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Without Them, Nothing Was Possible

THE CORONADO EXPEDITION'S INDIAN ALLIES

Richard Flint

Enterprises of Spanish conquest and reconnaissance such as the Coronado Expedition would not have been possible without a large cadre of Indian allies.¹ Like virtually all of the 130 or so major Spanish-led expeditions that took place in the Western Hemisphere during the sixteenth century, the Coronado Expedition of 1539–1542 relied heavily on a contingent of *indios amigos*, or Indian allies. The very survival of the expedition, as well as what success it had, depended on an estimated 1,300 to 2,000 natives of what is now central and western Mexico. Those *indios amigos* far outnumbered the European expeditionaries, who in traditional accounts were for all practical purposes its only members.

Despite the critical importance and tremendous size of the Mexