | declarante que dormian.” Cf. *barbacoa* ‘zarzo [‘hurdle, wattle’] cuadrado u oblongo, sostenido con puntales [‘props’], que sirve de camastro’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.; Bravo García 1989:715-716).

181v26 “trujese”: the preterite of *traer* often appears with the archaic and regional stem vowel *u*, thus “trujo” (fol. 211v28, 216r24), M25 (fol. 37r2), but M25 “trajo” (fol. 39r26); M25 “trujeron” (fol. 37r9) vs. “trajeron” (fol. 212r9); see Kania 2000:697.

182r4 “exe[r]ç[i]to”: the metathesis of [r] in P22’s “exeeçirto” might be phonetic, but I believe this is a case of purely graphic garbling.

182r8 “turaria”: cf. *turar* ‘to last’, archaic variant of *durar*, cf. M25 “duraria” (fol. 17r10); also “turo” (fol. 183v8) vs. M25 “duro” (fol. 18r10). See Corominas and Pascual 1980-1991, s.v. *durar*, who suggest that *turar* and its alternate *aturar* may have had a different origin (< Lat. *obturare* ‘to cover up, obstruct’) from that of *durar*.

182r12 “agnusdeyes”: medallions with the characteristic representation of the Lamb of God holding the cross. P22 and M25 differ with regard to the plural of this unusual noun, now spelled *agnusdèi*, thus M25 “agnusdeis” (fol. 17r13). Compare “al(^gu)nusdeyes” (fol. 191v13, mistakenly conflated with *algunos*) vs. M25 “agnusdeys” (fol. 24r1); P22 “agnus- | deyes” (fol. 207v6-7); at this point M25 uses an abbreviation: “agnus” (fol. 34r23).

182r13 “d[i]jeron”: emended from “dejeron,” which also turns up in 207v8 vs. M25 “dixeron” (fol. 17r140, 34r24) for *dijeron*. The two preterite forms of *decir* containing a mid front stem vowel [e] are so anomalous that I have concluded that they involve a careless or inadvertent

scribal anticipation of the vowel of the next syllable.

182r16 “obiese”: this preterite form of *haber*, corresponding to modern Spanish *hubiese*, contains an archaic stem vowel which crops up as well in M25 “ouieran” (fol. 10v20) vs.

“huuieran” (fol. 173v16) for *hubieran* (cf. Kania 2000:692-694).

182v27 “estada”: ‘stay, delay’.

183v8 “rruciadas”: metaphonic variant of *rociada* ‘volley (of arrows)’, literally ‘a sprinkling of dew (*rocío*)’. See the commentary to fol. 160r4-5.

183v11 “vn [yn]dio”: P22’s “vndio” is another haplography, this time of similar, rather than identical, syllables. See also “vn dio” (fol. 212v18) vs. M25 “vn yndio” (fol. 37v2).

184r4-9 “Preguntado si... si su magestad... si yria”: the second and third conjunctions are redundant, or perhaps resumptive might be the better designation, since their purpose seems to be to recall the initial conjunction.

184r27 “tejos”: cf. *tejo* ‘pedazo metálica gruesa y de figura circular’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.). Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:860) translate *tejo* as “ingot,” which I imagine would be much larger than the objects at issue in this context.

184r27-v1 “los daban los naturales de la dicha | tierra por cueros de las vacas de Zibola | porque conozen dellos.”: I am not certain what “porque conozen dellos” means; ‘because they [“los naturales”] know about them [“cueros de las vacas”]’?

185r28-v1 “vn soldado que le llaman | Jhoan Rodriguez”: here the relative pronoun “que” is accompanied by a redundant clitic pronoun in the subordinate clause (cf. Keniston 1937:85-86, §8.643).

186r13 “vn platillo de plata, quitado el zerco”: *cerco* is the raised border of the plate, a suggestion I owe to Juan Sempere.

186r26 “Chiametla”: a *corrigimiento* in the jurisdiction of the *villa* of Colima, according to Gerhard (1993:79); the present Mexican state of Colima lies on the Pacific Coast, to the south of Guadalajara.

186v8 “[V]izente”: the manuscript reads “Fizente” quite clearly; if not a slip of the pen, the unvoicing of the initial consonant is quite unusual and anomalous.

186v10-12 “la jornada que se hizo | al descubrimiento del Rio del Norte que fue luego | que se entro en las dichas provincias”: this appears to refer to the trail that Vicente de Zaldívar blazed between Santa Barbara and El Paso del Norte in February and March, 1598 (cf. Simmons 1991: 91-93), which led directly northward, thus avoiding the long eastward detour along the Conchos River to its junction with the Rio Grande, which previous expeditions had followed.

186v19 “media bara en alto de nieb[e]”: *vara* is a measure of length approximately equivalent to a yard. P22 writes the verb “nieba” here instead of the noun.

186v20 “vien ajestada”: ‘of good features, nice looking’, approximately the opposite of the “rruynes fayciones” (fol. 165v5), or ‘ugly features’ that Martínez Cogedor found in the Escanxaques. Derived from *gesto* in the meaning ‘semblante, cara, rostro’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.), which arose via synecdoche (the whole for the part) from the basic denotation of ‘gesture, expression (of the face)’.

186v27-28 “no ha visto que la jen- | te se aya calzado”: the witness contradicts this statement later on, see fol. 191v1-4, as does the next witness, Montero de Castro “todos traen calza- | do hasta media perna de ga[m]uça o de anta | de Zibola” (fol. 195v22-24).

187r16-18 “tienen liebres y conejos | en cantidad, que matan con arcos y con vnos | palos arrojadiços”: the rabbit hunt was a part of Pueblo ritual culture. Kennard (1976:557) describes the twice annual rabbit hunt among the Hopi, with photographs on p. 556 that illustrate the throwing stick and the bows and arrows used in the hunt.

187r28 “la vanda del norte”: literally ‘the north side (*banda*)’ of New Mexico.

187v14 “cue[r]os”: P22 has “cuerros”; since there is no other evidence of a failure to distinguish between the flap [r] and the trill [̄r] in the interrogatory, I assume the double “rr” is merely graphic.

188r9 “ojos de agua”: ‘water holes’, or natural springs.

188r13-15 “los | pueblos de los pencos que son yndios de paz | e asentados”: “pencos” is a slip of the pen or tongue for Pecos. There may have been associative interference with *penco* ‘persona rústica o tosca, inútil, despreciable’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

188v5 “corcobad[a]s”: the adjective should agree with “vacas” in line 2; P22’s masculine form apparently anticipates the gender of the following noun “cuernos”.

189r5-8 “los rranchos heran | pequeños de palos y rramos cubiertos de za- | cate y algunos estaban cubiertos de cueros | de bacas”: Ayarde seems to be describing grass lodges, but the Escanxaques were as mobile as the Apaches.

189r13 “camuça”: this variant with word-initial voiceless velar stop [k] for voiced [g] recurs twice, fol. 197v28, 199v5.

189r20-22 “traen vnas lanças de palos y el | cabo dellas tostado y con vn pedernal a ma- | nera de yerro”: the tips of the spears were scorched to harden them.

189v11-14 “dijeron al dicho | gobernador y a su jente que para que yban | adelante que los hauian de matar los dichos yn- | dios”: this witness enlivens his narration with indirect discourse.

189v20 “el rreal estu- | bo alli vn dia y otro prosiguieron su viaje”: understand “y otro dia” for *y al día siguiente*.

189v23 “donde se [a]sentaba el dicho rreal”: P22’s “se sentaba” ‘was sitting’ is idiomatically and semantically inappropriate to the context, which requires ‘was established, was settled’, i.e., where the expedition had made camp. See also fol. 190r11 “hi[ç]o [a]sentar el rreal.”

190r3-7 “vinieron al rreal veynte yndios ... y les dio algunas cosas con que parezio | quedar contentos”: “parezio” is impersonal and governs an infinitive clause with understood subject, i.e., “parezio quedar contentos [los yndios],” in modern Spanish one would prefer *los indios parecieron quedar contentos* or *pareció que los indios quedaron contentos*.

190r22 “quemado todo vn lado”: other witnesses state that the supposed captive had his feet burned (fol. 167v4-5, 180v1-2).

190v17 “se hauia vydo”: *se había huido*.

190v24 “se vyeron”: *se huyeron*.

190r19 “tecomatillos de calabaza”: cf. *tecomatillo* ‘especie de calabaza de cuello estrecho y corteza dura de la cual se hacen vasijas’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

191v1-4 “todos traen vn calzado a manera de | botines hasta media pierna que los azen la caña | de gamuça y la suela de cuero o anta gruesa de las | vacas”: *botín* ‘calzado antiguo de cuero, que cubría todo el pie y parte de la pierna’; *caña* ‘parte de la bota o de la media que cubre entre la rodilla y el pie’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.vv.). The last part of the passage seems garbled. One would imagine that the witness meant to say something like “y la suela gruesa de cuero de las

vacas o de anta [‘elk’].” Compare Montero de Castro’s description: “todos traen calza- | do hasta media perna de ga[m]juça o de anta | de Zibola” (fol. 195v22-24). Concerning *anta*, see Bravo García 1989:713.

191v24-26 “solto a los yndios | escanxaques que llebaba por guias y les | pago, dando a cada vno dos mantas”: Oñate’s equitable treatment in this instance has not otherwise been recorded.

192r [LM]: the folio number “161” is clearly written, but out of sequence with regard to the folio numbers mentioned in the preceding and following marginalia.

192r3 “frisor”: this variant of *frijol* ‘bean’ suggests that syllable- and word-final [r] and [l] may have alternated in P22’s pronunciation (cf. Bravo García 1989:641-642). Note the loss of syllable-final [l] in “aguaçil” (fol. 212v25, 217r12). With regard to “sabel,” see the commentary to fol. 167r15. M25 writes “alcabuz” twice (fol. 10r4, 22v13) for *arcabuz* ‘harquebus’, but the alteration is perhaps attributable to the analogy of the numerous Arabic loanwords in Spanish that begin with *al-*.

192v11-13 “pegando fuego a la sabana por donde hauian | de yr para que les diese en los rrostros a los caba- | llos”: this important tactical detail, which shows that the Escanxaques had already begun to consider how best to combat mounted warriors, is lacking in the “Relación cierta y verdadera.”

192v22-23 “[re]frie- | ga”: P22’s omission of the first syllable may involve a species of haplography, assuming that the graphs “R” and “fr” could on occasion resemble each other.

195r13-14 “gran can- | tidad de benados pardos y muy grandes”: presumably elk, but if so, it is not clear why the witness doesn’t use the term *anta*, a word he seemed to know; see above, fol. 191v3. Rodríguez also used the expression “venados pardos” (fol. 205r13); see Bravo García 1989:769.

195v26-27 “los pueblos de Zuñi y Mo- | qui”: at this time Zuni was a community of six pueblos, located near the western border of the present state of New Mexico; the nation has since been consolidated into a single pueblo on the site of Halona pueblo (cf. Otriz 1979:467-513).

“Moqui” was the name used during the Spanish period for the Hopi nation, consisting of eleven pueblos situated on three mesas in what is now northeastern Arizona (cf. Ortiz 1979:514-586).

195v23 “ga[m]juça”: if P22’s “gazmuça” is not just a slip of the pen, it may represent the hypercorrect pronunciation of a person who tended to aspirate and drop syllable-final [s] (cf. Kania 2000:652-654).

196r28 “munchos”: this is the sole example in the interrogatory of the variant of *mucho* with an intrusive nasal consonant, so characteristic of regional Spanish (cf. Espinosa 1930-1946, 1:73 §34).

196v5 “se hauian | venido”: the verb should be singular to agree with its subject “Jusepe,” but the plural form was apparently present in the model, since it appears also in M25 (fol. 27r8-9).

196v4-6 “como [Jusepe] tubo notiçia que hauian lle- | gado a las dichas poblaciones españoles, se hauian | venido a ellos,” also M25 “se hauian ve- | nido” (fol. 27r8-9). The plural form of “hauian | venido,” whose understood subject is “Jusepe,” appears to reflect the interference of the plural forms of the preceding clause; compare P22 “son muy | lanudas de lana larga y blanda como de obejas | que se pueden labrar y hazer paños” (fol. 197r22-24) vs. M25 “se puede labrar” (fol. 27v12).

196v20 “solo en los pueblos | de los Pecos ay un monte”: perhaps a reference to Thomson Peak,

just to the north of Pecos National Historical Park.

197r8 “pizete”: variant of *piciete* ‘tobacco’, compare “piciete” (fol. 205r1), M25 “piçiete” (fol. 27r31), M25 “pisiete” (fol. 32v3); see Bravo García 1989:756-757.

197r13 “le[s] sirbe”: P22’s omission of the final [s] of the pronoun is less convincing as evidence for aspiration and loss of that consonant, since it occurs immediately before another [s].

197r24 “se pued[e] labrar”: see the commentary to fol. 196v4-6.

197v8-10 “a los | quales pusieron por nombre los yndios de la | gran rrancheria”: Montero de Castro is the only witness who seems unaware of the name Escanxaque, though he does mention the gestures that signified peaceful intentions (fol. 198v12-14).

197v21-22 “los llebaron atados con vn cordel porque | no se vyesen”: compare “los quales llebaron en collera | porque no se vyesen” (fol. 179v7-8; Juan de León). The two passages allow one to conclude that the collars were joined by a rope.

197v27-198r1 “solo traen | vnas cubiertas de camuça v de bacas | de Zebola o de lobos”: this is the first and only mention of garments made from wolf hides.

198r27-28 “los | hauian desafiado y alvorotado”: the challenges thrown at the Indians of the great settlement by the Escanxaques are noted in the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:503).

198v9 “tortas cozidas grandes”: compare the “panes... tan grandes como... adargas” of the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:503).

198v24-25 “se | le vyeron”: *se le huyeron*.

199r16-18 “bajo del dicho sobrado tienen fechas | sus barbacoas para dormir en vnos ojos que | llaman estufas”: the detail that the beds (“barbacoas”) were placed in excavations called ovens is unique to this witness. There may be some confusion here on the part of the witness; according to Newcomb (2001:553), “a slight excavation was made in the center of the lodge for a fire,” which would logically have been the “estufa.”

199r26-27: “ollas y cajetes de ba- | rro”: compare “ollas y jarros de varro pardo” (fol. 181v19); “ollas de barro y | algunos tecomatillos de calabaza” (fol. 191r18-19); “ollas y cantaros | de barro” (fol. 206v18-19). The parallel narratives produce interesting sets of approximate synonyms: “cajete”/“jarro”/“tecomatillo”/“cantaro.”

200r14 “manguardia”: popular etymology (*mano* + *guardia*) for *vanguardia*.

200r20 “ynbestieron”: variant of *embistieron* ‘they attacked’, from *embestir*. The aberrant stem vowel [e] is perhaps best explained as analogical to the other forms of the paradigm normally containing that vowel, such as the infinitive just cited. The odd feature is the closing of the initial vowel to [i], as though by way of compensation, so as to produce an apparent metathesis of the vowels of the first two syllables ([e] - [i] > [i] - [e]).

200v7-9 “los dichos yndios deçian que | para que les bolbian las mujeres pues l[a]s hauian | ganado en guerra, si lo haçian de miedo”: that the return of the captured women, legitimate booty of war, was regarded by the Escanxaques as a sign of cowardice was also recorded by the previous witness, fol. 192v24-27.

201r26-27 “vn pedaço de tronpeta muy linpia | y rreluçiente”: perhaps the instrument had a separable mouth piece (*boquilla*)?

201v3 “[el oro] se saca con zen- | drada y fuego”: this anticipates Miguel’s own account of supposed gold smelting in Quivira, fol. 216r12-20. Cf. *cedrada* ‘asiento de ceniza que se pone

en la plaza del horno de afinar la plata' (*DRAE* CD-ROM, s.v.).

201v15-19: concerning the origin of the colored threads used as ornaments for bows, Martínez Cogedor, who also noticed them (fol. 169v24-170r4), reported that when asked whence they acquired the threads, the Indians pointed in the direction of San Gabriel.

202v15-16 “el pueblo de Christuma serca de la ciudad | de Oporto”: now spelled Crestuma, it is located on the south bank of the Douro river, to the southeast of Oporto. Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:862) print the name as “Chrutuma,” but the reading I have given seems quite clear in both manuscripts (M25, fol. 30v30). I owe this identification to my colleague Arthur Askins.

202v17 “[en forma de derecho]”: careless omission by P22 of a portion of the standard formula.

203v29 “un rrio muy grande que menguaba y creçia”: a river that showed tidal flows would have to be near the ocean.

204r28-29 “el rrio de la Magdalena que llaman | el Salado”: here Rodríguez has confused the Magdalena (Canadian River) with the Pecos River, named “el Salado” in the 1602 map of New Mexico drawn by the cosmographer Enrique Martínez from the information, apparently somewhat improved, that this very same witness provided (see note 16 of the introduction).

204v2-3 “otro rrio que lla- | man de los Bragues”: in all other accounts, the expedition came to “el Rio de los Bagres” (Gallinas River) before encountering the “Magdalena” (Canadian River).

In the “Relación cierta y verdadera” the first river the expedition crossed was the “San Buenaventura” (Craddock 1998:498), identified as the Pecos River, which runs southward from its source in the Sangre de Cristo range. Julyan (1998:261) observes that the Pecos was given the name “El Salado” by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa in 1590, and Rodríguez was a member of that expedition (fol. 210v29); see Schroeder and Matson 1965:182.

204v17-18 “cubren la | tierra y la agostan en muchas partes”: if the witness had in mind *agostar* in the meaning ‘secar o abrasar el excesivo calor las plantas’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.), it amounts to a claim that the plains were being overgrazed by the bison. Perhaps he only meant that the bison left the grass in many parts of the plains looking like the stubble of wheat fields after harvest.

205r19-20 “este testigo bio sal que pare- | çia de la mar”: the supposed proximity of a body of sea water was evidently something of an obsession for the Portuguese mariner, but later on he estimates, much to the indignation of his examiner, that the “mar del norte” (Atlantic Ocean) is no fewer than 400 leagues distant from Quivira.

205r25-26 “cria | muchos pastos y a estos y a la yerba ancha”: if the antecedent of “estos” is “pastos,” then the witness would appear to distinguish a broad-bladed grass (“yerba ancha”) from another, presumably narrow bladed. The use of the preposition *a* seems anomalous for inanimate direct objects in Spanish.

205r28-29 “hauiendo adelantadosse | el maese de campo”: in the interrogatory, it is rare for a clitic pronoun to be placed at the end of a single, uncoordinated, perfect tense; same reading in M25 (fol. 32v23).

205v13 “lo propio”: *lo mismo*.

205v22-23 “Es... jente... des- | nuda y andan vestidos...”: the witness showed no sign of recognizing a contradiction in this statement. Perhaps one should understand that beneath the *mantas* of buffalo hide and chamois the Indians wore little clothing.

205v28 “la gran rrancheria”: mistake for “la gran poblacion.”

206r21 “andaba enfermo con vn bordon”: *bordón* is the ‘pilgrim’s staff’, larger than the ordinary *bastón* ‘cane’; its use by the supposed captive is compatible with the other witnesses’ reports that he had burned feet (fol. 167v5, 180v1-2).

206v25 “en lengua mexicana”: it is strange that only Rodríguez reports this remarkable fact. It is plausible enough that some Nahuatl words and phrases would have been learned from the Mexican Indians who accompanied Leyva and Humaña, and who were presumably kept in captivity after the Spaniards were killed. However, the hostility aroused by Oñate’s taking of hostages made it impossible for the Spaniards to learn anything further about the people of the great settlement.

207v23-29: the calculation of the population of the great settlement is explained in an addendum to the “Relación cierta y verdadera” (cf. Craddock 1998:508); grains of corn were used as counters. The Escanxaques reckoned that 17 grains corresponded to the population of their own *ranchería* of 5,000-6,000 souls, hence one can deduce that each grain represented between $5,000 \div 17 =$ approx. 294 inhabitants, and $6,000 \div 17 =$ approx. 353 inhabitants. Imagine the Spaniards’ astonishment when the Escanxaques represented just one of the great settlement’s towns with 720 grains ($720 \times 294 = 211,680$, or $720 \times 353 = 254,160$ inhabitants).

207v30 “pintaron en | vn pliego de papel”: this document has not survived; though not mentioned in the “Relación cierta y verdadera,” there appears to be an indirect allusion to it, where it is reported that “los yndios pintaron las poblaciones en | esta forma...” (cf. Craddock 1998:508).

208v15-16 “tirandoles vna pieza de | artilleria”: although all the sources mention the artillery pieces that the Spaniards took with them to Quivira, Rodríguez is the only one that mentions their use.

209r13 “[se siruiese]”: P22 omits an essential part of the clause.

209r29-v1 “su rreal corona seria servid[a] y au- | mentada”: inexplicably, both P22 and M25 agree in presenting a passive participle that fails to agree in gender with the subject “corona.”

209v13-210r14: Rodríguez’ testimony, much more detailed than that of the other witnesses with regard to Miguel’s tall tales, informed some of the queries that were put to Miguel.

210r24-25 “si su magestad diese jente | y socorriese para la dicha jornada”: the construction involves an *anacoluthon*; the preposition “para” is appropriate only as a complement to “diese jente”; one would prefer “diese jente para la jornada y la socorriese” or “diese jente y socorro para...”

210v9-10 “que no se an bautizado mas [y que] no sabe | por que caussa”: with P22’s omission, the second clause seems excessively laconic.

210v16-17: “vna | carta general”: exactly which “general” map was used on this occasion is not known.

210v22 “treyn ta y seys grados y medio”: the correct latitude is 36 degrees; the parallel passes just south of the site of San Gabriel.

210v23: José Brondate, captain of cavalry, described his career in New Mexico in an earlier inquiry into New Mexican affairs, also conducted by Francisco de Valverde, in July, 1601, while Oñate was en route to Quivira. See Hammond and Rey’s translation (1953, 2:624-632, from AGI, México 26, núm. 48-E, fols. 40r-42v; cf. Hanke 1977, 2:83 §1410). Brondate reckoned the latitude of San Gabriel to be “treinta y siete grados y quinze minutos a la | vanda del norte” (fol. 40v29-30).

210v28 “Puara”: for Puaray, an abandoned Tiwa pueblo on the Rio Grande just north of Sandia pueblo (cf. Schroeder 1979:243-244, and map on p. 239), not far above the 35th parallel.

211r7-9 “la buel- | ta del leste y quarta del nordeste”: Rodríguez shows some knowledge of mariner’s jargon; *vuelta* ‘turn’ gives the basic direction, “leste” is the antiquated mariner’s term for *este* ‘east’, one of the eight *vientos enteros*, i.e., the four cardinal directions and the four directions equidistant between them on the face of the compass, i.e., northeast, etc. The “quarta” ‘fourth’ refers to the *medios vientos*, the points equidistant between the *vientos enteros*. Between east and northeast, for instance, three equidistant lines mark off four spaces, hence the term “quarta.” The 1602 Martínez map of New Mexico, mentioned above, provides an illustration of the compass in use at the time. Thus here the direction is east by northeast.

211r14-15: 400 leagues is not a bad estimate, depending on the value of the league at the time; at three miles per leagues, the estimate equals 1,200 miles. From Wichita, Kansas, to New York City, the road distance is 1385 miles.

211r22 “la | mar del norte por la parte de la Florida”: in 1602 “la Florida” embraced the entire southeast quadrant of what are now the United States, so what the examiner has in mind is the Gulf Coast. The Gulf of Mexico was an extension of “la mar del norte,” the Atlantic Ocean, and is indeed much closer to Quivira than the eastern seaboard of North America. It did not occur to the examiner that Rodríguez might be referring to the distance to the Atlantic in an easterly direction, and it is far from certain that Rodríguez himself had that specific orientation in mind when he gave his estimate of 400 leagues.

211r24: the figure of 120 leagues that the examiner gives for the distance from 39 degrees latitude to the gulf coast is an underestimate. The crow’s flight distance from the apparent location of the great settlement near the 37th parallel to Galveston Bay, the most direct route to the Gulf of Mexico, is well over 500 miles, i.e., more than 160 leagues. Enrique Martínez, on the other hand, came up with exaggerated figures both for the latitude of Quivira and for its distance from the gulf coast: “e colegido... *que* esta casi en .40. | grados de altura de polo artico y por donde mas se açerca a la mar es por la | costa de la Florida dentro del golfo mexicano, del qual esta apartado por | la via mas breue y por linea recta dozientos y veinte leguas” (= approx. 660 miles; transcribed from the facsimile in Hammond and Rey 1966).

211r25-26: “al rrio de cruz y ensenada | de la Magdalena”: the syntactic construction makes this appear to be one name, not two, i.e., ‘the Magdalena River characterized by a cross and an inlet’, but I have been unable to document “de cruz y ensenada” as a set phrase, nor “cruz” as a topographic term referring to waterways. A 1650 map by Nicolas Sanson d’Abbeville shows a relatively important “Río de la Madalena” running southeast from “Quivira” to the Gulf of Mexico (cf. Reinhartz and Saxin 1998:196), but none of the river names used in this map corresponds to modern ones, so it is impossible to identify Sanson’s “Río de la Madalena” with any certainty. The examiner appears to identify this river with the “Río de la Magdalena” (Canadian River) that Oñate’s expedition encountered as they left New Mexico for Quivira.

211r27-28 “aguja”: ‘magnetic compass’; “astro- | labio”: the mariner’s astrolabe, “which carried only the altitude-measuring alidade [corresponds roughly to the index bar of the modern sextant]” (*EB* 16:141); “vallestilla”: cf. *ballestilla* ‘antiguo instrumento, usado principalmente en la navegación, para tomar las alturas de los astros’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.). Hammond and Rey (1953, 2:871) translate as “cross-staff,” “a simple device consisting of a staff about three feet

long fitted with a sliding cross-piece that made it possible for even an unskilled observer to measure the angle of elevation of a star or the sun” (*EB* 16:141).

211v1 “lo que | como marinero [pudiera, si voluiera] llebando los estrumentos nezesarios”: P22 omits an essential part of the passage, restored here from M25. The latter’s reading is the most conclusive indication that M25 was not copied directly from P22.

211v4-5: understand “[la mar del sur] se halla, lo que este testigo tiene dicho, de...” The witness appears to attempt to salvage his earlier estimate by claiming that he was speaking of the distance between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The enormous longitudinal breadth of North America was not well understood at the time.

211v9: on this “estrecho,” see the introduction.

212r10-11 “yn- | terpette”: compare also M25 “interpete” (fol. 37r10), “ynterpete” (fol. 212v24). The second *r* of *intérprete* ‘interpreter’ has been eliminated by dissimilation. In the history of Spanish, consonant clusters of the form -rCr- became uncanonical (cf. Craddock 1991), so that when learned words containing such clusters entered the language, they were often subject to phonotactic adjustments (cf. Kania 2000:649).

212r11 “el juzgado de los yndios”: more officially the *Juzgado General de Indios*. “Desde su fundación en 1592... este juzgado atendió las quejas de los indios entre sí y contra los españoles... ya fueran de naturaleza civil, criminal e incluso administrativo, así como en las causas incoadas contra los propios indios” (cf. García Marín 2000:511, n. 1).

212r12-13 “governador de la parte de | Santi[a]go”: that is, Santiago de Tlatelolco, one of the two native parts of Mexico City, the other being San Juan de Tenochtitlán; each part was administered by a native governor (cf. Gerhard 1993:181).

212r21, 26 “alatón”: archaic variant of *latón* ‘brass’, cf. M25 “laton” (fol. 37r17, 20). The initial vowel *a-* is a reflex of the definite article of the Arabic etymon (Corominas and Pascual 1980-1991, s.v. *latón*).

212v3 “valançario”: cf. *balanzario* ‘el que en las casas de moneda tiene el oficio de pesar los metales antes y después de amonedarlos’ *DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.

212v5 “triguere”: this strange form appears to represent a cross between a metathesized **trigue* and the well attested anaptyctic popular form *tiguere* (Espinosa 1930-1946, 1:245 §193) for *tigre* ‘tiger’.

212v25 “a[l]guaçil”: P22’s omission of the first [l] may be phonetic, compare also “aguaçil” (fol. 217r12) vs. M25 “alguacil” (fol. 39v19).

213r4 “zercos”: *círculos* in modern Spanish.

213r21 “escribiendo”: here M25 has “escreuiendo” (fol. 37v220) with an anomalous stem vowel [e], possibly analogical to that of the archaizing form M25 “escreuir” (fol. 40r6) for *escribir*, cf. also P22 (fol. 217v12), which appears in the closing notarial protocols of the document.

213r23 “pintura”: on this drawing, still extant, see the introduction, and the fascimile that accompanies this edition.

213r28 “suchil”: in this instance not just an individual flower (< Nahuatl *xochitl* ‘flower’; cf. Santamaría 1959, s.v.), but apparently a bouquet or floral display, compare *rosa* ‘lazo de cintas o cosa semejante, que se forma en hojas con la figura de rosa’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

213v10 “tilmas”: cf. *tilma* ‘man’s cotton cloak’, ‘manta de algodón o lana’ (Santamaría 1959, s.v.).

214r6 “chilchote”: ‘chile verde’ (Santamaría 1959, s.v.).

214r21 “vollos”: cf. *bollo* ‘loaf of bread’ in American Spanish, cf. M25 “bollos” (fol. 38r26). These *bollos* apparently correspond to the “tortas cozidas grandes” mentioned by Montero de Castro (fol. 198v9).

214v6-22: see Vehik 1986:21-26 for an attempt to analyze the data presented here in the light of Miguel’s map.

215r17 “el [[^]*presente*] escribano”: the abbreviation is added above the line in P22’s hand; the correction is not noted in the list of emendations and deletions on fol. 217v.

215r21 “tejo”: ‘plancha metálica gruesa y de figura circular’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

215r22 “castellanos”: cf. *castellano* ‘cincuentaava parte del marco oro’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.). A mark weighed about eight ounces. Thus the “tejo de oro” weighed 64 ounces ($400 \div 50 = 8$ marcos; $8 \times 8 = 64$).

215r27 “tejuelos”: diminutive of *tejo*.

215v11 “rreales de ha ocho”: cf. *real de a ocho* ‘moneda antigua de plata, que valía ocho reales de plata vieja’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

215v21 “en [En]cuche”: another haplography committed by P22.

216r4 “vn estado de hombre”: cf. *estado* ‘medida longitudinal tomada de la estatura regular del hombre, que... solía regularse en siete pies’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.).

216r15-16 “vnos basos que tienen quatro agujeros | por las quatro partes del”: the only possible antecedent of the masculine singular pronoun “el” is “vnos basos”, hence one must interpret “por las quatro partes de cada baso.”

216v14 “como andan vestidos | de ordinari[o]”: P22 improperly makes the last word of the adverbial expression agree in number with “vestidos.”

217v6 “ffe”: the doubled initial consonant is a graphic trait characteristic of medieval Spanish; M25 presents a contrasting graphic archaism “fee” (fol. 40r2), with preservation of the medieval geminate vowel, for *fe* ‘faith, credit, guarantee’.

217v9-10: I have been able to identify only the corrected passages that are signaled with “reclamos” in the margins. For details, and for the text of the corrections of M25, see the Variants and Paleographic Notes.

217v10 “testado”: cf. *testar* ‘tachar, borrar’ (*DRAE*, CD-ROM, s.v.). The medieval form of the subjunctive of *valer* predominates in formulaic contexts, as in the listing of corrections, thus “vala” and “no vala” (fol. 217v10; M25 fol. 40r5-6), for modern Spanish *valga* ‘let it be valid’ (cf. Kania 2000:699-701).

[fol. 159r]

Official Hearings Conducted by the Crown's Fiscal Agent
Don Francisco de Valverde
by Order of the Viceroy Count of Monterrey,
Concerning Governor Don Juan de Oñate's Recent Explorations
in the Northern Territories beyond the Provinces of New Mexico

[fol. 159v] [blank]

[fol. 160r]

*The Viceroy's order to the fiscal agent Don Francisco Valverde to investigate the governor's recent expedition to the north, April 22, 1602.*²⁷

In Chapultepec Woods on the 22d day of the month of April of the year 1602, Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, Lord of the demesne of Viedma and Ulloa, Viceroy in representation of the King our lord, the King's governor and captain general of New Spain, president of the governing council established therein, etc., declared that

Whereas Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar has come to this city bringing the report that Governor Don Juan de Oñate, his uncle, has returned to the settlements in New Mexico from the journey he made farther inland in order to discover new provinces with some of the men he had in the aforesaid settlements and the troops stationed there, and also bringing letters and accounts of what occurred during the said journey and exploration, along with other important information, and

Whereas, since he has come with the aim of intercepting, arresting, and punishing the men who recently left New Mexico against the wishes of and without orders from the governor, who had left them there as a garrison, he gathered and has brought with him many soldiers from among those who took part in this latest exploration with the said governor, as did Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar himself, and also an Indian prisoner whom they captured in a skirmish that occurred in the newly discovered towns, or near them, with a nation of Indians who were encamped on the plains of Cíbola in pursuit of the abundant cattle that roam there, which Indian, although he neither speaks nor understands any language in which one might communicate with him, by means of signs conveys and indicates additional significant details concerning that land, all of which His Lordship's duties and authority require to be examined [fol. 160v] and investigated as thoroughly as can be and by means of the best possible procedures in order to discover the whole truth and take the measures conducive to the service of God and of the King our lord, requiring likewise that this task be officially entrusted to a person experienced and well informed concerning the land and waters of the states of these Indies and concerning the description thereof as well as accounts of other explorations both early and recent,

Now therefore he has commanded and charged Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, the Crown's fiscal agent in this realm of New Spain, that in the name of His Lordship as viceroy, governor, and captain general of this kingdom he conduct the hearings and take the measures

²⁷I use italics to identify the headings that appear in the left margin of the manuscript

necessary and appropriate in view of the above, all duly recorded and in the presence of a notary, in such manner as may seem to him most conducive to the proper carrying out of these proceedings; and this was the decree and command of the Count of Monterrey, given before me, Benito de Sandianes, notary.

In the city of Mexico, on the 23d day of the month of April in the year 1602, Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, His Majesty's fiscal agent, declared that His Most Illustrious Lordship the Viceroy of this realm of New Spain sent him the present charge, to which he renders his obedience with the intention of doing and obeying what His Lordship commands him in it, and as the notary before whom the hearings and other measures he is ordered to carry out are to take place he named me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary, and he signed it [fol. 161r] with his name, Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, before me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

Inquiry in keeping with His Lordship's decree concerning the exploration in New Mexico.

Witness, Baltasar Martínez, King's bailiff for the expedition, age 23. Folio.²⁸

In the city of Mexico on the 23d day of the month of April of the year 1602, Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, His Majesty's fiscal agent for this realm of New Spain, in virtue of His Lordship's charge that he investigate the most recent exploration carried out by Governor Don Juan de Oñate in the provinces of New Mexico, caused to appear before him a man who declared that his name is Baltasar Martínez and that he is a native of the municipality of Budia in the kingdom of Toledo and diocese of Sigüenza and that he is the King's bailiff for the commander Captain Bernabé de las Casas, who led a relief expedition into the said provinces of New Mexico in the year 1600; and this man he placed under oath by God and by the sign of the cross as prescribed by law, and [the man] promised to tell the truth.

And when he was questioned in keeping with the said decree of His Lordship he said that what he knows and what happened is that in the said year 1600, on the 23d day of the month of December, this witness entered the said provinces of New Mexico with the relief troops that the commander Bernabé de las Casas led there, which were 80 soldiers; and on that [fol. 161v] 23d day of December they reached the post that the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate had established, which is called the post at San Gabriel, an Indian town of the Tewa nation, in which said post the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate was encamped with all the troops that were then in the said provinces, which seemed to him to be another 80 men, give or take a few; and this witness remained at the said post six months, give or take a few days, and during this time this witness traveled nowhere except to go with a few comrades for supplies to the nearby peaceable towns.

Upon being asked whether during the said six-month period any expedition was undertaken by the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate or by any of his officers, and where, he said that Sergeant Major Vicente de Zaldívar, who at present is a colonel and later served in that capacity in the new exploration conducted by Governor Don Juan de Oñate in response to the reports he had received

²⁸As explained in the note to the Spanish text, the marginal notes give references to the foliation of the model being copied, though in some cases the actual folio number is omitted.

from the northern frontier, set out to inflict punishment on the Saline and Humana Indians, who, this witness heard say, are located 40 leagues from the said post at San Gregorio [sic, for San Gabriel], with about 50 comrades; and he thinks the said expedition, going and coming, took about 30 days; and he heard the soldiers who went with him say that he had inflicted the said punishment, and he saw Indian men and boys²⁹ who were brought to the camp as prisoners; and no other expedition was undertaken [fol. 162r] in all the time that this witness remained at the said post, because the said Don Juan de Oñate was already preparing to set out on a new exploration to the northern frontier that they had heard about.

What information the adelantado had received that caused him to set out on the new exploration, etc. Folio 130.

Upon being asked whether he knows what information it was that caused the said governor to undertake the expedition that was in preparation, he said that the information that this witness learned of and understood, concerned how Captain Leyva and Captain Humaña had penetrated more than 200 leagues into that region with 30 men, and how an Indian called Jusepe, of Mexican nationality, had left them or fled from them, whom this witness has seen and knows, and who said that there were many people in a very large town through which he had walked for three days without having reached its limit; and because Captain Humaña had killed his companion Captain Leyva, and for other reasons, he had left them and had turned back and had been held prisoner by the Apaches, who are the people that roam about hunting the cattle of Cíbola, making use of their meat, tallow, fat, and hides, and who come to traffic in them with the Indians of Pecos and Taos and with the other Indian nations where the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate has established his post; and [he also said] that [fol. 162v] apart from what the said Indian Jusepe was telling, the Spaniards were saying that there was a very great river and that the Spaniards had gone beyond it; and this witness did not learn of any other information that the said governor might have had.

That there are some 16,000 settled and pacified Indians in the territory ruled by the adelantado. Folio 129 verso.

Upon being asked for his estimate of the current pacified population of the territory governed by the said Don Juan, this witness said that he had heard from many persons who had traveled throughout all the settled lands under the governorship of the said Don Juan de Oñate that the settled and pacified population came to some 16,000 Indians, give or take a few.

Nature of the population, and their dress, lands, food supplies, etc. Folio 129.

Upon being asked about the nature of the said population, he said that they are good-natured people, docile and intelligent, naturally gentle, and people who live according to the law of nature and keep it with great integrity; and they dress in cotton blankets, and some of them in cloaks of chicken³⁰ feathers, and some others in the skins of the cattle of Cíbola, and they sow and reap a

²⁹“yndios y muchachos”: both nouns could indicate persons of both sexes.

³⁰“gallinas,” meaning *gallinas de la tierra*, ‘native chickens,’ that is, turkeys.

great deal of corn,³¹ although in some years the weather is unfavorable because of the frequent frost, which is very severe, and for this reason they attach a great deal of importance to corn and are greatly upset when they are asked for it or it is taken from them.

That there is neither gold nor silver in the pacified zone, nor is he aware of their having any knowledge of it, and that they are poor people and there is no commerce, etc.

Upon being asked whether there is gold or silver or whether they carry on any **[fol. 163]** trade, he said that he is not aware of their having gold or silver or their having any knowledge of it, neither does he know of their carrying on any trade, and that they are poor people, generally much enamored of ceremony, and this he knows and saw in the settled area and where he traveled about, and he heard the same things from those who resided in the said provinces.

That he set out with the adelantado on the new exploration, and where this began, etc. Folio 130 verso.

Upon being asked whether he set out with Governor Don Juan de Oñate on the exploration of the peoples to the north, and whether he set out with him or where he joined him, and to tell what he saw and came to know of the voyage made by the said Don Juan de Oñate, the nature of the land through which he traveled, and the distance he traveled, and the people he saw there and what he knows and opines concerning their number and nature and concerning the expectations that may be based on the information they obtained about what they saw and traveled through, he said that this witness set out from the said post at San Gregorio with a few comrades four days after the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate set out on the said expedition, which was on the first of July of the year 1601, and they caught up with him in the town of Galisteo, where he had halted to await the troops, and the army marched on all together **[fol. 163v]** except for the colonel and 20 comrades who stayed behind and caught up with him at the Río de la Magdalena, a little over 30 leagues from the said post at San Gregorio.

And the said governor had with him as a guide the said Jusepe, a Mexican Indian; and they marched on toward the northeast, and on the said route from the said Río de la Magdalena they began to see people of the Apache nation, who are the Indians that live by hunting and killing the said cattle in order to make use of their fat, tallow, meat, and hides in commerce; and this is a people and nation who go scantily clothed and have no settled towns and live and lodge in tents that they make of the hides of the said cattle, which said tents, when they wish to move from one place to another, they transport folded up on some small dogs that serve them as beasts of burden; and the said Indians carry bows and arrows, which is how they kill the said cattle, and with which they fight against their enemies; and the greatest number of the said people that he saw at one time was 100 Indians, and this, infrequently; and when they are on the march and moving from one place to another, they take along their wives and children, and the mothers carry the little children; and he does not know and has not heard that the said Indians have any way of life other than this one; and when they had traveled about 60 leagues after leaving the said post **[fol. 164r]** at San Gregorio, they began to see the monstrous cattle of Cibola.

³¹Indian corn, or maize.

Upon being asked to say why he calls the said cattle monstrous, he said that [he does so] because the said cattle are of the size of ours, although they have shorter shanks, both front and rear, than do our cattle, and they are all dark brown, without admixture of any other color. They are very woolly, and their wool is soft and good; and the wool of the front half of their bodies is much longer than that of the rear, and the short wool is much better and softer, and it seems to him that if one selected the best of the said wool one could make cloths of various degrees of fineness; and from their forelegs to the head they have a large steeply-rising hump that holds a great deal of fat and meat when the animal is corpulent; and their heads are as one would expect, although you cannot see their eyes or ears because of all the wool they have; and their horns are a foot long, with the tips facing each other, and they twist their heads to gore, and these horns are shiny black like jet and very sharp. They have very long beards like he-goats, and long mats of wool hang from their knees, and their tails are like those of pigs, with bristles at their tips; and when they are corpulent they have balls of fat three fingers thick [fol. 164v] between their hide and the flesh; and the udders and bellies of the cows are smaller than those of ours, and they run much faster than do ours, almost as fast as deer, and so it was hard work to kill them, because they would not stand still; and during the whole journey until they reached the point where they turned around, which he estimates to have been 220 leagues, they always saw a great many of these cattle, which almost covered the land wherever they went and throughout the journey, which caused very great astonishment.

And everywhere on the said journey they found water at intervals of three or four leagues, and sometimes less, and in all this distance they never came on any major river, though they did find creeks with a fair amount of water; and all along the way they found good local plums, of different shades of red, sweet and with good flesh, and the trees they grew on were very small; and they also found wild grapes, and after a good rain they were edible and had a good flavor; and all the country through which they traveled is very flat, and they never saw any mountains at all after they left the Río de los Bagres, which is a river that is 10 leagues this side of the Río de la Magdalena and runs at the foot of the mountains that divide the plains of Cibola from the land that is now settled and is called New Mexico; and as they advanced, the land got steadily better [fol. 165r] in terms of water and pasture and woods, and among the trees there were a local variety of walnut trees, and mulberry trees like those in Castile from which silk is made, and Castilian elms and oaks with big acorns; and in the months of July and August, which is when they were traveling, it was as hot, day and night, as in Madrid in that season.

And when they had gone about 120 leagues from the said post at San Gabriel from which they had set out, they saw no more Indians of the Apache nation or of any other for more than 60 leagues, and when they were at almost 200 leagues from the said post at San Gabriel they began to see Indians, whom they called Escanxaques, because they came forward to offer a peaceable greeting, raising both hands toward the sun and then laying them on their breasts, saying "Escanxaque," which is a sign of peace; and they first began to see them in a large encampment that must have held some 6,000 persons, give or take a few, men and women, large and small, [and that consisted] of huts made of branches, and some of them large, because some of the huts were measured and had a circumference of 90 feet, and some of them were covered with hides of the cattle of Cibola, dressed and made into tents in the same way as by the Apaches; and these are naked people, with no clothing at all, and they eat the flesh of the said cattle, which are as abundant as he has said and even

more, according to the information they received from the said Indians, who told them in sign language [fol. 165v] that there were many such cattle ahead; and they have no food other than this, because they do not sow; and they are people of the same nature as the Apaches, heavier and more robust than the Mexicans, and they are very dirty and black and ill-featured; and as became clear, they are not trustworthy friends. They carry bows and arrows and stout wooden clubs more than two feet long with large stones attached to their ends with which they strike, and with a strap at the other end so that they will not lose the club while striking with it; and they carry large shields made of the hides of the cattle of Cibola with which they shield and cover their whole bodies, taking refuge beneath them. The women are heavily marked³² with their characteristic striped designs, like the Chichimecas, and they mark their whole face and their breasts and arms; and they, too, go about wholly naked, except that they cover their private parts with little pieces of deerskin.

How a tribe of Indians informed them about a great many people farther on, etc. Folio 133.

Upon being asked whether the said persons of the Escanxaque nation informed them of the existence of more people than they had seen in the said encampment, and of how many, and by means of what reports, he said that the said Indians gave them to understand by means of sign language that their said nation had other encampments scattered about; and because they could not communicate, this witness does not know where or [with] how many people; and likewise the said Indians informed them by sign language and through the interpretation of two or three Indians of the Apache nation who were in the said encampment and [fol. 166r] who understood and spoke with the said Jusepe, a Mexican Indian and guide of the said governor, that two or three days' journey farther on there was a town of striped people, and they indicated that their stripes went from their eyes to their ears, and that these people were very numerous and the town very large, because they said that it was a three days' journey to cross the town, and there, in a house or hut, they had burned the Spaniards who had come with Leyva, and that the said governor and his men should be on their guard against them because they would burn them as they had the others, because there were many of them, and that they wanted to go with the said governor and his men to fight against the people of the said town because they were their enemies; and when the said governor asked them for a guide to proceed to the said town, they told him that they wanted to go with him, and in spite of this the said governor gave orders to seize one of the Indians of the said encampment, and they took him along, bound by the neck, to guide them to the said town. And after they left the said encampment, where they had spent half a day, about 100 Indians set out after them; and on the said day the said Indian whom they had taken as a guide led them till they stopped by a creek three leagues from the said encampment, where they spent the night; and shortly after they had made camp the said 100 Indians arrived and would have liked to camp with the said governor's men, but he would not allow it, and so they camped [fol. 166v] along the creek near the encampment [of the Spaniards]; and the next day, when the governor and his men broke camp to march on, the said 100 Indians marched along with them a little off to one side, and that day they went on to spend the night on a small hill next to a river that was greater than those they had seen previously, with murky but fresh water, a river flanked by good meadows and pleasant groves of trees.

³²“rayadas” ‘striped’: I have chosen ‘marked’ in lieu of ‘tattooed,’ to allow for some doubt as to how the stripes were made.

And within an hour of their pitching camp they saw that at about a harquebus shot's distance from the said camp a great many Escanxaques arrived from the encampment they had left behind, and they settled down and in less than an hour they built an encampment like the earlier one, with many people—he cannot say how many, though he thinks they were fewer than those in the said encampment they had left behind; and the said governor with his men marched on for two days after this, and a certain number of the said Indians, probably fewer than 100, kept following the said troops and within sight of them, and sometimes they came up to speak in sign language with the soldiers, telling them in sign language that they were drawing close to the enemies with whom they would fight, inflicting great harm on them and benefiting us.

And after the said two days, they reached the same river they had left behind, and the said Escanxaque Indians, before reaching a certain hill, [fol. 167r] indicated by sign language that from it they should look toward a hill on the other side of the river, where this witness and the others saw many people, some of whom they saw coming toward the camp, all in war paint with bows and arrows and shields and clubs, and he thinks they were about two harquebus shots' distance off; and the said governor and his men got ready to receive them and made peaceful overtures to them, and more than 100 of the said Indians came to the camp and spoke in sign language, communicating that they wanted peace, making the same signs as those seen earlier; and when the said governor told them in sign language that he wanted to take his men to their town, they replied to him, also with signs, that he should go; and since it was late and they did not know where they could ford the river with the carts, the order was given to stop at the river's bank; and that afternoon some Indians from the said town came and went to the camp, giving signs of friendship but also of great surprise at seeing the Spaniards, and fearful and stunned at seeing that the said governor and his men were bringing with them those Indians who were their enemies.

And at dawn on the next day 700 or 800 Escanxaque Indians turned up in camp, ready for battle, in war paint, and very fierce, and the said governor ordered them to withdraw from the said camp and stay [fol. 167v] all together. and the said Escanxaque Indians again told of how it was in that town where they had burned the Spaniards and that there was one Spaniard alive in that town, with his feet burned, who had escaped from the fire; and the said governor called his men to a council of war and it was decided that before they reached the said town they should seize some of the Indians who were coming to camp so as to trade them for and recover the Spaniard who they said was alive.

And then a good many of the said Indians came from the said town, each one with an ear of corn that they offered to the governor, of whom eight were seized for the said purpose, and when they were asked by signs how they had burned the Spaniards and why, and that they bring one whom they were holding whose feet were burned, they said and indicated by signs that they knew nothing about these matters and that they should not believe the Indians who were talking to them because they were their enemies, between whom and themselves it was the practice to kill and eat each other; and in spite of all this they were bound by the neck, and the troops crossed to the other side of the river on their way to the town, accompanied by the said 700 or 800 Escanxaque Indians; and when the said town came into view it became clear that there was no one in it and that they had left, and the said Escanxaque Indians, [fol. 168r] as soon as they realized this, set out for the town by different routes to sack it, and they began to set fire to the houses; and when the said governor saw this he hurriedly sent a number of soldiers, including this witness, to impede their burning the houses and to allow them to take only some corn and then leave, and this was done.

And late that day, when the said governor saw that the Indians of the said town had gone off and abandoned it, he released six of the said Indians whom he had taken prisoner and told them by signs to go and call their companions and tell them to return to their town because he and his men were their friends and were not coming to do them any harm; and of the two who remained prisoners, one seemed to be of higher rank than the others, because when he was asked something he ordered his fellow-prisoner to answer; and the said two Indians were again asked by signs whether they had killed the Spaniards there, or where, and whether the Spaniard with the burned feet was among them, and they always answered that they knew nothing about this; and during that night the said two Indian prisoners escaped from a soldier who was guarding them; and when the next day it became clear that they had no guide, because as soon as they had sighted the town they had also released the Indian whom they had brought from the encampment of the Escanxaques, [fol. 168v] the said governor ordered his men to try to catch some Indian, either an Escanxaque or one of another nation, whichever one they could find. Four or five Indians were seized from among the Escanxaques who were still busy sacking the houses, and they were asked to give a new account of the town and the region, and they said that that town extended for three days' journey, and that the Indians who inhabited it had already assembled and were calling together their friends to come to kill the Spaniards, and there were many rivers in that area, all of them settled by many people; and they were shown some gold- and silver-colored aglets and some other things and asked whether there was any of that in that region, and to all of this they said no, they did not recognize it nor had they seen it.

Layout of the large town they saw, where they started back, etc. Folio 135 verso.

Upon being asked whether this witness entered the said town and its houses, whether he saw and examined them, how many houses there might be and of what configuration, and what the Indians kept in the said houses, he said that this witness along with the whole army entered the said town and its houses, which said town lies on the shores of a small river that flows into the large one, on both banks of the said small river, and the houses are set about 20 or 30 or 40 paces apart and they form something like districts, with 30 or 40 [fol. 169r] houses in each district, and between one district and another there are open spaces of 200 or 300 paces; and the houses are made of thin sticks set very close together in the ground that come together above like a tent, and at their base they are round, with a circumference of some 70 or 80 feet, with doors so low that you must get on your knees to enter, and they close them with little sticks covered with straw; and inside, from one side to the other, occupying about a half or a third of the house, they have some horizontal poles on which they set up beds the size of the rope beds in Castile, with some sticks lying across them, which is where it seemed to this witness that they slept; and at about a quarter of the height of the house, [there were sticks] stretching from one side to the other so as to make something like a loft, which they reached by means of a wooden ladder outside; and this witness and the others thought that this arrangement was for hot weather, and in the lower part of the houses there were so many fleas that they felt distressed if they had to go inside; and this is how all the houses were that this witness saw, and outside they were covered from top to bottom with straw.

In what part of the house they keep the corn, and whether they have furniture in it, etc. Folio.

Upon being asked where they kept the corn that the Indians their enemies plundered from them, and whether they have any clothes or furniture or any other thing within [fol. 169v] their houses, he

said that within the houses themselves they kept ears of corn on the ground, and that the largest single amount of the said corn that he saw in a house probably amounted to barely two *fanegas*,³³ unshelled; and he saw neither the skillets nor the grinding stones with which here they make tortillas and grind corn, and all he saw was, in some of the said houses, a small stone about as long and as wide as two bricks, along with another small stone like a pebble, so that it seemed that with these two stones they must grind a small quantity of corn when they need it for something, because it appeared that they did not bake bread but roasted those ears of corn from time to time, because it appeared that their normal food is the meat of the cattle of Cíbola, which is their chief or best sustenance.

And all the people they saw in this town they saw naked like the others, and they did not see that they had any garments of cotton or wool or linen cloth, because if any had been there, at least some of the said Indians were bound to have worn some indication of its existence, or it would have been found in some of the said houses; and this witness recalls that on the bow of one of the said Escanxaque Indians he saw a cotton thread placed there as a special decoration, and when the Spaniards asked the said Indian by signs where such things were to be found, he answered by signs that it came from some **[fol. 170r]** towns, pointing in the direction of San Gabriel and the provinces from which the said Spaniards had come, where this witness has seen cotton, and he has not seen it anywhere else or heard of its existence elsewhere.

How far beyond the large town the adelantado went, and what planted fields they saw, etc. Folio 136.

Upon being asked how far the said Don Juan de Oñate advanced through the said towns, and what fields of corn they saw within them, and whether they saw any other kind of foodstuffs that the said Indians customarily use for their sustenance, he said that it seems to him that the said governor and his men advanced for almost two leagues along one side of the houses of the said town, where the carts could go, and it seemed to him that the said town ended there, and all of it consisted of districts as he has said; and he remembers hearing that four soldiers counted the houses and found about 2,000; and that in all of the said town the fields and cleared lands form the space between houses, and some stretch out from the sides of the said houses, although always within sight of them; and they also saw a few beans and small squash, and nothing else, nor fruit trees, except some plum trees and trellises that hold the wild grapes that he has mentioned, and this without any cultivation.

And when they reached the end of the said town **[fol. 170v]** on one side, it was necessary to turn toward the east to find a route for the carts, and one day they reached a small creek with very pleasant dense woods two leagues beyond the said town, and they made an effort to find a way for the carts to pass and found none, and thus it was necessary to turn back to a little beyond where the day before they had set out in search of the river of that town; and that day they stopped early on a small hill, and the said governor sent twelve soldiers to see what land lay ahead, or whether there was some smoke that would let them find some Indian to guide them, and the said twelve soldiers returned at night, saying that the town continued upstream beyond what they had discovered before and that they had found no Indian to bring.

³³The *fanega* is about 1.6 bushel.

Upon being asked whether they went ahead and what information they had concerning people more numerous or more warlike than those they had seen, he said that they did not go ahead and that they had no information other than that previously given to them by the Escanxaque Indians and those of the said town.

The adelantado's reasons for not going ahead, etc. Folio 136 verso.

Upon being asked what grounds and reasons the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate had for turning back from the first town he saw without having firm and consistent [fol. 171r] information repeated by different nations and peoples that would oblige him not to proceed or stop to reorganize his men and horses, which must have been tired in view of the long journey, he said that an officer called Dionisio de Bañuelos took the initiative, seeing that the officers and men were dispirited, and he and some other officers gathered support for a petition, which they presented and in which they affirmed that they were in peril and so was the post at San Gabriel, and said that it was advisable to inform His Majesty of what they had done and discovered, because they were few in number and saw that according to the information they had gathered they were in a land of countless inhabitants, and winter was coming; and they pointed out the disadvantages of wintering in so remote a place and other reasons that they alleged and declared in the said petition; and all the officers and men signed it with the exception of six or seven persons who were not of that opinion; and when the petition was read to the governor, although he expressed regret that they should ask him in the name of His Majesty not to continue his exploration, he directed them to return from the said point to the post at San Gregorio, as was done.

Upon being asked whether the horses, mules, and oxen that they had brought along were by now tired and emaciated to such a degree that they clearly needed to [fol. 171v] stop and be refreshed, and whether it seems to this witness that that place was such that they could establish a fort there and spend the winter and gain complete information about what by then they had begun to see, being urged to give his opinion, he said that the horses and other animals were by then tired but not greatly emaciated, and that although it is true that the place was adequate for building some fort or shelter in which to winter, though not without great exertion on the part of the troops, all of this was extremely difficult, because they saw that the Indians could no longer be considered friends, and because the supplies of corn meal that they had brought were two-thirds used up; and it seems to this witness that depending on corn as their food but unable to grind it, because they lacked the opportunity for that, they would find it very hard to maintain themselves, all the more so because the horses could not range free on the plain but would have to be shut in, for which reason the corn they had was needed to feed them; and so he considers it very doubtful that they could have sustained themselves without great risk if they wintered there, and he considered the decision to turn back to be appropriate.

The benefits one can expect from the new discovery, etc. Folio 138.

Upon being asked whether, judging by the information they obtained and the land he saw and the nature of it, this witness would willingly take part if His Majesty should be pleased to reinforce the said Governor Don Juan [fol. 172r] de Oñate and graciously grant him troops for continuing the said exploration and conquest, and what benefit he thinks might result for the power and glory of the Crown from the said expedition, he said that this witness would not go on the said expedition,

because what he saw and heard lead him to believe that he could never benefit from it, nor does he believe that it can be of any benefit to the Crown, because it is so remote a land and because the information that they gathered led them to believe that the sea is far distant and would be useless for settling there and trying to force the Indians into subjection, as they are a people not subject to any authority, and if they should try to impose it on them they would move away as is their custom to where it would not be possible to subdue them because of the great extension of land, all of a kind.

Where the Indian Miguel whom the colonel brought to Mexico was captured, etc.

Upon being asked where they captured the Indian Miguel who was brought to this city of Mexico and whom Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar is holding here, and then how they captured him, whether they asked him questions in sign language as this witness says they did of other Indians, showing them silver and gold and copper metals and objects of cotton, an abundance of people, where they were to be found and of what sort, what he answered, and what this witness [fol. 172v] believes and has then and since learned to have been discussed and communicated by means of the said signs, he said that the same day they decided to turn back, which was St. Michael's Eve of last year, they came early, at two in the afternoon, to the end of the town that they had reached with the Escanxaque Indians. As the colonel was leading the way with some companions in order to reconnoiter, they saw that the Escanxaque Indians were coming to meet them with indications of hostile intent, and that as they drew closer they began to shoot arrows at them; and the said colonel withdrew to the troops that were marching a quarter of a league to his rear and put them in formation and order, and he commanded that no one should break ranks; and the said governor commanded that no one should fire his harquebus until he did so or gave the order to do so, and he commanded that all the officers and men go toward the Indians making the signs of peace that they employ; and this was done, and the Indians would have none of it but said that they did not want to be their friends but to kill them, and as they said this they formed a semicircle and charged, shooting many arrows and showing their hostility.

And the said colonel and the troops that were ready and well armed attacked them and fought, and the engagement lasted three hours, because the said [fol. 173r] Indians, as soon as they began to suffer casualties, fortified themselves among some rocks, whence they came out to shoot and then go back to take shelter; and the governor, in order to avoid killing the women and children that were among them, restrained the force used against them and the punishment inflicted on them; and in the said engagement they captured eight or ten children, boys and girls, along with the said Indian Miguel, and this was the end of any fighting; and in the entire expedition, going and coming, there was no other encounter or clash of arms.

And when they returned to the said town they saw that the said Escanxaque Indians had burned many houses of the said town and set up their encampment, and it seems to this witness that the Indians who engaged in this fighting must have numbered 2,500 or 3,000, and the impressions of most of the soldiers agreed with this number; and after the troops had settled down that night and kept careful watch, on the following day they continued their journey toward San Gabriel.

And during the whole journey this witness did not see any question or other means of investigation directed at the said Indian Miguel, nor does he know of any being so directed, and he believes that the reason for not doing so was that no one expected him to be able to give them any information

beyond what the Indians his companions had given them and what they had seen themselves; and even after they had reached the post at San Gabriel this witness did not believe that the said Indian could [fol. 173v] at that time give them any account different from what they already had; and as he was about to set out for this pacified region, which was about 20 days after their return to San Gabriel, this witness heard Captain Baca and other soldiers say that the said Indian had given Captain Baca many accounts of there being a great deal of gold two and a half days' journey off to one side from the place they had reached, and that he gave other accounts of towns and of there being a grand captain or king in them, which said accounts this witness heard him speak and convey by signs from their departure from the said post at San Gabriel until they reached this city.

Whether the information given by the Indian Miguel is true, etc. Folio 138.

Upon being asked whether this witness considers the information given by the said Indian to be true or what he thinks about the matter, he said that he has never considered and does not consider it to be true, because if it were, the other Indians would have said something about it, and he thinks that the Indian says this because he believes that by doing so he pleases the soldiers and those who question him.

Upon being asked whether he knows the latitude of the post at San Gabriel and whether, having marched, as he said at the outset, 220 leagues in the direction of the northeast, which, as he has said, lies between the east and the north, he knows how high a latitude they reached, and whether he heard any statement, indication, or discussion of how close they were to the sea and in what direction they thought they might reach it, that he declare what he knows and has learned, he said that this witness has often heard that the post at San Gabriel lies at 37° latitude, and that he has no knowledge of the other matters he is asked about, nor has he heard discussion of them.

[fol. 174r]

Upon being asked whether among the soldiers who came to this city in the company of Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar there is any who has knowledge of mathematics or navigation, he said that with the said colonel there came one Juan Rodríguez, a Portuguese, who they said is a pilot, and this witness does not know whether he is, because when occasion arose to speak of the direction in which the sea lay and other matters related to this, he never gave any information about it or showed any understanding of it.

What the soldiers say about the exploration and about returning to it. Folio 139 verso.

Upon being asked whether he has heard the soldiers who returned with Don Juan de Oñate on this journey from the expedition to the north, both [those] on the return from the new town to San Gabriel and those who have come to this city with the colonel, speak among themselves and talk about returning to the conquest and discovery of the said new town, and what they think about it, and the general view of the said soldiers and officers about the benefit to be had from resuming it, he said that this witness has often heard talk of returning to the said expedition and of the effect that the conquest and pacification [of those lands] might have, and he has heard few express a hope of success, although others take the position that if His Majesty paid them well they would go back.

Upon being asked whether these soldiers who say they would go back if they were paid have any

trade that would allow them to make a living, he said they are very poor and destitute people, and this witness believes they have no trade or means of making a living, and if they did have they would not go on the said expedition even if they were paid well.

[fol. 174r]

How many baptized persons there are in the settled and pacified region, etc. Folio 139 verso.

Upon being asked whether he knows or has heard how many of the Indians in the town of San Gabriel are baptized, and why those who are unbaptized are not baptized, he said that he does not know how many adult Indians are baptized and that some children, about 30, give or take a few, were baptized as soon as the Spaniards arrived, and likewise 20 female Indian slaves of the Spaniards who are in their service were baptized, and he believes that the reason no more people are baptized, according to what he has sometimes heard, is that the friars, in view of the poor quality of the soil, have not done it because they thought there would be no permanent settlement there.

And this is the truth declared under the oath that he took and that upon its being read to him he reaffirmed and ratified, and he is approximately 23 years of age, and he has no personal interest in these proceedings, nor do any of the general questions prescribed by the law apply to him, and he signed this with his name and likewise the said fiscal agent Don Francisco de Valverde, Baltasar Martínez Cogedor, in the presence of me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

Testimony of the witness Juan de León, a soldier on the expedition.

In the said city of Mexico on the 24th day of the said month of April of the said year, the said fiscal agent Don Francisco de Valverde, for purposes of the said investigation, caused to appear before him a Spanish man who said that his name is Juan de León and that he is a native of the city of Malaga, and this man he placed under oath by God and by the sign of the cross as prescribed by [fol. 175r] law, and [the man] promised to tell the truth.

And when he was questioned in keeping with the said decree of His Lordship, he said that this witness set out on the expedition of discovery of the provinces of New Mexico with Governor Don Juan de Oñate and was one of the first soldiers who volunteered and enlisted for the said expedition, and that he went as a soldier in the company of Captain Alonso Gómez, and he has always been and served in the said provinces until now, when Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar left there, and he took part and served in the pacification and discovery of all the towns that are at present pacified and in all the expeditions that were carried out, such as the discovery of the salt deposits and the first discovery of the cattle of Cíbola, with the exception of the expedition to discover the Southern Sea,³⁴ because illness kept him from going.

Nature of the population, and their dress, lands, food supplies, etc. Folio 140 verso

Upon being asked to tell what he saw and learned of the disposition and nature of the people and land of the currently pacified area through which he traveled, he said that the pacified people are

³⁴The Pacific Ocean.

people of good disposition, both the men and the women, not striped, although among them there are one or two towns of striped people. The men wear short cloaks of coarse cotton, dyed with many different colors, and dressed hides of the cattle of Cíbola that resemble Flemish cloaks; and this is what they wear during the cold season, and when it is hot they wear only the cloaks from the waist down and other larger ones that cover their whole bodies. They are docile people, and throughout the whole time of the exploration there was no [fol 175v] uprising or rebellion, except by the Humanas, that is, by two towns that killed two Spaniards and rebelled, to punish whom Sergeant Major Vicente de Zaldívar, who is now a colonel, set out; and the Indians likewise rebelled in Acoma and killed Colonel Juan de Zaldívar and 12 of his men, in punishment for which the said Vicente de Zaldívar also set out; and as a result of the said punitive expeditions they became pacified and remain so.

And the land and towns are more level than mountainous, and the towns are located on the banks of small rivers, though the Río del Norte [Río Grande] is somewhat larger. They have fields of corn and beans and squash like what one finds here in New Spain, except that the stalks of the corn differ in being shorter, and they have many pine woods where they gather great quantities of pine nuts as good as those of Castile and better, and there are small prickly pears. They raise native chickens. The towns have few inhabitants, because the largest has some 400 houses, and others as few as 30; and as for the harvests of corn, there are years of abundance and years of barrenness because of the frequent frost, because that is very cold country, with frequent snow that lasts six months of the year, from the beginning of October till the end of March, and some years longer.

That in the territory ruled by the adelantado there are probably more than 25,000 Indians who can fight and work, without counting the many women and children. Folio 141.

Upon being asked how many people there might be in all the towns that are at present pacified, he said that he thinks there must be more than 25,000 [fol. 176r] Indian men who can fight and work, without counting many women and children.

What information the adelantado had received that caused him to set out on the new expedition, etc. Folio 141.

Upon being asked what information caused the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate to set out on his expedition to the north and the plains of Cíbola and the large towns, and from whom he had this information, he said that while the said governor was in the post at San Juan, which was the first he had, a Mexican Indian called Jusepe came to him and said that he had gone into the said provinces with Captains Leyva and Humaña, who went there with 30 men, and the said Indian told the said governor that the said officers and their men had found a very large town on the banks of a river and had also discovered a very broad river beyond the said town, and that the said Jusepe and another Indian his companion had run away, and as they were traveling the Indians of the large town had killed his companion and wounded him, and that the Apaches, who are the Indians that travel about the plains of Cíbola hunting the cattle so they can come to trade in tallow, fat, meat, and hides with those settled in New Mexico, had taken him in and treated his wounds, and that he had stayed with them for some time until he had had news of the Spaniards, when he had run off and come to them; and this witness had not learned of any other information, because he believes that on the basis of this information provided by the said Indian Jusepe the [fol. 176v] said governor decided to undertake the said expedition.

That he set out with the adelantado on the new exploration, and where it began, etc. Folio 142.

Upon being asked whether this witness set out with the said governor on the said expedition and exploration of the towns and peoples of the north, he said that he set out with the said governor on the said expedition along with the other men who took part in it.

Upon being asked to state and declare what he saw and learned concerning the said journey, the quality of the land through which they traveled and how far away it lies, and the people he saw and their number and nature, and what expectations can be based on the information they obtained and on what they saw and discovered, he said that four leagues after they set out from the settlements they encountered some not very mountainous terrain with many pine trees, through which the large and small carts and all the troops easily passed; and all of the said mountains, going up and coming down, extended for about a league, and then they descended onto some plains on which they marched for eight or ten leagues as far as a river that they called Río de los Bagres [Catfish River], because there were many catfish in it, and from there on the plains stretched ever farther, and on them there are creeks, some bigger than others, which always flow with very good water, and there are abundant woods on their banks, and among the said trees there were many plum trees and wild grape vines, the plums good and tasty, and even if one ate a great many they did no harm, and [fol. 177r] the grapes were mostly sour.

And when they had traveled through terrain like this for almost 40 leagues, they discovered Indians, which are the ones they call Apache cattle hunters, who, as soon as they saw the Spaniards, came toward them in groups of about 20, and they came clothed in deerskin jackets that reached to their knees, and others in dressed cattle hides like cloaks that they wore like blankets, and all of them with their bows and arrows and leather shields and wooden clubs, and a stone set into the tip of the club like an axe-head and a strap for the wrist; and they all brought meat, tallow, and fat and cheerfully, it seemed, gave it to the Spaniards, and the said governor gave and commanded them to give hardtack and tobacco and other trinkets that pleased them; and after seeing the said people they saw some of their encampments, which consist of small tents of the said dressed hides of the cattle, which they easily set up and take down and fold and load onto some little dogs, as small as ours, which have sores caused by their burdens; and the way they travel is that one woman sets off on a path and then a loaded dog follows her, and one by one all the other loaded dogs follow, and when the dogs have all passed, the women and children go after them, [fol. 177v] and the men go separately but within sight in war formation, reconnoitering for enemies or game, such as cattle or deer; and they never settle in any one place because they always follow the cattle.

And so they marched on for two or three days after they came upon the said Indians, and after that they began to kill [some cattle] to feed the troops, and then they saw very large numbers of these cattle covering all those plains, so many that they cannot be counted, because they almost cover the earth, and these cattle are of monstrous form.

Nature and form of the monstrous cattle of Cibola, etc.

Upon being asked why they call the said cattle monstrous, and that he describe their shape, he said that the said cattle are all dark brown without any spot of another color, and they are as large and as robust as ours, although their front and hind legs are shorter. They are woolly, and their wool is soft

and of good quality; and they have much more and longer wool in the front half of their bodies, and in the rear their wool is shorter and softer; and it seems to this witness that this is wool that could be treated and spun and with suitable processing made into cloths of various degrees of fineness; and above their front legs they have a very large hump that reaches to the nape of their neck, rising above the head, and in the said hump and under their front legs the fat forms in great balls, although they turn yellow when exposed [fol. 178r] to the sun; and their head and muzzle are like those of our cattle, although their ears and eyes are hard to see because they are covered with wool, and their horns are very black and shiny with the tips facing each other, and they are about a foot long, and to gore they turn their heads. They are very fast, faster than ours, so much so that they lost horses killed while trying to hunt them, and a bull killed a horse on which this witness was riding, a fast one, but with one thrust of its horns into its belly the bull spilled its entrails and innards. They have long beards like he-goats, and long mats of wool hang from their knees, and their tails are thin like those of pigs and at their tips they have a little tuft of coarse wool. All these cattle are very heavy, and the cows' udders and bellies are not as large as those of ours, and they were never heard to bellow, but they grunt like a herd of pigs; and after being chased they throw themselves on the ground and roll about to rest the way that mules do. They are hard to kill because they are so fleet, and the Indians usually hunt them with arrows. They dry the meat in the sun without salt, and they eat it without roasting or boiling it; and they kept on seeing the said cattle throughout the whole journey and in the same quantities for more than 170 leagues, because it seems to him that they traveled 220 leagues on the said expedition, and after traveling 60 leagues, and even before, they began to see them, and they always stretched on in the same manner and quantity, and they [fol. 178v] were informed that there were more of them ahead.

And the land grew ever better in terms of pasture, rivers, woods, and fruit trees—plums, grapes, pine trees, and the local chestnut trees and mulberry trees, elms and oaks with good-sized acorns; and the climate of all the terrain through which they passed was very good because they were not troubled by either heat or cold.

And they continued to see the Apache hunters until they had traveled 100 leagues from San Gabriel and New Mexico, and from there on they saw neither them nor any other Indians, and about 20 leagues before they reached the town that they discovered, as Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar was going ahead to reconnoiter with twelve men, he came upon a great river, though at that time there was not much water in it because it was summer, and by it abundant woods of the same sorts of trees that they had seen earlier, and on the bank of the said river he came upon an encampment of Indians whom they called Escanxaques because they raised their hand toward the sun and then placed it on their breast, shouting "Escanxaque," which was a sign of peace; and it seemed, in the opinion of everyone, that there were approximately 6,000 Indians of military age in the said encampment; and their huts were small, made of sticks and branches, and some of them covered with dressed hides of the said cattle; and they were all naked people, completely unclothed, because the men are completely uncovered and the women cover their private parts with little pieces of leather, and some [of the men] [fol. 179r] wear something like short cloaks; and they have no corn, nor was any tilled field to be seen, and they have no food but meat and the fruit provided by the trees without their nurturing or cultivating them; and their disposition is the same as that of the Apaches, and they are dirty people and, as was seen later, do not keep their word; and as weapons they carry bows and arrows, shields and clubs, and their shields are long, covering their whole bodies when they take shelter behind them, and the women have many stripes marked on their faces, breasts, and arms.

That a tribe of Indians informed them of a vast number of people farther on, etc. Folio 143.

Upon being asked whether they were informed by the said group of people of the Escanxaque nation that there were more of them than those they had seen in the said encampment, and how many, and by means of what kind of information, he said that the said Indians were asked by signs whether there were other encampments of their people and where, and they replied by the said signs that there were others, signifying that they lay round about theirs, ahead and to the rear, and likewise they told them by means of the said signs and through the interpretation of Josepe, a Mexican Indian who could communicate with two or three Indians of the Apache nation who were in the said encampment, that two or three days' journey farther on there were some large towns of striped people, who, they gestured, were striped from their eyes to their ears; and they indicated that these people were very numerous and the towns very large and that in them they had killed the Spaniards by burning them in a hut; and by means of signs they gave the said governor to understand that he should beware of those people [fol. 179v] because they would burn them as they had the other Spaniards, for there were many of them, and they offered to go with him and his men to fight against them, thinking that he was on his way to punish the killers; and the said governor gave the order to seize two Indians from the said encampment to guide him to the said towns, and they tied them by the neck so that they would not flee.

And the troops stayed in the said encampment of the Escanxaques for one day, and on the next day they set out in search of the said towns, and the said Indians of the said encampment marched after the troops, still within sight; and that day they camped for the night by some ponds that had formed from a river running through thick woods; and when they had marched on for another two days, one day before midday they discovered a very large river, the largest they had seen, with abundant woods, and by it they discovered the town, which spread on both banks of the said river; and having got there first and being, as they are, enemies of those who live in the said town, the said Escanxaque Indians came forth armed to fight against them, and as soon as they saw the Spaniards they stopped.

And the said governor sent Captain Bañuelos with six companions, one of whom was this witness, to reconnoiter the fords of the river so as to cross with the carts, and five of the soldiers with the said officer went along the lower side of a small gully, and this witness went along the upper side; and as he was reconnoitering [fol. 180r] an old Indian called to the witness making a sign of peace, raising his hand toward the sun and then placing it on his breast, and this witness called to the said Indian, who came to him and took his hand as a sign of peace, and then this witness called his companions and told them what the said Indian had done, and the said Indian called his people and a great many of them came to where this witness and his companions were, and then the governor and the colonel came and there was an exchange of signs of peace, and the Indians gave the Spaniards some little beads that they wore around their necks, and the Spaniards gave them collars and other things; and [the Indians] told [the Spaniards] by means of signs to drive off the Escanxaque Indians, who were their enemies, and accompany them to their town, and they would feed them; and the said governor ordered the camp to be pitched on the bank of the said river at a arquebus shot from the said town, without wanting to enter it; and then about 100 Indians came to the camp, and each one of them brought one or two ears of corn and gave them to the said governor, who received them and had tobacco and other things distributed to them.

And the said Escanxaque Indians told the governor by means of signs not to trust the Indians of the said town because they would take him prisoner and kill him as they had the other Spaniards, and that they should ask them for a Spaniard **[fol. 180v]** who had escaped them and whom they were holding, with burned feet, and they would help him against the said settled Indians because there were many of them; and the said governor called all his men to council and discussed what should be done about retrieving the Spaniard who, they said, was in the said town, and it was decided that the next day when the Indians came to the camp they would try to seize one of their chiefs and four or five other Indians in order to exchange them for the said Spaniard and retrieve him; and this they did, because the next day more than 400 Indians came toward the said camp from the said town with their bows and arrows and other weapons that they use, and they remained on the other side of the river, opposite the said camp, and one chief and five Indians crossed to the camp, whom they seized and then offered to release to get them to hand over the Spaniard whom they were holding; and they said that they were not holding the said Spaniard and that he was much farther on in another town, and they should not believe those Escanxaque Indians who were their enemies, and that they were friends of the Spaniards and wanted to feed them; and the said governor told them that he would release one of the said captive Indians to go and get them to bring the said Spaniard, and once he had been brought he would release them all and would give them many things and would be their friend, and the said Indians agreed to it, and thus one of the said Indians was released; and as soon as they saw the said chief and the other Indians being seized, all the other men who had remained **[fol. 181r]** on the other side of the river departed, as did all the people of the town, so that, as was seen subsequently, no one remained.

And the said governor ordered the camp to be struck and the troops to cross to the said town, and thus they crossed and entered it, and with them the said Escanxaque Indians; and when the said Escanxaque Indians saw that they had abandoned the town, they entered the houses and took some of the corn that was in them and set fire to some of them, and the said governor ordered his soldiers to drive the said Escanxaque Indians from the said town and to prevent their burning the houses; and the said troops pitched camp at the entrance to the town among the houses, where they spent one day, and that night two Indians who had remained prisoners from among those who had been seized, because the others had been released by the said governor to take a message of peace to the rest of the people, escaped from a soldier who was guarding them.

And the next day the troops marched along the outer edge of the town, and they probably went about two leagues, and all the way they kept seeing the said town, whose houses were scattered among the corn fields.

Layout of the large town they saw, where they started back, etc. Folio 145.

Upon being asked whether this witness entered the said **[fol. 181v]** town and saw it, that he should describe the form and layout of the houses and say how many there might be and of what configuration and what there was inside the said houses, he said that this witness entered the said town and some of its houses, and the houses are made of poles the thickness of an arm, and in the center they have another heavier one at which they are all joined, and they are similar to tents and large, though constructed as explained, all with beds of woven sticks inside, and outside they have wooden ladders whereby they climb up to a loft that they make of wood to store corn, because in many of these lofts they saw the said corn, and inside the said houses they found grinding stones like the *metates* with which the Indian women grind corn here, and they did not find the pestles of the

said stones with which they grind, and they found pots and jars of dark clay, and in the said town and its houses they did not find any chickens or chicken feathers or dogs or cats or any other animal; and the Indians of the said town whom this witness saw were of very dark complexion and all were scantily clothed, some of them wearing deerskin that covered them to the knees, and he saw none of them wearing any cloth garment of any kind, and he did not see **[fol. 182r]** any women, because all those who showed themselves were men; and this witness could not see more than 700 or 800 of the said houses because the troops, in order to be able to take the carts across the river, detoured from the said town, and four or five Indians whom the governor had ordered seized from among the Escanxaques to serve as guides said that the said town would go on for three days' journey.

Upon being asked whether he knows the said captured Indians or the others to have been shown any objects of silver and gold or copper, such as medals of the Lamb of God, aglets, or other things of this sort, or whether they said or signified that those metals were to be found in the interior, he said that he did not see this expedient employed and did not hear of its being employed.

What planted fields the Indians of the large town have, etc. Folio 146.

Upon being asked whether he saw the said fields that existed in the said town, and what was in them, and whether they were very large or small, he said that the fields had already been harvested and it seems to him they were of corn, squash, and beans, to judge by the stalks and shrubs of the said plants that could be seen there, and some were large and others small, and all the space between houses was occupied by the said fields; and the corn that this witness saw was larger than what is usually reaped in this province of Mexico. **[fol. 182v]**

Upon being asked what information they had about what lay ahead and who gave it to them, he said that the said Excanxaque Indians and those whom they had captured from the said town informed them through signs that farther on there were very large towns with many people dressed in blankets.

Upon being asked by means of what signs they said that there were Indians dressed in blankets, he said that when they asked the said Indians whether farther on there were people who wore clothes, pointing to the clothes that the Spaniards wore, they answered by signs that the people farther on did not have clothes like the said Spaniards but blankets, pointing to the blankets that the said Spaniards had, and that they all wore them.

The adelantado's reasons for not going ahead, etc. Folio 146.

Upon being asked what reasons the said governor had to turn back from the said town and not go forward to discover more lands, he said that when the troops were encamped by the said town, three days after they had discovered it, some of the officers and men handed and presented to the said governor a petition in which they asked and demanded of him that he not continue and that he return to the post at San Gabriel, because of the reports of multitudes of people, and because the Spaniards were short of arms and horses, and because if they stayed there **[fol. 183r]** the post at San

Gabriel might be abandoned³⁵ and broken up, and that he should return to it, and His Majesty be informed of what had been discovered, and the exploration could be taken up again with more men, and other grounds and reasons that they alleged; and all the officers and men of the army signed the said petition except for five or six and the said colonel, who did not want to sign it, and this witness did not sign it either, because it seemed to them that it would be good to go on and discover more land and gather more information; and the said governor, seemingly much to his regret, decided to turn back, and the next day they struck camp and began to march back the way they had come.

And as they neared the first campsite they had had in the said town, the said colonel with some companions rode ahead, and the witness did not see how many they were because he was marching in the rear guard; and as they reached the said campsite the said colonel found the whole band of the said Escanxaque Indians encamped, men and women and children, and this witness saw the said colonel and his companions hurry back, saying that they had wounded some of the horses of his soldiers and that the said Escanxaque Indians had approached him in a hostile fashion; and he ordered all the soldiers to take the armored horses and arm themselves and go reconnoiter at the head of the army; and as they were all thus marching together, [fol. 183v] the said Indians came up against them, shooting many arrows and forming a semicircle, and it seems to this witness there must have been 4,000 or 5,000 armed Indians. At first they felled a number of them with the arquebuses, with which they drove them back to some rocks that were by the river, where they fortified themselves, and from there they sallied forth from time to time to shower arrows; and the skirmish went on like that for three or four hours, and in its course they captured four or five of their women and some boys and girls, who numbered about seven or eight, and an Indian called Miguel, who is in this city in the house of Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar; and when the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate saw that the Indians no longer dared to come out to fight, he left them alone and ordered the women to be returned to them and marched on with his troops to the campsite that he had used where the said town begins, as has been said; and in the said skirmish 30 soldiers were wounded.

And the next day they marched on and journeyed toward San Gabriel by the same route and campsites by which they had come, without seeing any more Escanxaque Indians in all of the said route, until they came to see the Apache hunter Indians, who received them peacefully as they had on the way out; and the four or five [fol. 184r] Escanxaque Indians who had been seized to serve as guides had been released before the skirmish on the governor's orders, on the day he decided to turn back.

What benefits one can expect from the new discovery, etc. Folio 147.

Upon being asked whether, judging by the information they obtained and the land he saw and the nature of it, this witness would willingly take part if His Majesty should be pleased to grant the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate a reinforcement of troops with which to continue the said exploration and conquest, and what benefit he thinks might result from the said expedition both for the King's Crown and for those who might take part in the said exploration and expedition, he said

³⁵“se podría alzar ... el real”: “Alzar” means ‘to strike (camp)’ but could also mean ‘to rebel’ or ‘to mutiny.’ Hammond and Rey favor the latter meaning.

that if His Majesty were pleased to grant sufficient means to carry out the said expedition, this witness would go because of the hopes raised by the report of there being gold farther inland, and in order to see it, and provided that if they should not discover the land where they say the said gold is to be found, they could return within a year.

Whether the information given by the Indian Miguel is true, etc. Folio 147.

Upon being asked what information this witness has as to there being gold farther on in the said lands, and from whom he has had it, he said that after they reached the post at San Gabriel, the said Indian Miguel, while he was in the house of Captain Baca, said in sign language in the presence of this witness and of many other persons that two days' journey from the town in which they captured him there was a great deal of gold and bars of gold, and that the natives of the said land traded them for hides of the cattle of Cibola [fol. 184v] because they know about them.

Upon being asked whether this occasion when this witness was present to hear him say it was the first time that the said Indian Miguel said what he has said, and by means of what signs they asked him and he answered, and whether, when they were in the said new town, he heard the Indians whom they held prisoner and the others with whom they communicated say anything about what the said Miguel says, or whether he saw or heard that any of the said Indians who have cattle among them and who, with gold as close by as the said Miguel says, would likely have some object of gold, actually had any such object, he said that some soldiers stepped out from the house of the said Captain Baca and said that the said Indian Miguel was saying by means of signs that beyond his country there was a great deal of gold, and this witness, in order to make sure of this, went into the said house, and this witness and other persons asked the said Indian about it by means of signs, showing him some gold rings, and the said Indian replied by signs that there was a great deal of what they were showing him two days' journey off to the side from where they had captured him, and he signified that there were pieces of that, making a sign with his hands; and that in the said towns, as he has said in this his declaration, he did not hear any Indian say this, and that this witness did not see any object of gold or silver in the possession of any of the Escanxaque Indians or of those of the town.

[fol. 185r]

What would every soldier who returned to the expedition need for a year, etc. Folio 147 verso.

Upon being asked, since he says that he would return to the said expedition if His Majesty were to grant what is needed, that he say what he thinks each soldier requires to take part for one year, he said that with 500 pesos a soldier could supply and equip himself with what is needed for a year for the said expedition, because the terrain is so extensive and so sparsely inhabited, and it is necessary to go supplied with horses, clothes, and weapons for the said time.

Upon being asked whether he knows the latitude of San Gabriel and how far they traveled to the said new towns and the increase in the latitude, whether they had any information about being near the sea and in what direction it lay and could be reached, that he say what he knows and thinks of this matter, he said that he does not know or think and has not heard anything relating to these questions.

Upon being asked whether, in the said army and expedition made to the said new towns, especially among those who have come to this city with the colonel, he knows of some soldier trained in mathematics or navigation, of whom one might inquire concerning the subject of the previous question, he said that in the company of the said colonel there has come to this city a soldier called **[fol. 185v]** Juan Rodríguez; he is a pilot, and if he is, he must know something about these matters.

What the soldiers say about the exploration and about returning to it. Folio 148 verso.

Upon being asked whether he has heard the soldiers who returned with the said governor from the said expedition to the new towns, both from the new town to San Gabriel and those who have come to this city with the colonel, speak of returning to the exploration and conquest of the said new towns, and what the said soldiers and officers say they think of returning to that land and of the benefits that would result from its pacification, he said that this witness has heard some of the said officers and soldiers say, coming both from the new town to San Gabriel and from there to this city, that although the whole land were full of gold they would not return to it because of the great hardship one undergoes there, and he has heard others say that if His Majesty were to grant them the assistance he has mentioned they would return.

How many baptized persons there are in the settled and pacified region, etc. Folio 148 verso.

Upon being asked whether he knows or, as a person who has traveled all over, has heard how many baptized people there are in the said town of San Gabriel, and how many unbaptized, and why they are unbaptized, he said that this witness does not know of any baptized persons other than the Indian women and children who are in the service of the Spaniards, and three or four other women who have married Mexican Indians **[fol. 186r]** in the service of the said Spaniards, and that not having been baptized is largely due to the friars' not wanting to baptize them if they do not know the prayers, and they have not taught them to them, and he thinks that those who are baptized, men and women, young and old, come to about 60 persons.

Upon being asked of what size the said Miguel signified the gold pieces to be that he said there are in the new towns, he said that the said Indian signifies that some of the said pieces are the size of communion wafers, and some are smaller, and others the size of a silver paten, less its border.

And he said that this is the truth declared under the oath that he took and that upon its being read to him he reaffirmed and ratified, and that he is over 30 years of age, and that he has no personal interest in these proceedings, nor do any of the general questions prescribed by the law, which were put to him, apply to him, and he signed this with his name, and likewise the said fiscal agent Don Francisco de Valverde, Juan de León, in the presence of me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

Witness Diego de Ayardia, soldier on the expedition.

In Mexico this said 24th day of April of the said year, the said fiscal agent Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado caused to appear before him a Spaniard who declared his name to be Diego de Ayardia and that he is a native of the province of Chiametla in this part of the world, and this man he placed under oath by God and by the sign of the cross as prescribed by law, **[fol. 186v]** and [the man] promised to tell the truth.

And when he was questioned in keeping with the said decree of His Lordship, he said that this witness set out on the exploration and expedition to the provinces of New Mexico with Governor Don Juan de Oñate in Captain Alonso de Sosa's company, and he always formed part of and served in the army and took part in all the expeditions and incidents that arose, along with the said governor and with Vicente de Zaldívar, who was sergeant major and at present is colonel, except for the expedition made to explore the Río del Norte, which occurred shortly after he entered the said provinces.

Nature of the population, and their dress, lands, food supplies, etc. Fol. 149 verso.

Upon being asked to describe the disposition and nature of the land and people where he traveled and that is at present pacified, he said that all the land of the pacified towns that are peacefully established in the region of San Gabriel is somewhat mountainous land and very cold, with snow falling eight months of the year and reaching a depth of half a yard, and the people are very corpulent, with pleasant features, and peaceful; and all of them, men and women, are clothed in coarse cotton blankets, both dyed and white, and in deerskins and hides of the cattle of Cíbola; and they wear the hides, which are like cloaks, in the cold season, and when it is hot they wear the blankets and deerskins; and all the time that this witness has been in the said provinces he has not seen the people wearing any shoes, except for the Indians of Acoma and the Humanas, who killed some soldiers, for which the said Vicente de Zaldívar went to punish them, and he pacified them, and after this they remained **[fol. 187r]** permanently pacified.

And all the towns are on the banks of the Río del Norte, on both sides; and they all plant their fields of corn, beans, and squash, depending on how many wives they have, because however many wives they have, that many fields they sow, and most of them have two or three wives and very few have one; and the fields make a rather good impression, because they cultivate them well, and each Indian reaps 20 or 30 bushels of corn from each field, and it is good corn, and some years they produce more than others, depending on whether it snows more or less, and they never lack corn for their subsistence; and they raise chickens, which they do not consume, because they raise them to use their feathers for making blankets, and they have large numbers of hares and rabbits, which they kill with their bows and with throwing sticks.

That in the territory ruled by the adelantado there must be some 12,000 settled and pacified Indians fit for combat and labor, without counting women and children, etc. Folio 150.

Upon being asked how many people there might be in all the pacified towns, he said that it seems to him there might be 12,000 settled Indians who can fight and work, without counting women and children, and they are very docile and obedient people and submissive toward the Spaniards.

What information the adelantado had received that caused him to set out on the new expedition, etc. Folio 150.

Upon being asked what information the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate had received that led him to set out to explore the large towns on the northern frontier and the plains of Cíbola, and from whom he had received it, he said that about a year after the said governor came to the **[fol. 187v]** said provinces, a Mexican Indian called Jusepe came to his camp and said that he had gone with Captains Leyva and Humaña and 30 companions, and he told him that the said captains had

discovered some very large towns on the northern frontier and a very broad river beyond them, and that at that point he and another Indian had fled from the said Spaniards and that some Indians had killed his companion along the way and he had remained with the Apache Indians, who are the Indian hunters who kill cattle and carry on business and trade in their meat, tallow, fat, and hides, and who had taken him in, and as soon as he had had word of the Spaniards he had come to them; and the pacified Indians also often told the said governor that farther on there were many people, and he knows of no other information that he might have had.

Upon being asked whether this witness set out with the said governor on the expedition to explore the towns on the northern frontier, he said that this witness set out on the said expedition with Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar, who set out about two weeks after the said governor set out, and they reached him and all his men at the river they call the Magdalena, which is 24 leagues from the post at San Gabriel.

[fol. 188r]

That he set out with the adelantado to the new exploration, and where it began, etc. Folio 150 verso.

Upon being asked to tell and declare what he saw and learned concerning the said voyage, the land through which they traveled, how far away it lies, the people he saw and the number and nature of the people, and what expectations may be based on the information they received [and] what they saw and discovered, he said that from the said Río de la Magdalena as far as the northern towns it is very level terrain with abundant pasture and water supplies in rivers and springs, and, on the banks of the creeks and rivers, many woods of live oak, oak, and walnut, and many plum trees with good and very tasty plums, and wild grapes.

And after leaving the villages of the Pecos, who are peaceful and settled Indians, six leagues farther on they came on some Apache Indian hunters who come to trade with the pacified Indians, bringing meat, tallow, and fat and hides with trains of small dogs, and they received them peacefully, as they had on other occasions, and offered them some of their goods; and they wear dressed hides of the cattle and deerskins, and some of them wear some blankets that they obtain from the pacified Indians in exchange for what they sell them, and they all carry bows and arrows and wooden clubs with a stone attached to the end and with straps and large leather shields that fully cover them.

And after traveling 50 or 60 leagues **[fol. 188v]** across the said plains, pastures, and streams, they began to sight bulls and cows of the cattle of Cibola, strange in appearance, because they are of the same size as ours and woollier and shorter in the legs and humped and with very sharp curved little black horns and very fast, with good and tasty meat, very fat, because you get a lot of tallow and fat out of them; and the quantity of these cattle is something astonishing, and the wool of the said cattle is long and soft, and it seems to this witness that if it were properly treated, different qualities of cloth could be made of it; and their udders and bellies are smaller than those of our cattle, and they do not bellow but grunt like pigs; and for more than 170 leagues they always kept on seeing the said cattle, as far as the large town that they discovered, and they were informed by the Indians that there were more farther on.

And as they continued their journey, one day the said colonel rode ahead with 20 men to

reconnoiter and reached a great river with abundant woods and came on an encampment of Indians in which, among men and women, young and old, there must have been 4 or 5,000 persons, whom they called the Escanxaques, because they raised their hands toward the sun and then placed them on their breast, shouting [fol. 189r] “Escanxaque,” which was a sign of peace; and with this news the said colonel and his soldiers returned to report to the army, where the said governor and his men were marching; and they camped near the said encampment, a harquebus shot from it; and the huts were small, made of sticks and branches and covered with grass, and some were covered with cowhides; and all the people were very scantily clothed with no clothes at all except for some hides of the said cattle and of deer, thrown over their shoulders like blankets, and the women had some deerskin skirts from the waist down and were naked above that; and they had no corn or any other fields, and their nourishment is the meat of the said cattle and some wild fruit, and they are of the same disposition as the Apaches. They are dirty people and, as was seen from subsequent events, treacherous. They carry the same weapons as the Apache Indians, and in addition they carry wooden lances, the tip of which is scorched and holds a stone as [ours do] iron; and the women all bear stripes on their faces, breasts, and arms, and some of the men also bear these stripes.

That a tribe of Indians told them that there were a great many people farther on, etc. Folio 152.

Upon being asked whether they learned of or were informed about there being more of the said tribe of Escanxaques than those they saw in the said encampment, and how many, and by what sort of information, he said that the said Indians told them by means of signs [fol. 189v] that there were many more of them near by, although they saw none; and they likewise told them that at a distance of two or three days’ journey there were some large towns with many people with stripes from their eyes to their ears—and this was also learned through the interpretation of the said Jusepe, a Mexican Indian, who could communicate with two or three Apache Indians who were in the said encampment—and that there were many of these people and that they had killed Captain Humaña and his men, burning them in a hut; and they said to the said governor and his men, why were they going on, the said Indians would kill them, because there were many of them, and they offered to go with him to help him; and the said governor gave orders to seize some Indians from the said encampment to guide them to the said towns, and two of the said Indians were captured and taken as guides, tied by the neck.

And the troops stopped there for one day, and on the next day they continued their journey, and the people of the said encampment kept following the troops, always within sight, and they camped near where the said troops camped, at one or two harquebus shots’ distance; and one morning, after three days’ journey, they sighted a river, the largest they had seen, with abundant woods, and next to it they sighted the town, from which issued many armed men with [fol. 190r] bows and arrows and the other weapons that they use; and the said governor had them called with signs of peace, and some 20 Indians came to the army, and the said governor told them by signs that he was not coming to do them any harm but to be their friend, and he gave them some things that seemed to please them; and they told the governor by signs that the Escanxaque Indians were their enemies and that he should drive them off and come to their town, where they would give him some of their goods, and the said governor had the troops camp near the town on this side of the river; and then many Indians came to the camp—he thinks there were more than 200—all with their weapons, and each one brought some little ears of corn that they gave to the said governor, and they kept saying that they should come to their town and they would give them corn meal.

And the said Escanxaque Indians told the governor and his men that the said Indians of the said town were scoundrels and would kill them as they had the other Spaniards, and that among them there was one of the said Spaniards, burned on one whole side of his body; and the said governor consulted with his men about how they would go about getting the said Spaniard back, and the order was given to seize some of the Indians when they returned, so as to trade them for the said Spaniard, and all the men of the army offered to buy a silver lamp for Our Lady [fol. 190v] if she would grant his return; and the next day many Indians returned to the camp and stayed on the other side of the river, and some came as far as the camp, of whom five Indians were captured; and then they told them that they would release two so that they should go to get the Spaniard, and that once they had brought him they would release them all and give them many things. The said Indians said by signs that the Spaniard was two and a half days' journey from there and that they would endeavor to bring him, and that it was the said Escanxaque Indians who had killed the Spaniards; and so the said governor released two of the said Indian prisoners so that they should go for the Spaniard.

And that night all the people fled from the said town without leaving a soul in it, and on the morning of the next day, when the said Escanxaque Indians saw that the people of the said town had fled, they entered it and sacked and burned some houses, and the said governor sent some men to stop it, and they did; and the said troops broke camp and entered the said town and encamped amidst the houses; and that night two Indians who were still prisoners fled, and the next day the troops advanced on one side of the town along the river, because the carts could not pass through it, taking along as guides the Escanxaque Indians who had [fol. 191r] been captured for this purpose in their encampment; and the houses of the said town were spread out, and among them they seemed to have laid out their fields.

Layout of the large town they saw, where they started back, etc. Folio 152.

Upon being asked whether this witness saw the said town and entered its houses and saw what was in them, and that he describe their configuration and what was in them, he said that the said houses were all made of poles stuck into the ground, covered with straw, and closed on top like tents, some larger than others, and inside [there were] some beds made of sticks and straw, and outside they had some lofts with some moveable ladders, and inside the said houses in some holes in the ground they kept the corn and beans and some squash, and they had some stones the length and width of three bricks, along with other small stones, that seemed to be for grinding, and they had some clay pots and some gourd vessels, and there was no sign of chickens or chicken feathers, and he saw some small dogs, and he saw no other kind of animal; and the said people of the said town whom he saw were sturdy and handsome and all went naked but for some small pieces of deerskin and dressed cowhide, and he did not see any of them wear any cloth, and he did not see any woman; and the said Indians, both these and the Escanxaques and the Apaches and those pacified and settled in San Gabriel, men and [fol. 191v] women, all use footwear similar to boots covering half their legs, with the shaft made of deerskin and the sole of thick leather of the cattle or elk; and this witness thinks he saw as many as 2,000 houses in the said town, and other soldiers told him they had seen many more, because they went ahead with the colonel, and all the Indians said by signs that the town stretched on for three days' journey.

Upon being asked whether he knows and saw that the said captive Indians were asked whether in that region there was any gold or silver or copper or other metals, showing them medals of the

Lamb of God, aglets, or other things of this sort, and whether they said or indicated that any of the said metals were to be found farther inland, he said that he did not see or hear that the said Indians were asked anything concerning this, other than being asked whether there were large towns, and where, and whether they were of Indians who wore clothes; and he saw that the said Indians, when they were asked this, would reply by signs that there were many towns with many people and that they were dressed in blankets, because they showed them some of those worn by the Spaniards when they were questioning them.

What fields the Indians of the large town have, etc. Folio 161 verso.

Upon being asked whether he saw the said fields in the said town, and their number and whether they were large or small, [fol. 192r] he said that, as he has said before, he saw among the houses of the said town signs of there having been fields of corn, beans, and squash, because the stalks and roots of the said plants could be seen; and they were small fields, because each house had its field next to it, and although they had been harvested, there were others that were just beginning to sprout in the month of September, which is when they came to this town.

The adelantado's reasons for not going ahead, etc. Folio 153 verso.

Upon being asked what reasons the said governor had for turning back from the said town and not proceeding to explore more lands, he said that since the Indians said that there were a great many people ahead and the governor had few, and fearing that and also that the men who had remained in the post at San Gabriel might leave when they saw the delay [in their return], all the officers and men handed a petition to the said governor, asking him to turn back for the said reasons and for others that they alleged and declared; and when it had been presented to the said governor, although he seemed greatly to regret it, he permitted it, and thus they decided to turn back; and then he released the Escanxaque Indians whom he was using as guides and paid them by giving them two blankets apiece; and the next day he struck camp and went back by the same route by which he had come.

And at noon, as they were nearing the place where the troops had camped when they had come to the [fol. 192v] said town, the said colonel, having ridden ahead to the said campsite, found it occupied by the said Escanxaque Indians, who wounded two or three of his horses and forced him to withdraw; and the said colonel came to the army and reported what was going on and gave orders that all the soldiers should take their horses and weapons, and he returned with them in formation, marching at the head of the troops, and the said Escanxaque Indians came out against him in arms forming a semicircle, setting fire to the grasslands through which they would have to pass so that the flames would threaten the horses' heads, and thus they almost came up against the Spaniards; and when [the latter] had killed some of them with their arquebuses, they proceeded to retreat to some rocks that were near the river, where they fortified themselves, and from there they sallied out to shower arrows; and in the said position our men killed many of them and captured an Indian called Miguel, whom the colonel brought to this city, and some Indian women and children, who might have been some eight or ten persons; and the skirmish probably lasted from shortly after midday until near nightfall, and the said governor ordered them to return the women whom they had captured, and the Indians said that they were returning them out of fear; and thus he withdrew, seeing that the Indians were not coming out to fight, and gave the order to march, and went to lodge in the said campsite; and of the Spaniards [fol. 193r] 32 soldiers were wounded, some of them

badly, though none died; and the next day they continued their journey through the same places and campsites by which they had come, without seeing the said Escanxaque Indians or Indians of any other nation until they reached the Apache Indians, who received them peacefully as friends.

What benefits one can expect from the new discovery, etc. Folio 154 verso.

Upon being asked whether, judging by the information they obtained and the land he saw and the nature of it, this witness would willingly take part if His Majesty should be pleased to grant the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate a reinforcement of troops with which to explore the said land and carry out the said expedition, and what benefit he thinks might result both to the King's crown and to those who might take part in the said exploration, he said that if His Majesty granted these reinforcements, in view of the information that the said Indian Miguel gives about the existence of much gold and their trading with it, and the information given by the Indians about the existence of many towns and people, and since the land seems fertile, this witness would spend some time taking part in the said expedition, up to a year, since he had spent so much time trying to see whether he hit upon some good fortune.

Whether the information given by the Indian Miguel is true, etc. Folio 155.

Upon being asked whether the said Miguel gave his information about the existence of gold and about trade in it immediately upon being captured, or where and how, and what he thinks and believes of what the said Miguel [fol. 193v] says, he said that this witness did not hear or learn that the said Indian Miguel gave any information about there being gold in the towns where they captured him until he was in San Gabriel, for then he heard the colonel and other officers and men say that the said Indian was saying that near the said town that they had reached, two or three days' journey from it, there was a great deal of gold that was used for trade among the Indians; and later, on the way from San Gabriel to this city, while they were in Santa Barbara, the said colonel, in the presence of this witness, asked the said Indian by means of signs, showing him a gold ring and a little silver, whether there was any of that in the place he had mentioned, and the said Indian said that there was gold, pointing to the ring, and that there was no silver, and that they extracted the said gold from some rivers in the form of dust and sand and that they smelted it with fire and formed it into pieces that according to his signs were about the size of a communion wafer, some larger and some smaller; all this he said by means of signs that could be understood; and because the Indian has said it so often and always in the same way, this witness has given him credence.

What would every soldier who returned to the expedition need for a year, etc. Folio 155 verso.

Upon being asked, since he says that if he received assistance he would again take part in the said expedition, what assistance would bring him to do so and what benefit he thinks the King's crown might receive from undertaking it, he said that when they set out on the [fol. 194r] said expedition, the soldier who spent least in equipping himself spent 600 pesos; and now all of them are ruined and in such need that they have sold their harquebuses for food and clothing; and if they were to go again, every soldier, since that land is so far off, would require 600 pesos and more to acquire what he would need; and if what the Indian says is true, about there being as much gold as he indicates, His Majesty would benefit greatly from the royal fifth and other duties that he would receive, in addition to the land that could be conquered and pacified and the souls that would be won.

Upon being asked whether he knows the latitude of the post at San Gabriel and the direction in which they went to the said new towns, and whether he knows the increase in latitude, whether he has any information about their being close to the sea and in which direction it lay and in which they thought they could reach it, urged to say what he knows and understands of this matter, he said that he does not know and has not heard anything about the subjects of these questions, other than that the route they took was toward the north; and in the company there was a Portuguese soldier called Juan Rodríguez, who said he could make out the latitude at which they were, and this witness does not recall **[fol. 194v]** what he said about this, and he believes that the said Juan Rodríguez is in this city.

What the soldiers say about returning to the exploration, etc.

Upon being asked whether he has heard the soldiers who returned with the said governor from the said expedition to the new towns, both those who came from them to the post at San Gabriel and those who have come to this city with the colonel, speak of returning to the exploration, conquest, and pacification of the said new towns, and what the said soldiers and officers say and think of such a return, he said that some of the said officers and men said that even if they were given a treasure they would not return to the said expedition, and others said that they would return, and there were some who did not want to come [to Mexico] and stayed at San Gabriel hoping for further discoveries.

How many baptized persons there are in the settled and pacified region, etc. Folio 156.

Upon being asked, since he has traveled through all the pacified zone near San Gabriel, how many persons have been baptized since the said governor came to the said provinces, and as for those who are unbaptized, why they have not been baptized, he said that immediately after they came to the said provinces, eight or ten children were baptized, aged four and six and eight, **[fol. 195r]** and this witness was the godfather of one of them; and after this he has seen no others baptized because he was always outside the post, and he does not know the reason for their not having been baptized.

All of which he says is the truth declared under the oath that he took and that upon its being read to him he reaffirmed and ratified, and he said that he is about 26 years of age, and that he has no personal interest in these proceedings, nor do any of the general questions prescribed by the law apply to him, and that he does not know how to sign, and the said fiscal agent signed it.

And this witness said that in all the land he saw and through which he traveled, both that of Cíbola and that of the Escanxaques and the new towns, there are very many very large dark deer, and the Indians kill them to eat the meat and make use of the hides, with which they clothe themselves, because they are very large and they dress them.

Signed and dated as indicated above, Don Francisco Valverde, before me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

Witness, Miguel Montero, ensign on the expedition.

In the said city of Mexico on the 26th day of the said month of April of the said year, the said fiscal

agent caused to appear before him a Spaniard who said that his name is Miguel de Montero de Castro and that he is a native of this city and an ensign in New Mexico, and this man was placed under oath by God and by the sign of the cross as prescribed by law, and [the man] promised to tell the truth.

And when he was questioned in keeping with the decree of His Lordship he said the following: that this witness set out on the said conquest and exploration [fol. 195v] of New Mexico among the first soldiers to take part in it, as a soldier of the company of Captain Marcelo de Espinosa, together with Governor Don Juan de Oñate and with the men who set out with him, and that he has always lived and resided in the said provinces, serving His Majesty on most of the incidents and explorations that have taken place.

Nature of the population, and their dress, lands, food supplies, etc. Folio 157.

Upon being asked to tell and declare the disposition and nature of the people and land that is at present pacified under the rule of Governor Don Juan de Oñate, he said that this witness has been in all the towns that are pacified under the rule of the said governor and he has seen them and thought about them; and the people are robust and handsome and of good intelligence, and excellent cultivators of their fields, peaceful and humble people, obedient; and all are clothed in cotton blankets or deerskins or dressed hides of the cattle of Cibola, wearing one blanket of the said cotton wrapped around their bodies and another that covers their shoulders, and they all use footwear that reaches half-way up their legs, made of deerskin or of Cibola elk; and the land is generally more flat than mountainous, and they are all settled on the banks of the river, except the towns of Zuñi and Moqui, which are at some distance from the said river. The land is cold, because it snows half the year and more; and among the said natives those in the towns of the Humanas bear stripes; [fol. 196r] and they all sow corn and beans and squash and watermelons, and they have no trouble harvesting what they need and more, and good corn, different from what is grown here in New Spain only in that the stalks are much shorter, although the ears are of the same size and quality. The Indians support as many wives as they can, and some of these work the fields and some do not.

That in the territory ruled by the adelantado there must be some 30 or 40,000 settled and pacified Indians fit for combat and labor, without counting women and children. Folio 157 verso.

Upon being asked how many people there might be in all the towns that are currently pacified, he said that he thinks that in all of them there might be 30 or 40,000 Indians capable of bearing arms, without counting the women, children, and infants.

What information the adelantado had received that caused him to set out on the new expedition, etc. Folio 157 verso.

Upon being asked what information the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate had received to cause him to set out on the exploration of the plains of Cibola and of the northern towns, he said that a Mexican Indian named Jusepe came to the camp of the said governor and said that he had gone exploring with Captains Leyva and Humaña and they had reached a town so large that in three days they had not been able to cross it, and the Indians of the said town said that there were reports of there being gold farther on, and the said captains had gone on to find it, and he and two other

Indians [fol. 196v] had escaped from the said Spaniards and his two companions had been killed and he had been taken in by the Apache Indian hunters, and when he had heard that Spaniards had appeared in the said towns he had come to them.

That he set out with the adelantado on the new exploration, and where it began, etc. Folio 158.

Upon being asked whether this witness set out with the said governor on the said exploration of the said large northern towns, he said that he set out with the said governor.

Upon being asked to tell and declare what he saw and knew of the said journey, and the nature of the land through which he traveled and how far away it lies, and the people they saw, and how many, and their customs, and what expectations may be based on what they saw and discovered, he said that from the post at San Gabriel the troops of the said governor set out with large and small carts and two artillery pieces on caissons, and they could travel all through that country with them because it was level, because only in the towns of the Pecos is there a hill and that did not block the passage of the carts, and all the rest of the land is very level, ever more level as they advanced into it; and it is a pleasant land with abundant water and groves of Castilian plum trees of six or eight kinds, because that is what he has heard from persons who have been in Castile, and many vines with good grapes, and large walnut trees.

And after leaving the [fol. 197r] towns of the Pecos, which are ten leagues from the post at San Gabriel, they came on Indian hunters in encampments with their wives and children; and these are people who live by killing cattle of Cíbola and deer and fishing in the rivers and trading in these things with the settled pacified Indians, offering meat and hides, tallow and fat in exchange for blankets and corn and meal and tobacco, and the said Indian hunters came to the Spaniards peaceably and gave them some of their goods, and the said governor received them kindly and gave them some of the goods he had with him; and all the said Indian hunters go about scantily clothed and wear a dressed hide of [the cattle of] Cíbola that serves them as clothing and as bedding; and they are fair-complexioned people of good disposition and without any stripes.

And when they had marched for 60 or 70 leagues after leaving the said post at San Gabriel, they began to see the cattle of Cíbola, which are infinite in number, because the fields are full of them, [and] which are of the same size as ours or a little smaller, although the bulls are larger, and all are dark brown without any other color or spot, and they are very woolly with long soft wool like that of sheep that can be processed and made into cloths, and they are humped, especially the bulls, and have short legs and are fatter than ours, because they have a great deal of tallow and fat, and their meat is better than mutton. [fol. 197v] Their horns are short and black, their tips turned toward each other, and the bulls are very fierce and speedy, although the cows are speedier.

And when they had traveled nearly 200 leagues from the said post at San Gabriel and had sent out an advance party to find people from whom to obtain information, they found a large encampment of more than 6,000 Indians with bows and arrows, whom they called the Indians of the large encampment; and the colonel along with about 20 companions went into the said encampment, where they received him peaceably, and he returned to the army with some of the said Indians, who informed them that three days' journey farther on lay the large town where there were many people, and in it they had killed and burned the Spaniards, and that they should not go there because they

would kill them; and the said governor had two of the Indians of the said encampment seized to guide them to the said town, and they kept them tied with a rope so that they might not escape.

And when they had marched for three or four days they came to a large river on which the said town lay, and the said Indians whom they found in the large encampment informed them about the large town. They are scantily clothed people who wear only coverings of deerskin or of the cattle **[fol. 198r]** of Cibola or of wolves that serve as their wraps day and night. Some of them bear stripes; and they do not sow anything because they live off the meat of the cattle and off fish and wild fruit that is to be found in that country; and they all carry bows and arrows—large and small bows—and wooden clubs with stones attached to the tip, two feet long and longer, and large leather shields; and the women have stripes on their faces and breasts and arms; and all the said Indians of the said encampment, or most of them, kept following the army of the Spaniards, within sight of it, and they followed them until they reached the said large town.

How a tribe of Indians informed them about a great many people farther on, etc.

Upon being asked whether this witness was informed by the said Indians of the large encampment that there were more of them than those they saw, he said that the said Indians told them by signs that there were many of their tribe near their encampment, although they were not to be seen.

Layout of the large town they saw, where they started back, etc. Folio 160 verso.

Upon being asked to tell and declare what he saw and what occurred in the large town that they discovered, he said that before the troops could explore the said town, the Indians of the large encampment had gone ahead without their being able to stop them and, being enemies of the Indians of the said large town, had challenged and alarmed them, and thus they came forth **[fol. 198v]** armed, and as soon as they sighted the Spaniards they stopped; and the said governor called them peaceably, and a large number of Indians began to draw near the army, all bearing bows and arrows, and it seems to this witness there might have been some 20,000 Indians; and they all stayed on the other side of the river, and some came into the camp and brought ears of corn and large loaves and offered and gave this to the governor and to his soldiers, who gave them tobacco and other things; and all the time signs of peace were displayed toward the Spaniards, which consisted of raising their hands toward the sun and then placing them on their breasts; and the Indians of the large encampment told the said governor by signs that those Indians had killed the Spaniards and that they were holding one of them alive; and when the said Indians of the said town were asked about the said Spaniard, they said they knew nothing of him and that they had not killed the Spaniards; and the said governor decided that some Indians should be seized to be exchanged for the said Spaniard, and the next day they seized two Indians for the said purpose, and the night of the day of their capture they escaped from a soldier who was guarding them; and the said Indians of the large town withdrew from their houses and left them empty, and the Indians of the encampment entered **[fol. 199r]** them and sacked them and set fire to some of them, and the said governor sent some men to stop it and drive the said Indians of the encampment out of the town, as was done; and the said governor with his troops entered the said town and camped among the houses.

What they have in their houses, etc.

Upon being asked whether this witness entered the houses of the said town and saw them, and to explain their configuration and layout and the number there might have been and what was within the said houses, he said that all the said houses are of one type, which is of poles and straw, wide at the bottom and narrow on top like tents; and the upper half is set apart as a loft, to which they climb outside by means of a wooden ladder, and below the said loft they have their woven beds for sleeping in some pits they call ovens. The corn and beans and squash are kept inside; and the said houses are built along both sides of the said river, at some distance from each other, and between them there were fields of corn and of beans and squash, and this witness cannot say how many houses there might have been, because he did not count them, nor could he have done so, because one could not see the whole town; and inside the houses there were pots and jars of clay, and he saw nothing else, nor did he see chickens [fol. 199v] or any other thing except hides of the cattle of Cíbola, which were found in many of the said houses; and the Indians of the said town whom this witness saw are of good disposition and handsome and all striped and scantily clothed, wearing the said blankets of deerskin and hides of Cíbola; and he did not see any woman, nor did he see on any of the said Indians any object of linen or other cloth; and to judge by what they saw, they did not expect any useful thing to be had from the said town.

Upon being asked whether he knows whether the said Indians who were captured in the said town were asked whether in it or in its environs or farther on there was gold or silver or people dressed in the way that the said Indian Jusepe had, according to his account, informed them, he said that he did not see them being questioned about the foregoing, and if they were questioned, it was not in his presence nor did he hear about it, although this witness and other soldiers asked them whether farther on there were people who wore clothes, showing them blankets, and the said Indians answered them that farther on there were many people who wore clothes and they indicated that they were nearby and that they were very numerous and that where they were going they would be killed.

The adelantado's reasons for not going ahead, etc. Folio 162.

Upon being asked what reasons the said governor had for turning back as he did and not proceed to the said exploration, he said that all the officers and men of the army [fol. 200r] handed a petition to the said governor, asking him to return to the said post because of the reports of large numbers of people farther on and because the soldiers were fatigued and the horses tired, and to preserve what they had left behind, and so that His Majesty might be informed about it; and the said governor, seeing that it was conducive to the King's service, directed that they should turn back, and so they turned back with the army on the next day, which was St. Michael's Eve; and they marched by the route by which they had come.

And when they were nearing the campsite that the said army had used on reaching the town, as they reached it³⁶ the Indians of the large encampment who were camped at the said campsite began to shoot arrows at the said colonel and his soldiers, who were in the vanguard, and they wounded one soldier's horse; and the said colonel and his soldiers withdrew to the main body of troops, where all

³⁶“llegando a ella”: I am treating this feminine as an erroneous carryover from ‘población,’ while the true reference is to ‘alojamiento.’

prepared themselves and in formation returned to the said campsite, and the said Indians attacked, forming a semicircle and shooting their arrows with much shouting; and although the Spaniards made overtures of peace to them, they would have none of it, and so they fired at them repeatedly with the harquebuses, and when they had brought down some of the said Indians, [the latter] withdrew to some rocks where they fortified themselves and shot many arrows; and the skirmish lasted five or six hours, and they wounded more than 30 Spanish soldiers, [fol. 200v] and some of the Indians were killed, and some women and children were captured, along with an Indian whose name is Miguel, whom the colonel brought to this city; and seeing that the said Indians were not coming out to fight, the governor ordered a withdrawal, and they withdrew to the campsite, and he ordered the women to be released, and the said Indians said, why were they returning their women, since they had won them in battle, perhaps they were doing it out of fear; and the children, whose number he does not know, were distributed among the friars and soldiers.

And the next day they continued their journey, and they saw no more Indians of the said encampment nor any others until they reached the area where the Indian hunters roam, who received them peaceably.

What benefits one can expect from the new discovery, etc. Folio 163.

Upon being asked whether, judging by the information they obtained and what he saw during the said expedition, this witness would willingly take part if His Majesty should be pleased to grant the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate a reinforcement of troops with which to [continue] the said exploration and conquest, and what benefit he thinks might result, both for the King's crown and to the soldiers who might go on the said exploration and expedition, he said that if His Majesty were pleased to give the said governor 400 soldiers for the said conquest, in view of the [fol. 201r] great reports of a large population and of the said Indian Miguel's report of the existence of gold, this witness would willingly go on the said expedition, and otherwise he would not; and it seems to him that if the said towns and the gold that they say is there are discovered, the King's crown would derive great benefit, and the soldiers who went would be greatly benefited and enriched.

Whether the information given by the Indian Miguel is true, etc. Folio 163 verso.

Upon being questioned about the report that the said Indian Miguel has given of the existence of gold, whether he gave it as soon as they captured him or on the road or where he gave it, [and] what is his opinion of what the said Indian says, he said that this witness did not learn or hear that the said Indian Miguel gave the said report on the road from the time that they captured him until he was in the encampment at San Gabriel, where this witness heard that the said Indian was giving the said report of the existence of gold; and when he heard it he inquired about it by signs of the said Indian, who said that two and a half days' journey to one side of the said large town there was gold, and he indicated that there were small pieces about the size of one *real*, and that they made vessels of it such as large bowls from which they ate; and this he indicated, showing a piece of a very clean and shiny trumpet; and although they showed him silver and other metals and asked him whether there was [fol. 201v] any of that, he said that there was not; and this witness believed and believes that the said Indian is telling the truth, since he makes signs that they extract it by means of a cupel and fire, and if the Indian had not seen this done he would not say this; and this witness heard that the first time that the Indian gave the said report, he gave it to Captain Baca in the said post at San Gabriel.

Upon being asked whether he saw any kind of gold or silver or other metal, or cotton blankets, on the Indians he saw, men and women, both those of the large encampment and the others of the large town, he said that he did not see on any of the said Indians any object of gold or silver, and that on some bows he saw some colored cotton threads, and when he asked them by signs from where they had brought it, they said that from farther inland.

What would every soldier who returned to the expedition need, etc. Folio 164.

Upon being asked, since he says that he would go on the said expedition if His Majesty were to grant the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate the reinforcement of 400 men, what pay and assistance he thinks might be given to each soldier to equip and prepare himself for it, he said that to prepare himself each soldier needs at least 600 pesos of common gold; and it seems to him that if it were agreed with the soldiers [fol. 202r] that they could turn back if, after proceeding 80 leagues beyond the recently discovered first large town, they did not find what has been reported, there would be many soldiers who would go with the said assistance, and it would make sense not to waste any more time, because what he proposes would suffice for His Majesty to learn whether the reports were true.

How many baptized persons there are in the settled and pacified region, etc. Folio 164 verso.

Upon being asked, since he has traveled through all the pacified zone near San Gabriel, how many people he saw and understood to be baptized in the said province, and why those who are unbaptized are not baptized, he said that when they first entered the said provinces some small children were baptized in the town of San Juan, and after that the friars did not want to baptize. This witness does not know why, or how many there are baptized, because this witness was always outside the post engaged in the expeditions and incidents that arose.

Upon being asked whether this witness knows the latitude at which this settlement of San Gabriel lies, and what was the increase in latitude as far as the new towns, according to the direction in which they traveled, and whether he learned or heard how close they were to the sea, whether this was asked of the said Indians, and in which direction the sea lay, he said that he neither knows nor has heard anything concerning these [fol. 202v] matters, and that he believes that Juan Rodríguez, a soldier who went on the said expedition and who is Portuguese and who they say is a pilot, would speak to this.

All of which he says is the truth declared under the oath that he took and that upon its being read to him he reaffirmed and ratified, and that he is over 30 years of age, and he has no personal interest in these proceedings, nor do any of the general questions prescribed by the law apply to him, and he signed it with his name and so did the said fiscal agent Don Francisco Valverde, Miguel Montero de Castro, before me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

Witness, Juan Rodríguez, a Portuguese, soldier on the expedition.

In Mexico on the 26th day of the said month of April of the said year, the said fiscal agent caused to appear before him a man who said his name is Juan Rodríguez and that he is a Portuguese, a native of the town of Crestuma near the city of Oporto, and this man he placed under oath by God and by

the sign of the cross as prescribed by law, and [the man] promised to tell the truth.

And when he was questioned in keeping with the decree of His Lordship he said that this witness set out on the exploration and conquest of the provinces of New Mexico with Governor Don Juan de Oñate as an officer in the company of Captain Don Francisco de Zúñiga and that he has always lived and resided in the said provinces and has taken part in all the explorations and journeys carried out in the said provinces by the said governor and by his colonel.

Nature of the people, and their dress, lands, food supplies, etc.

Upon being asked what is the disposition and nature of the people and the land that is currently pacified and under the rule [fol. 203r] of the said Don Juan de Oñate, he said that the people who are pacified are of good disposition, both men and women, without any stripes except for the Humanas, and that some of these are striped; and the men are clothed in a coarse cotton blanket or a dressed hide of the cattle of Cibola with some cotton aprons, and the women all wear heavy dyed cotton blankets and most of them wear two, one that serves them as a petticoat or skirt and the other that covers their torso. They are docile people and serve the Spaniards well, although in the towns of Acoma and those of the Humanas there was an uprising, and two Spaniards were killed among the Humanas, and Colonel Juan de Zaldívar and ten soldiers were killed in Acoma, as punishment for which, and to pacify them, Sergeant Major Vicente de Zaldívar, who is now a colonel, set out, and after the punishment he inflicted they have kept the peace. As weapons they carry bows and arrows and clubs, although they are not a warlike people, and when they fight in their towns the weapon they most use is stones that they throw from atop their houses, which are made of adobes and are three, four, and five stories high; and they sow corn and beans and squash and have abundant harvests, for this witness has seen in the said towns six and seven-year old corn, which they keep on the cob below ground or in tightly closed rooms like storage cellars. This is a cold country, although it is habitable, and it is very fertile for growing wheat and corn and any kind of crop. Some years it snows [fol. 203v] half the year and more, although it snows more some years than others. The Indians all have two, three, four, or five wives, as many as they can support; and they do not keep them all in one place, and when the women want to separate, they do so. They are a people easy to catechize. Their towns have 100 or 200 houses, or fewer.

That in the territory ruled by the governor there must be some 30,000 settled and pacified Indians, without counting women and children, etc.

Upon being asked how many people there might be in all the said towns that are pacified, he said that this witness has seen and traveled through all of them, and it seems to him that in them there might be about 30,000 Indians fit for combat, without counting women and small children, who are many.

What information the adelantado had received that caused him to set out on the new expedition, etc.

Upon being asked what information the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate received that caused him to set out on his expedition to Cibola and the large towns, he said that when the army of the said governor was stationed in the town of San Juan, which is where it was first stationed and which belongs to the Tiwa nation, about a year after it entered the said provinces, a Mexican Indian called

Jusepe came to his camp and said that he had gone out with Captains Humaña and Leyva, who had gone out with 30 soldiers, and that the said captains and their men had come to a town so large that it took them two days and a half to cross it, and that beyond the said town they had come to a very large river that ebbed and flooded and that lies 60 leagues beyond the said town, [fol. 204r] and that the Indians by that river said that farther on there were people dressed in blankets, and that from the said river the said Jusepe had run off with two other Indians, and his two Indian companions had been killed in the large town and he had escaped and had been with the Apache Indians for a year, and that as soon as he had learned that Spaniards had come to the said town of San Juan, he had escaped from the Apaches; and ever since the said governor had received this report he had tried to carry out the said exploration, and for that purpose he had sent for reinforcements here to New Spain, and as soon as he had received them he set out on the expedition.

Upon being asked whether this witness set out with the said governor on the said expedition and exploration, he said that this witness set out with the said governor on this exploration, which was the first on which the governor set out from the encampment with the greater part of his forces.

That he set out with the governor on the new exploration, and where it began, etc. Folio.

Upon being asked to tell and declare what he saw and understood of the said journey and of the nature of the country through which they traveled, and its extent, and the people he saw and their number and nature, and what expectations can be based on what they saw and discovered and on the reports they received, he said that this witness, as he has said, set out with the said governor from their quarters at San Gabriel and marched as far as the Río de la Magdalena, which they call the Salado, which must be about 20 leagues from the said quarters at San Gabriel [fol. 204v] by the route that they took with their carts, and from there they journeyed to another river called the Río de los [Bagres] [Catfish River], because there are many catfish in it; and both rivers have good water and woods, and although that part of their journey was through level land, from there on the land is much more level, especially from another 20 leagues onward, which is all very level land and where there began to be large numbers of the cattle of Cíbola and various kinds of good Castilian plums, and he does not remember what Castilian plums they resemble, other than that they tasted very good and caused no upsets even if one ate many; and these fruits are to be found in the woods near the rivers, and there are also many vines of wild grapes, and some sweet ones.

And the cattle are astonishingly numerous and cover the earth and leave it denuded in many places. They are longer than ours and shorter in the legs and very woolly, with a long and soft wool that it seems to him could be worked into cloth, and they are humped and very fat, with a great deal of tallow and fat, and their udders and bellies are small. Their horns are short and black and curved inward toward each other. They are very speedy.

And along the said route they saw some Apache Indians, who are hunters that go about killing some of the said cattle and extracting their tallow and fat, and they sell and trade it to the settled Indians [fol. 205r] in exchange for corn, blankets, and tobacco; and these Indians travel in encampments that they move from one place to another, and they load their huts, which are made of the hides of the cattle, on some small dogs that they keep; and they all go about scantily clothed, and in cold weather they wrap themselves in the said hides, and the women are covered below the waist with deerskin blankets, and in cold weather they cover themselves with the said hides; and these people

do not sow anything and live only off the meat of the cattle that they kill. They carry bows and arrows and always met the Spaniards peaceably and gave them some of their goods, both on the way out and on the way back; and on the said route they saw many large dark brown deer, although near the large town they saw more of them, and larger; and they saw the said cattle, and in the said numbers, all the time as far as the large town, and they were informed by the Indians that there were more of them farther on and that there were many salt deposits; and this witness saw salt that seemed to be sea salt inside the said town in one of its houses, and the Indians said that it came from the salt deposits; and where they saw the said deer there are many oaks with many large round acorns, and many walnut trees and mulberry trees and poplar groves and beeches; and the climate of the country appears to be less cold, because much pasture grows there, both narrow and broad-bladed grass.

And when they were eight or ten leagues from the large town that they discovered, the colonel having ridden ahead to reconnoiter with 12 soldiers, including this witness, they came on a very large [fol. 205v] encampment, with what he thinks must have been 5 or 6,000 Indians of military age, whom they named the Escanxaques, because when they saw them they raised their hands to the sun and then placed them on their breasts as a sign of peace, saying "Escanxaque," and the Apache Indians also make this sign of peace; and the said colonel with his companions entered the said encampment, and the said Indians told him by signs that the large town was two days' journey from there, and that it held many people, and that the Spaniards had been killed in it; and the said colonel returned to the army, and 20 of the said Indians came with him and told the same things to the governor; and the huts that these Indians had were round, made of branches and grass, and some or most of them are covered with cattle hides; and this is not a people that sows anything, because they live on meat and fruits, and as weapons they have bows and arrows and small clubs and large leather shields that cover most of their bodies. Both men and women bear stripes and are tall and of good disposition; and they are dirty people and scantily clothed, and they are dressed in deerskins and cowhides like the Apache Indians; and among them there are some of the said Apache Indians from whom they received the said information, because the said Mexican Indian Jusepe understood them.

And from there they went on in search of the large encampment [read: town], taking along two Escanxaque Indians as guides, although [fol. 206r] all the people of the encampment followed within sight of the troops; and they were informed by these Escanxaque people that there were many of them in other encampments that were nearby; and four days after they discovered the said encampment of the Escanxaques, they came to a mighty river with abundant and good water, and on the two banks of the fork of another smaller river that flows into this great one they found the town; and many people immediately came from the said town and approached the army with signs of peace, and they all brought ears of corn, which they gave the governor, and the said governor gave them other things; and it became clear that the said Escanxaque Indians were enemies of those of the town and more warlike, because the said settled Indians tried to make friends with them and the Escanxaques would have none of it and said to the said governor, through the interpretation of the said Jusepe and of some Apache Indians who were among them, that the Indians of the said town had killed the Spaniards and that they were holding one of them alive, who was sick and walked with a long staff; and the said governor, in order to gain information about this and to rescue the said Spaniard, had eight or ten Indians of the said town seized and asked them to hand the said Spaniard over to him, whereupon he would let them go, and the said Indians said by signs that they knew nothing, and the said governor ordered five or six of the said Indians to be released so that

they might go to say that he was not coming to do them harm but to be their friend [fol. 206v] and that they should give him the said Spaniard; and they never came back, but instead all the Indians of the said town withdrew and left the place, so that not one remained, and the following day the troops entered it and camped among the houses.

Layout of the large town they saw, where they started back, etc.

Upon being asked whether this witness entered the said houses of the said town, and that he describe their configuration and layout and what was seen and found in them, he said that this witness entered the said town and many of its houses, and they are all made of poles planted in the ground and covered with straw, wide at the bottom and narrow on top like a tent, and inside they have beds made of sticks along the sides, and on top they have a loft, to which they climb outside the said house with a moveable ladder; and inside the said houses there was some corn, although only a little, and beans and some squash, although few, and outside the houses, near them, they have some cellars in which they store the corn; and they saw pots and jars of clay, and grinding stones, though very crude ones and different from the grinding stones with which they grind here in New Spain, and smaller.

And this witness said that when the said Indians came out from the said large town to receive the governor and his men in peace and came to the army, some of them told the Spaniards in the Mexican language, which was clearly understandable, that they should wait a while, because the women were grinding; and this witness and the others who heard it believed that the said [fol. 207r] Indians had learned to say this in Mexican from the Spaniards who had gone there with Leyva and Humaña or from the Mexican Indians whom they had taken along as servants.

And the Escanxaque Indians of the encampment, when they saw that the people of the said town had withdrawn, entered it to sack it, and they set fire to some houses; and the said governor ordered them to take some of the corn they might find and not to burn any house, and he sent some men to stop them from doing it and drive them out of the town; and on this occasion the Indians of the town whom he was holding prisoner and two of the Escanxaques informed the said governor that upstream and all around in every direction there were very large towns with many people and that that town was very small in comparison with the others, and they indicated by signs that the largest towns lay toward the north and that in them there were blankets, pointing to those that the Spaniards were wearing; and the people of the said town, all those whom they saw, who were some 400 or 500 Indians, were corpulent men, all bearing stripes on the sides of their faces, and all were naked without any object of clothing, although in the houses they found some undressed hides; and they did not see any women; and they all carried bows and arrows, very short but with good flint tips, and since they were short it seems to this witness that they would do little damage at a distance, because their range must be short; and the pacified Indians [fol. 207v] of the region of San Gabriel call the said Indians of the town Humanas, because that is what they call all those who are striped.

Upon being asked whether he knows the said captive Indians, both the Escanxaques and those of the town, to have been shown some objects of silver or gold or copper, such as medals of the Lamb of God, aglets, or other things of this sort, and whether they said and indicated that these metals were to be found farther inland, he said that he neither knows nor has heard of their having been asked such a thing.

What fields the Indians of the large town have, etc.

Upon being asked whether he saw the fields that were in the said town, and whether they were many, large or small, he said that there were many fields of corn, although they were small, because they lie between the houses, although he saw a great deal of corn; and he saw that although the cornfields had been recently harvested, there were others that had been planted and where the corn stood a palm tall.

Upon being asked whether he knows of their having received any information other than what he has reported, and concerning what, he said that the Indians of the said town whom they held captive and some Escanxaques, when they informed them that farther on and toward the north there were the many and large towns, indicated them by allotting 17 grains of corn to the town in which they were, and on each of the others that they said were farther on they placed 700 grains of corn, giving to understand that they were larger than that town in the proportion that one quantity of corn was larger than the other; and they also drew many rivers on a sheet of paper that the colonel gave them, **[fol. 208r]** saying that the said towns lay on them; and when they entered the said town they marched through it on one side for about two leagues, taking a circuitous route with the carts, and as they did so they counted 1,700 of the said houses that he has described, which came to an end there, and many others could be seen farther ahead; and the said governor sent 10 or 12 soldiers to go and see whether the said town went on, who did go and reported that it went on upstream and that the end of the houses was not within sight.

The adelantado's reasons for not going ahead, etc.

Upon being asked what reasons the said governor had for turning back from the said town and not going on to explore more of the settled lands, he said that having received the said report of the many people there were in the said town and in others farther on, and since there was a report that many people were gathering to attack them, the officers and men of the army handed a petition to the said governor, asking him for the said reasons, and for others that they alleged, to turn back with the whole army to the post at San Gabriel and from there to inform His Majesty of what had been discovered; and this they did with many and repeated demands and protestations; and the said governor, against his will and to his great regret, determined that they should turn back, and the order to do so was given.

Then on the next day they broke camp and marched toward the place from which they had set out the day before, **[fol. 208v]** and as they were nearing the first campsite that they had had when they had come to the said town, the colonel with 10 or 12 companions rode ahead, and as he reached the said place, the Escanxaque Indians of the large encampment came out against him in arms, saying that they would not pass through there, and they shot some arrows at him; and the said colonel withdrew with his men and returned to the army that was on the march and reported what had happened; and then all the men got into formation and marched back in formation to the said place, because they had to pass through there; and as they drew near, the said Escanxaque Indians came forth with much whooping, shooting many arrows, and the Spaniards were firing at them with their arquebuses and with an artillery piece; and after some of them had been downed and killed, the Indians withdrew to some rocks where they fortified themselves, and from there they sallied out from time to time and shot many arrows at them and attacked them by setting fire to the grass; and

the said skirmish lasted four or five hours, and 32 soldiers were lightly wounded, and some of their women and eight or ten boys and girls were captured, as was an Indian whom the said colonel Vicente de Zaldívar brought to this city, whom they called Miguel; and the said governor camped that night on the bank of the great river that is [fol. 209r] near the said town, a quarter of a league from where the fighting took place, keeping watch all night; and he ordered the captured women to be released, and the children he brought with him and later gave to the friars; and the next day they continued their journey, camping in the same places as they had done on the way out, without seeing any more Escanxaque Indians on the road or any Indians of another nation until [they reached] the Apache hunters, who received them peaceably and gave them some of their goods.

What benefits one can expect from the new discovery, etc. Folio.

Upon being asked whether, judging by what this witness saw during the said journey and by the information they received, this witness would take part if His Majesty should be pleased to grant the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate a reinforcement of troops with which to continue the said exploration and conquest, and what benefit he thinks might result for the King's crown and for those who might take part in the said exploration, he said that if His Majesty were pleased to give the said governor 400 soldiers—because it seems to this witness that this number of troops is necessary—he would gladly go with them because of the report that the said Indian Miguel who was captured gives about there being gold farther inland and because of what this witness saw of the good quality and nature of the land and because of the reports that the said Indians were giving about the large towns; and if this should be discovered and if what the Indian says were true, His Majesty and his crown would benefit and increase in power and glory, [fol. 209v] and the soldiers would profit greatly.

Whether the information given by the Indian Miguel is true, etc.

Upon being asked what information this witness has about there being gold farther inland, and from whom and when he obtained it, he said that this witness never learned or heard of any report of there being gold until, as they were returning from the said journey to the large town and were in the post at San Gabriel, this witness heard some soldiers say that the said Indian Miguel was saying that there was a great deal of gold two and half days' journey from the place they had reached. Specifically he said this to Captain Baca, and in the presence of this witness he was asked about it later by means of signs; and the said Indian by the same means said that there was a great deal of gold two and a half days' journey northward from the place they had reached, and he indicated that the gold was extracted from the river and that when the water was high, more was extracted, that the sand or earth that they extracted they piled up near the river and afterwards they smelted and molded it with fire and in vessels, and they formed pieces of it, large and small, indicating one and two pounds approximately; and that with the said gold they trade with other Indians and buy blankets and hides; and that this does not happen in his town, but that having gone two or three times to the place where it is gathered, he saw it being extracted from the water and smelted and molded; and that there was a king or lord who was served in vessels of the said gold, and that when the said king speaks they all prostrate themselves, and he speaks only with two or three, and these speak with [fol. 210r] the others, and that he is clothed with a blanket from the shoulders down; and when Captain Gordijuela asked some questions of the said Indian in the valley of San Bartolomé in the presence of this witness and the colonel and many soldiers and showed him some pieces of gold,

he said that that was to be found in the place he had said; and when they showed him silver, copper, or iron he said that that was not to be found; and that the said king, when he walked about or traveled, carried a staff and went first, and all the others walked behind him, and that the said king has four wives who do not grind or do anything else, and that other women come from outside to serve them; and this witness, because of the many things he has said and because he says it often and always in the same way, believes it.

Upon being asked whether, before the said Indian Miguel came to San Gabriel, this witness heard him or other Indians say anything concerning these matters, or whether he saw any of the said Indians have with him any object of gold or of cotton, he said that he did not hear this from the said Miguel or from any other Indian until [they reached] the said post at San Gabriel, nor did he see any of the things he is being asked about.

What would every soldier who returned to the expedition need, etc.

Upon being asked, since he says that [he would take part] if His Majesty were to grant troops and support for the said expedition, what he thinks each soldier needs in order to take part in it, he said that he thinks that each soldier would need 450 pesos of common gold to supply himself with weapons and horses [fol. 210v] and the other things needed, and that he would not be able to equip himself with less.

How many baptized persons there are in the settled and pacified region, etc.

Upon being asked, since he has traveled through the whole pacified zone near San Gabriel, how many people in it are baptized, and why those who are unbaptized are not baptized, he said that he understands and believes that there are about 60 persons baptized, young and old, men and women, and that no more have been baptized, and he does not know why.

The latitude at which the settled and pacified country lies, and that of the large town that they reached, etc.

Upon being asked whether this witness knows the latitude at which the post at San Gabriel lies and what was the increase in latitude as far as the new towns according to the direction they were traveling, and how far he thinks it might be from the new towns to the Northern or Southern Sea,³⁷ and that being shown a general map, he should, as a person with experience who has been a seaman, say what he thinks on the basis of what he saw and traveled through, he said that the encampment at San Gabriel, although he did not take its latitude because he had no instruments for taking it, must lie, in his opinion, at $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, although Captain Brondate had told this witness that he had taken the latitude with a quadrant and had found that it lies at 37° ; and the reason that he thinks it lies at the said $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ is that this witness took the latitude at Puaray when he went there with Gaspar Castaño and found at the said [fol. 211r] post of Puaray that it lay at $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and when he estimates how much more to the north the said post at San Gabriel lies, it seems to him that it lies at the said $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and no more; and that the said Governor Don Juan de Oñate's journey and route to the new exploration in the north was always in the direction of east by northeast, and that disallowing the detours of the

³⁷The Atlantic and the Pacific.

wagons and the marching in a circle, he does not think that the increase in latitude exceeded $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, so that he would place the said new towns at 39° , and that according to this he thinks the distance to the Northern Sea is about 400 leagues, and the Southern Sea is much farther off, and this is his opinion.

Upon being asked with the said general map in his hands, why he says that [it] lies 400 leagues from the Northern Sea, since if it lies at 39° latitude, the Northern Sea in the area of Florida, judging with a compass in hand, lies 120 leagues to the south by southeast and one comes out at the Río de Cruz and Magdalena Bay on the said coast of Florida, he said that as a person traveling with no compass, astrolabe, cross-staff, or other things with which accurately to measure what **[fol. 211v]** as a seaman he could measure were he to return with the necessary instruments, and judging by the expedition on which he went when the colonel, as he now is, went to discover [the way to] the Southern Sea and by the information they received about it, [it] lies, as this witness has said, 400 leagues from the Northern Sea; and although the Indian Jusepe has said that they saw a very large river that ebbed and flooded, if this is so, this witness believes that it is some strait that goes from one sea to the other; and this is what he believes, and it would be very important for this strait to be discovered, because according to the report of the said Indian Jusepe they were only 60 leagues from the said strait.

And this is the truth declared under the oath that he took and that he reaffirmed and ratified, and he is over 45 years of age, and none of the general questions prescribed by the law apply to him and he has no personal interest in these proceedings, and he signed this and likewise the said fiscal agent Don Francisco Valverde, Juan Rodríguez, in the presence of me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

The fiscal agent ordered various kinds of Indians to be brought, and they were brought to be shown to the Indian.

Procedures followed with Miguel, an Indian
whom Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar brought from New Mexico

In the said city of Mexico on the 27th day of the said month of April of the said year, the said fiscal agent Don Francisco Valverde y Mercado, in order to follow the appropriate procedures with Miguel, an Indian whom Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar brought to this city from the provinces **[fol. 212r]** of New Mexico, had a number of Indians native to this city brought to his lodgings, in war paint and stripes and prepared for war, and others with white and dyed cotton cloaks, and others with ordinary cotton cloaks, so that they might be shown to the said Indian and he might say whether any of the said people are to be found in the said provinces of New Mexico, and where, and of what sort of the said people, which said Indians were brought to the house of the said agent in the said manner by Juan Grande, interpreter of the Indian Court, and Don Juan Bautista, an Indian, governor of the district of Santiago; and the said agent ordered them to place each tribe and sort of Indians in the main hall of his lodgings and he ordered that an official record of this be drawn up and he signed it, Don Francisco Valverde, before me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

He ordered a sample of gold to be brought, some smaller samples of silver, pieces of copper, polished brass, small pieces of jewelry with old-style figures, gold dust, some small pieces and grains of brass that looked like gold.

And then on the same day the said agent had brought to his said lodgings a large piece of gold and

other smaller pieces of silver and pieces of copper and one of polished brass and some small items of jewelry made of base gold with old-style figures of the kind that were found here among the Indians of New Spain when it was discovered, and a small amount of gold dust and some small pieces and grains of brass that looked like gold, so that all might be shown to the said Indian and he be asked whether any of that is to be found in his country or whether there is any report of its being found [fol. 212v] thereabouts, all of which Miguel de Torres, assayer and weighmaster of the royal treasury, brought by order of the said agent; and likewise the said agent ordered that some tiger, lion, and deer skins be brought to be shown him; and all of this was placed in the said hall of the lodgings of the said agent for the said purpose, and he ordered that an official record of this be drawn up and he signed it, Don Francisco Valverde, before me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

The Indian, who spoke only by means of signs, was brought in.

And then the said agent ordered Ambrosio de Rueda, executive bailiff of the royal treasury, to go to the lodgings of Baltasar Mejía Salmerón, chief bailiff of this city, where the said Indian Miguel is being held, and ask for him and bring him to his presence in order to follow the said procedure, and the said bailiff went and brought the said Indian Miguel before the said agent and to his lodgings, which Indian is well built and handsome, of a complexion somewhat darker than that of the Mexican Indians; and with the said Indian the said agent employed the following procedures and by means of signs asked the following questions, in the presence of the physician Dr. Contreras and the said interpreter Juan Grande and the bailiff Ambrosio de Rueda and Don Juan Bautista, governor of Santiago.

Miguel drew his country on a sheet of paper. Folio 172.

First the said agent ordered the said [fol. 213r] Indian Miguel by signs that on a sheet of paper that was placed before him on a table he draw with pen and ink the towns of his country, and the said Miguel proceeded to make some circles like o's on the said sheet of paper, some larger than others, and all of it in such a way that the meaning of each circle was quite clear; and by order of the said agent, I, the present notary, wrote on each of the said circles what the said Indian said they were, so that one might understand them; and then he drew some lines, some of them winding and others straight, which he said by signs were rivers and roads, and on them also was written what they are as the said Indian gave us to understand.

That he was made a prisoner in his native land and taken to another, where he was raised, and from there he went to take part in the war against the Spaniards, in which he was captured.

And when the said drawing was completed, the said Indian by means of the said signs said which was his native land and how he was made a prisoner there by enemies and taken to another land, where he was raised, and that from there he had gone to take part in the war against the Spaniards, in which he was captured, [saying this] in such a way that it was understood by all present; and everything as he said it by means of the said signs was being written down by me the said notary, and the said agent ordered that the said drawing be made part of this report and investigation; and with the said drawing that the said Indian had made lying on a table, he was asked the following questions by signs as seemed most appropriate.

He was shown roses, poppies, and chamomile, and he said that only the chamomile is to be found in his country.

He was shown a bouquet that the said governor of Santiago gave to the said agent, in which there were roses and poppies and chamomile blossoms, [fol. 213v] and he was asked whether there was any of that in his country; and the said Indian Miguel, after looking carefully, said that the said chamomile blossoms are found abundantly in his country and thereabouts, and that the others are not.

He was shown pinks and said that there are many in his country.

And then he was shown pinks and the bushes on which they grow, and he said that in his country and his district there are many of them.

That in his country and others that the Spaniards have not seen there are Indians like those shown to him.

And then the said agent showed him in turn the Indians who were in the said hall, both those dressed like Indian dignitaries in cotton cloaks and in white and dyed blankets, and others with ordinary cotton cloaks of little value, and other Indians with war paint, and striped ones with bows and arrows and feather adornments dressed for war, and he was asked by signs whether in his country and district there are people like that, and of what kind, and where; and when the said Indian had looked them over carefully, he said that in his country and in others that the Spaniards had not reached there are Indians like those shown to him with war paint, although they all go scantily clothed and with no clothing except deerskins—which he pointed out because they were there in front of him—of which each Indian wears two, and they also wear hides of the cattle that there are in his country.

And when they tried to ask him with signs where he was camped when the Spaniards found them, he did not reply, saying by signs that he did not understand what he was being asked.

[fol. 214r]

He was shown Spanish chickens and answered that there are none in his country.

There are native chickens in his country and in all the lands through which he traveled.

He was shown native chickens, and he said that they are to be found in his country and everywhere he has traveled.

He was shown some green peppers; he said there are none.

That in his country there are large bows and arrows with flint tips.

He was shown bows and arrows with and without flint tips, and he said that in the town where he was born and raised they have large bows and long arrows with flint tips, pointing to some of the longest bows and arrows that the Indians were carrying,

And the Indians of the large town that the Spaniards reached have small bows and arrows.

and that the Indians of the large town that the Spaniards reached have small bows and small black arrows.

That in his country and in the large town there are corn and stones in which it is ground, and where he was a captive there are none, and they eat cattle and deer.

He was shown a grinding stone and a stone pestle with which in this country they grind corn to make tortillas, and some of the said corn was ground in his presence; and he said that the stones with which they grind in his country are shorter and the grains of corn bigger, of which they make loaves for eating, and that there is corn in his country and in the large town that the Spaniards reached, and that in the country where he was a captive and was raised there is none, and they live on cattle and deer that they kill.

That there is a great king in his country.

And he said by means of the said signs that in his country there is **[fol. 214v]** a great king.

That in the large town there is a great king and a lesser one.

And that in the large town that the Spaniards reached there is a great one and a lesser one, and that in the town where he was a captive and was raised there are many minor lords.

That it is 22 days' journey from his country to where he was taken as a captive.

And when he was asked with the aid of the drawing he had made, which he had always before him, how long a journey it is from one place to another, he said that from the towns of Tancoa, where he was born, to the country where he was held captive and raised it is a journey of 22 days, indicating them with that many [kernels of] corn.

And from the large town where the Spaniards captured him to where he had been a captive of the Indians it is 15 days' journey.

That it is 44 days' journey from his country to where gold is to be found.

And from his said town of Tancoa to Encuche, where there is gold, it is 44 days' journey, and he has heard that from the town of Tzanoa to Vyana, both of which he has marked on his drawing, it is 36 days' journey.

And he does not know and has not heard how far it is from his town, Tancoa, to Vyana.

That between where he was born and where he was held captive there are a great many people.

And in the towns where he was born and raised and captured by the Spaniards there are many people, stressing that they are many.

And he said by the said signs that having been born **[fol. 215r]** in Tancoa, he was captured in a battle that the Indians of his country had with those of Aguacane when he was a boy, and he was captive there until the said Indians of Aguacane and its district went to war, now that the Spaniards had come; and having fought against the said Spaniards near the large town, he was captured by them and brought to San Gabriel and to this city by Colonel Vicente de Zaldívar.

And he said that the Indians of the large town that Governor Don Juan de Oñate discovered and the Indians of the towns where he was raised are enemies and fight against each other.

And then the said agent ordered the Spaniards and Indians who were in the said hall to leave it, and when the said Juan Grande and Ambrosio de Rueda remained with him and with me, the present notary, the following procedures and questions were employed with the said Indian.

He was shown the gold and other metals.

He was shown a piece of gold cut in two that they said weighed 400 *castellanos*, and the small items of jewelry made of base gold with old-style figures, and a little gold dust in paper wrappers, and some grains of smelted copper that looked like gold, and two small pieces of silver, **[fol. 215v]** and some pieces of copper, and one of polished brass, and he was asked whether in his country or in the other towns that he has drawn there is any of what he was shown, and where. The said Indian saw it all, evidently looking at it carefully,

Note this.

and said that he has heard that there is gold in the towns of Encuche, because he has not been there, and that he has seen it brought to Tancoa, of which he is a native, in small pieces the size, according to what he demonstrated, of a *real* coin and larger ones, and he has seen drinking vessels of the said gold and has drunk from them, which he said taking the large piece of gold and the smaller pieces of gold and placing them on top of where he had drawn Encuche and passing them over where Tancoa is drawn, and the rest [he said] by understandable signs, that they take it to buy and trade the said gold for meat and hides of the cattle that there are in his country, because there are no cattle in Encuche, where there is the said gold.

And when the said agent asked him whether they bring the said gold to his country in the form of gold dust, showing him the gold dust that was there, he said that they only bring it in the form of the said pieces that he has pointed out and of the said vessels.

And when he was asked whether the gold is extracted from the river **[fol. 216r]** that in his drawing he placed next to Encuche, he said that he has heard that it is only extracted from a lake that is farther on than Encuche and that is almost seven feet deep, whence they extract it in the form of gold dust and take it to Encuche, where they form it into pieces; and the said Indian drew the said lake, which prior to this question he had not drawn.

Upon being asked how many days' journey it is from the lake where they extract the gold to Encuche, where they mold it and form it into pieces, he said that he does not know, because he has not seen or heard it.

How the gold pieces are made.

Upon being asked whether he knows and has seen how the gold pieces are made, he said that in Tancoa, his country, he twice saw the said pieces being made, by pouring the gold dust into vessels that have four holes on their four sides, and at each hole there is a person laying on firewood and fanning with cowhide fans, and keeping the vessel covered. They smelt it in three or four days and make the pieces of the size that he has said.

That he was about 12 years old when he was taken prisoner.

Upon being asked how big he was when he was made a prisoner in his country and taken to that of Aguacane, the said Indian showed that he was the size of a boy who was brought there with some others, and the said boy seemed to be about 12 years old.

Upon being asked whether, when he saw gold being smelted in his country and made into pieces on the two occasions that he says, he was a man or a boy, and how tall, [fol. 216v] he said that he was a man when he saw it done.

Upon being asked whether from the town where they captured him in his country and took him as a prisoner to that of Aguacane he ever returned to his country,³⁸ he said that he did not return, because he remained in Aguacane and from there he went to fight at the large town where they captured him and brought him to San Gabriel and to this city.

That in his country and district there are no metals.

Upon being asked whether there is silver or copper or brass in his said country and district, showing him these things, he said there are none of these things.

And upon being shown a Mexican Indian with a white blanket in the way that they normally dress, and asked whether, in his country or in that where he was a prisoner or anywhere else, he has seen or knows that there are people who are dressed as is the said Indian, or whether he has heard of it, he said that he does not know and has not heard that there are anywhere people who wear the said clothing or any other, but that all the Indians of his country and of what countries he has seen and heard about are dressed in deerskins and in the hides of the cattle of Cibola.

And this Indian was not asked about the contradiction into which he falls when he says that he was made prisoner in his country and taken to Aguacane when he was a boy, never to return to his country, and that when he was in his country as a grown man he twice saw gold being smelted and formed into pieces [fol. 217r], having further said that he did not see gold brought to his country in the form of gold dust but in that of pieces and vessels, because no one could think of or find a way to make this clear to him.

³⁸The meaning must be: "... whether after being captured in his country and taken as a prisoner to Aguacane he ever returned to his country."

And all the questions put to the said Indian and his replies were in the form of signs made to him and by him, which were well understood by the said agent and by me the said notary and by the persons who were present, without our having any doubts concerning any thing written down in this procedure; and when it was completed the said agent ordered the said bailiff Ambrosio de Rueda to take the said Indian Miguel to the house of the said chief bailiff where he is being held by order of His Lordship and turn him over to him, and the said Ambrosio de Rueda took him there in my presence, to which I attest, and the said agent Don Francisco Valverde y Mercado signed it before me, Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

In Chapultepec Woods on the 11th day of May of the year 1602, Don Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterrey, Lord of the demesne of Viedma and Ulloa, Viceroy in representation of the King our lord, the King's governor and captain general of New Spain, president of the governing council established therein, etc., said that since His Lordship by the decree he had issued had directed and charged Don Francisco de Valverde y Mercado, His Majesty's fiscal agent for his royal treasury in New Spain, that he investigate the expedition in New Mexico and the events related to it and the expedition into the interior recently made by [fol. 217v] Governor Don Juan de Oñate with some soldiers, which investigation it appears the said agent carried out in the presence of Hernando Esteban, royal notary, he therefore ordered the said notary to make a copy of the hearings and that once it is reliably authenticated he hand it with the original to Juan Bautista de Ureda, and this was his order, and he signed it, the Count of Monterrey, before me, Benito de Sandíanes, notary. The corrections are *lo f agnus y ad o de san d,* let those readings be valid; and crossed out *a 2,* let those readings not be valid. [rubric]

And I, Hernando Esteban, royal notary, caused it to be written by command of the Viceroy of New Spain, in witness whereof I make my sign [rubric]
[rubric] [symbol] Hernando Esteban [rubric]
royal notary.

Exempt from fees.

Abbreviations

<i>CDI</i>	=	Pacheco and Cárdenas 1864-1884
<i>Diccionario de autoridades</i>	=	Real Academia Española 1726-1739
<i>DRAE</i> , CD-ROM	=	Real Academia Española 1995
<i>EB</i>	=	<i>Encyclopædia Britannica</i> .

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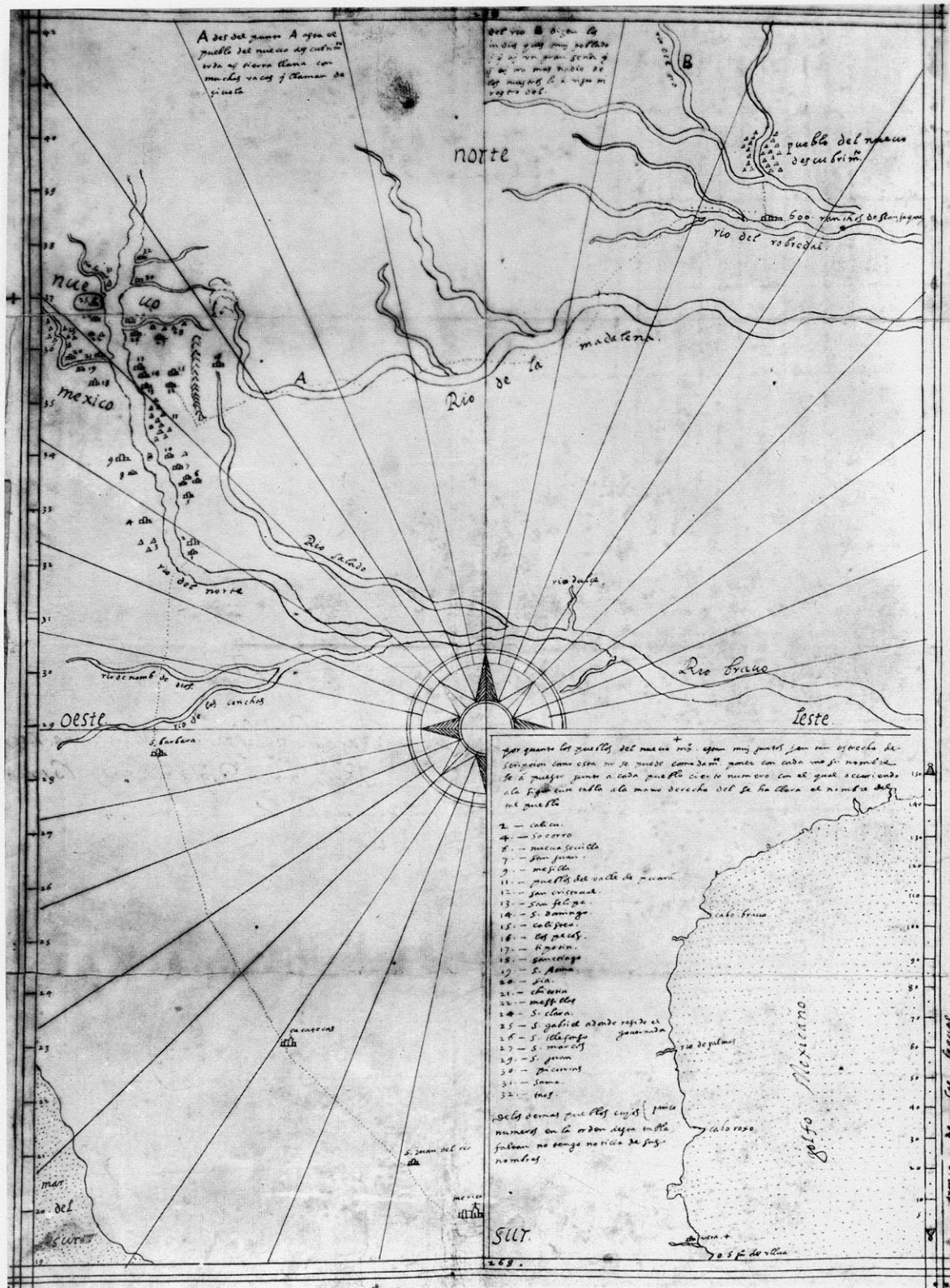
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Appendix I:

The Maps of Enrique Martínez, royal cosmographer
and Miguel, native of Quivira



Original of the map drawn by Enrique Martínez, royal cosmographer, in 1602, according to the information of Juan Rodríguez, member of the Oñate expedition

Segun la relacion que me dio Juan rodriguez marino q fue con el
 governador don Juan de vinate al nuevo descubrimiento e hecho esta dis-
 coucion con la brevedad q v. s. p. me lo a mandado la qual podra
 servir en el ynter q se aca la otra en que se daran los cosas mas dis-
 tinctas y p. s. como se an entre las cosas nuevas descubiertas mas tam-
 bien como se an las tales con los demas yncien cosas y cosas de mar de la nue-
 ua españa con todas las partes al use de la geographia necesaria y para q
 mejor se pueda entender el uso del mundo q la poblacion del nuevo de-
 scubrimiento ocuira del qual lo que esta aqui e colgado es q esta casi en 20
 grados de altura de polo arico y por donde mas se acerca ala mar es por la
 linea de la florida dentro del gofo mexicano del qual esta apartado por
 la via mas breve por linea recta doscientos y veinte leguas

Lorrico marino

Patrimonio, leg. 22

Mexico

1. v. 2. 2. 2.

1. v. 3. 2. 12

52



Relacion de lo que se ha descubierto en la Nueva Mex
 hecho por el Licenciado Martin de
 Grijalva

obverso

Enrique Martínez, cosmógrafo

Mapa de Nuevo México, 1602

[upper left]

A desd'el punto A asta el | pueblo del nueuo descubrimiento | toda es tierra llana con | muchas vacas que llaman de | çiuola.

[upper center]

Del rio B dizen los | indios qu'es muy poblado | y que aj vn gran señor y | que aj oro mas nadie de | los nuestros lo a visto ni | rastro del

[legend in right corner box]

Por quanto los pueblos del Nueuo Mexico estan muj juntos y en tan estrecha de- | scripcion como esta no se puede comodamente poner con cada vno su nombre | se á puesto junto a cada pueblo cierto numero con el qual ocurriendo | a la siguiente tabla a la mano derecha del se hallara el nombre del tal pueblo.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 2. – Calicu | 19. – S. Anna |
| 4. – Socorro | 20. – Sia |
| 6. – Nueua Seuilla | 21. – Chicotin |
| 7. – San Juan | 22. – Messillas |
| 9. – Mesilla | 24. – S. Clara |
| 11. – pueblos del valle de Puará | 25. – S. Gabriel adonde reside el
gouernador |
| 12. – San Cristoual | 26. – S. Ildefonso |
| 13. – San Felipe | 27. – S. Marcos |
| 14. – S. Domingo | 29. – S. Juan |
| 15. – Calisteo | 30. – Picuries |
| 16. – Los Pecos | 31. – Sama |
| 17. – Tipotin | 32. – Taos |
| 18. – Sanctiago | |

De los demas pueblos cujos | numeros en la orden desta tabla | faltan no tengo noticia de sus | nombres.

reverso

Enrique Martínez, cosmógrafo

Mapa de Nuevo México, 1602

[left side, vertical text]

†

Rasguño de la prouincias de la Nueua Mexico
hecho por Enrique Martinez cosmo-
grapho

[right side]

†

~ Segun la relacion que me dio Juan Rodriguez, marinero *que* fue con el gouernador don Juan de Oñate al nuebo descubrimiento, é hecho esta descripcion con la breuedad *que vuestra señoria jllustrisima* me lo a mandado, la qual podra siruir en el ynter que se acabe la otra en que se veran las cosas mas distintas y no solo como se an entre si las tierras nueuamente descubiertas, mas tambien como se an las tales con las demas prouincias y costas de mar de la Nueua España, con todas la[s] partes al arte de la geographia necessarias, para *que* mejor se pueda entender el sitio del mundo *que* la poblacion del nueuo descubrimiento ocupa, del qual lo que asta aqui e colegido es que esta casi en .40. grados de altura de polo artico j por donde mas se açerca a la mar es por la costa de la Florida dentro del golfo mexicano, del qual esta apartado por la via mas breue j por linea recta dozientos y veinte leguas.

Henrrico Martinez

obverse

Enrique Martínez, royal cosmographer

Map of New Mexico, 1602

[upper left]

A: from point A to the settlement of the new discovery the land is flat with many cows which they call "of Cibola.

[upper center]

From the river B on the Indians say that the land is very populated and that there is a great lord and that there is gold, but none of us have seen any trace of it.

[legend in the right corner box]

Since the towns of New Mexico are very close together and in such a narrow description as this one it is not convenient to place the name by each town, next to each town a number has been placed, so that by consulting the following table on the right hand of each number the name of the town will be found.

Of the remaining towns whose numbers are lacking in this table I have no knowledge of their names.

reverse

Enrique Martínez, royal cosmographer

Map of New Mexico, 1602

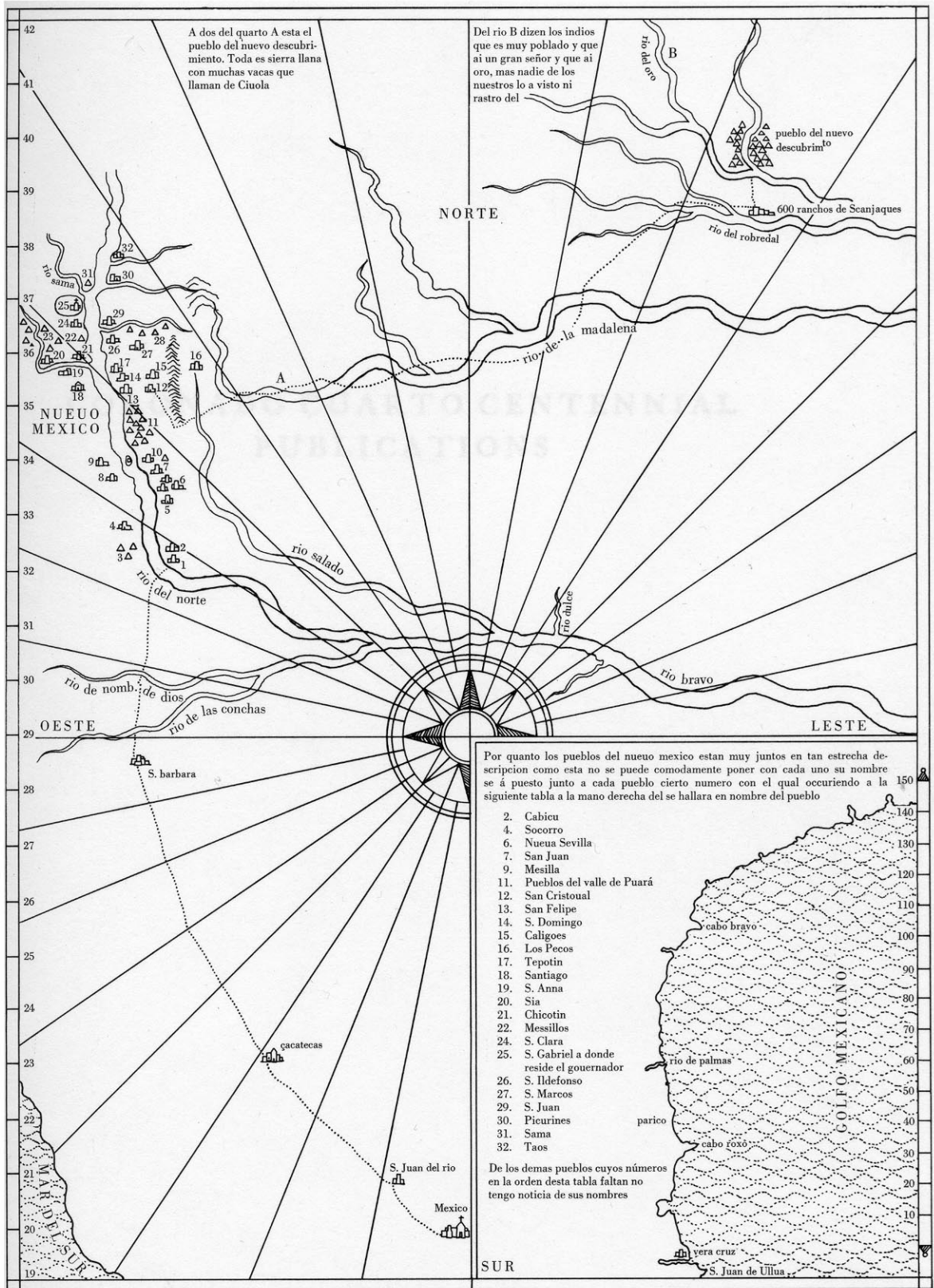
[left side, vertical text]

Sketch of the provinces of New Mexico
drawn by Enrique Martínez, cosmographer

[right side]

~ According to the account which Juan Rodríguez gave me, a seaman who went with the governor don Juan de Oñate to the new discovery, I have drawn this description with the concision which your most illustrious lordship commanded me to use, a description that may be useful in the meantime while another is finished, in which things will be seen more clearly and not only what relationship exists among the newly discovered lands but also their relationship with the remaining provinces and sea coasts of New Spain, with all the appurtenances appropriate to the art of geography, so that one may better understand the position in the world which the population of the new discovery occupies; according to what I have deduced it lies almost at 40 degrees of latitude of the arctic pole and where it most closely approaches the sea is along the coast of La Florida within the Gulf of Mexico, distant 220 leagues therefrom by the shortest route and on a straight line.

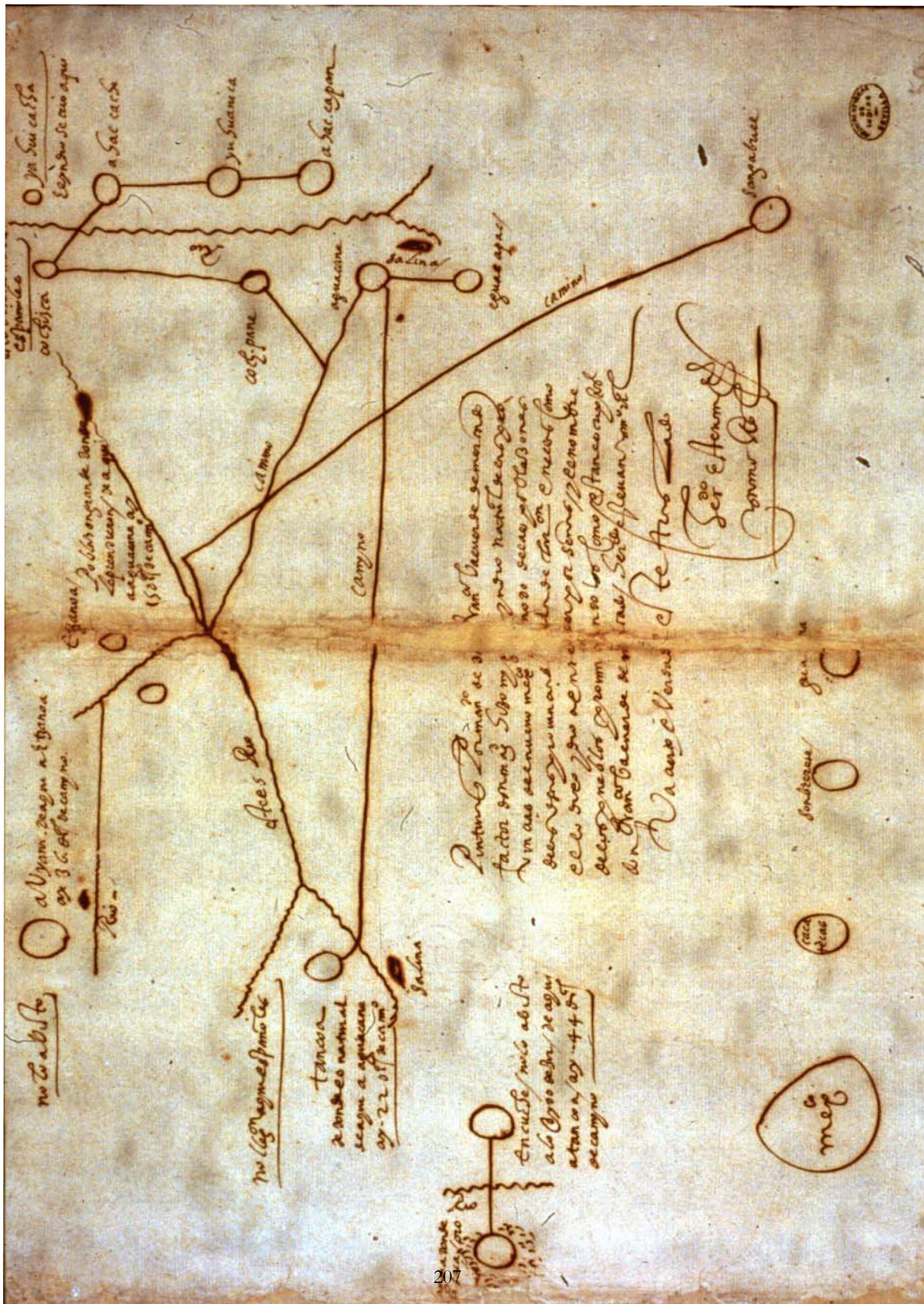
Henrrico Martínez



Reproduction of the map drawn by Enrique Martínez, royal cosmographer, in 1602, according to the information provided by Juan Rodríguez, member of the Oñate expedition

Archivo General de Indias, mapas y planos, México 50

Mapa diseñado por Miguel, indio de Quivira, en 1602



no habitado
 a Nym. de agm a 8 dñda
 ex 3 C. del camyno
 Rio

en Suica
 Esgrdo de au agu
 a Sac ca de
 yn Suanca
 a Sac capon

Cañada
 de las montañas de Santa
 Agueda y a agu
 a aguana a
 150 de camyno

Acas Ro

no lagunas y montes
 tancos
 2 rios natural
 de agm a aguana
 ex 22 of 2 camyno

Salina

Encuete/mis abito
 a lo Opoo abito de agm
 atar on ex 44 of
 de camyno

Puntal de San de
 factor de camyno de 500 y 8
 N mas acruenun me
 deo y agm un and
 celo over 20 a en
 deo no de 2 camyno
 de camyno de 20
 de camyno de 20

Van de camyno de
 2000 de camyno de
 no de 2000 de camyno
 de camyno de 2000
 de camyno de 2000
 de camyno de 2000
 de camyno de 2000

Sandras
 gen

caca
 de cas

mej



{certificación}

Pintura *que* por mandado de do[n] Francisco Valuerde de Mercado, factor de su magestad, hizo Mjg[uel] yndio natural de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico, [del] modo de las poblaciones de las dichas prouinçias, [y] la declaracion en ellas como el lo dixo y dio a ente[n]der por señas y el nombre de los pueblos, pronun[cia]ndolos como estan escriptos. Don Francisco Valuerde de M[er]cado; Hernando Esteuan escriuano rreal.

Va çierto e verdad[er]o este traslado,
Hernando Esteuan, {rúbrica}
escriuano Real.

{primera mitad, a la izquierda}

{segunda mitad, a la derecha}

no lo a visto ○ Avyana, de aqui a Etzanoa
ay 36. dias de camjno

○ Etzanoa
Poblazon grande donde
lo prendieron / de aqui
a aguacane ay

Rio –

no llegaron aqui españoles este es Rio

150 dias de camino

tancoa ○
de donde es natural
de aqui a aguacane
ay 22 dias de camino
salina

esto dize no an visto
españoles

cochizta ○

○ ya hui cache
El yndio se crio aqui

laguna donde

○ a hac cache

se saca oro

○ Rio ○

Encuche / no lo a visto
a lo oydo dezir / de qui
a tancoa / ay 44 dias
de camjno

camino coch.pane ○ Rio ○ yuhanica

camjno aguacane ○ salina ○ ahac.capan

○ Mexico

○ Çaca | tecas

eguas apac ○

○ Sonbrerete

○ Gua[di]ana

camino

○ san gabriel

AGI, Mapas y planos, México, 50. Miguel, Indio de Quivira. 1602.

{certification}

A painting which by command of don Francisco Valverde de Mercado, royal prosecutor, was done by Miguel, an Indian native of the provinces of New Mexico, and shows the layout of the populations of the aforesaid provinces, their explanation as he said and gave to understand by hand signs, and the name of the towns, pronouncing them as they appear written.

Don Francisco Valverde de Mercado; Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

This copy is true and accurate. Hernando Esteban, royal notary.

{left half}

he has not seen it avyana from here to
Etzanao there are 36 days'
travel

River –

The Spaniards didn't arrive here this is
a river

tancoa
where he was born
from here to aguacane
there are 22 days' travel
salt flat

lake where
gold is extracted

River
Encuche / he has not seen it,
he has heard about it / from here
to tancoa / there are 44 days'
travel

- Mexico
- Çaca | tecas
- Sonbrerete
- Gua[di]ana

{right half}

Etzanao
A large settlement where
they captured him / from here
to aguacane there are
150 days' travel

He says the Spaniards
have not seen this

cochizta ya hui cache
The Indian was
raised here

a hac cache

trail coch.pane River yuhuanica

trail aguacane slat flat ahac.capan

eguas apac

trail

san gabriel

Addendum January 4, 2016

In an article “The Miguel Map Revisited”, forthcoming in the *Plains Anthropologist*, Professor Donald Blakeslee, Wichita State University, noted our mistranscription of the place name *avyana* which appears in Miguel’s map; our mistaken rendering was *avyam*. The correction has been made in the body of the text. In the interrogatory, the name appears as Vyana on fol. 214v, cf. pp. 101, 188.

Professor Blakeslee kindly communicated (12/16/2015) some corrections and comments which are so substantial that it seemed more appropriate to include them as an addendum rather than to attempt to revise the original:

My field school spent a week at Arkansas City this summer, and we definitely have found the site of the battle, recovering a few pieces of shot, including two iron balls that apparently are from cartridge shot used in the cannons. The rock-lined creek where the Escanxaques took shelter is just as you described it. We also used both surface survey and a magnetometer on parts of the site, and the results confirmed the eyewitness accounts in the interrogatory: clusters of houses, each house with cache pits (the cellars) with spaces between the clusters.

Comments on the last online version:

The identity of Miguel the Indian as a native of Quivira was not previously published. It is important in that it contradicts Newcomb and Campbell’s identification of him as a Tonkawa, which they based on his testimony that he was born in the place he called Tancoa. When the plains portion of the Miguel map is oriented correctly, as per Susan Vehik, it becomes clear that Tancoa was upstream from Etzanoa along the Arkansas River and probably represents the large Quiviran communities in Rice County. It would be surprising to find Tonkawas that far north. Other than the documents you have translated, the most northerly sighting of the Tonkawas was by du Rivage along the Red River in 1719. All other accounts put them in Texas.

In your translation of Jusepe’s 1599 testimony, you have:

they came upon two large rivers and on the nearer shore many well populated nomadic camps and farther along a huge settlement

The following would fit better with the Miguel map and the experiences of the 1601 expedition:

they came upon two large rivers and on the shore of the nearer one many

In your notes on page 36, regarding times and distances, I think some minor corrections are in order, based on what is in the interrogatory. On day one, the Spanish left their camp on the bank of the Arkansas, forded the stream, and then went a half a league to the south end of the town. (When they left the settlement after the battle, there is a passing reference to camping again on the creek, which is probably the one that flows from the ravine in which they made friendly overtures to the Quivirans). The most likely good ford is at the mouth of the Walnut, which dumps some of its sediment load when it enters the slower-flowing Arkansas. It is about a mile

(half a league) from the south end of the habitation site. Then the next day, they traveled “about two leagues” to the north end of the town and then about another two leagues in their detour to the east, which avoided the deep ravines that feed into the Arkansas along its eastern bend. This is a total of four leagues before they retreated a bit to the top of a hill from which the boss sent out scouts who encountered more houses. Then they had their council of war and turned back. So I agree with your argument for a longer duration, but not with the distances. You have “ (1) one-half league to the deserted village; (2) three leagues onward and the discussion; (3) three and a half leagues back and the battle.” I would suggest (1) one league from the camp to the town via a ford at the mouth of the Walnut River, (2) four leagues more consisting of two leagues beside the town plus two more to the spot where they turned back, plus time for the scouting party and the council of war, and (3) four leagues back to the battle and then another league back to their campsite at the mouth of the creek.

On page 37, in the reference to R4 155v29, Zárate Salmerón mentions two captives who were given the name Miguel. These are two of the child captives that Oñate kept when he let the women captives go. Apparently these two were assigned to the friars. Zárate Salmerón describes one as a boy and one as a lad. As you note, Miguel the mapmaker was an adult. Newcomb and Campbell assumed that the mapmaker was one of the two boys that Zárate Salmerón mentioned.

The reference to throwing dirt in the air as a sign of hostility was done, I believe, in imitation of the behavior of an angry bison bull, which will toss earth with its horns before charging.

On page 44 and in the interrogatory, the descriptions of the houses seem to be confused with descriptions of the arbors that the Quivirans also had. You have:

“They were two lance's lengths in height, and they all had an attic or roof space, which they must have used in summer, the height of a man, with capacity for three or four persons, and they entered it through a small straw door well suited for the circulation of air. They climbed to this attic by a movable wooden ladder, and there was no house without such a ladder.”

In the interrogatory (page 151), there is a mention of the ladder from the outside reaching the attic space, and this does not match what we know about Wichita houses. They had circular houses, with wattle beds along the walls, and (in early years) low doorways on all four sides. The doors were covered with bundled grass “doors.” The houses appear also to have had a loft area where nubile girls slept. There are repeated references to such facilities in the Wichita tales that Dorsey collected. The pole frameworks and thatch covering of the houses preclude the use of an external ladder, and the latter would provide no control over the behavior of the young women and their suitors.

In addition to the circular houses, each household had one or more arbors, usually oval in outline that had a thatched roof that came only partway down. These had an elevated platform under the roof used both for food storage and for sleeping in the summertime. It is these arbors that had external ladders for access.

Page 139 206v25 “en lengua mexicana” There is a single mention in the Coronado documents

that his Wichita guide El Turco could speak a few words of Nahuatl. In fact, there are scattered references in other early documents to the use of Nahuatl as a lingua franca for purposes of trade. Every community wanted at least one person bilingual in Nahuatl. That is probably the reason why the Zunis followed Coronado's departing army imploring some of his Mexican Indian allies to remain with them. That several of the inhabitants of the great settlement decided to learn Nahuatl from a survivor of the Humaña expedition is far less likely.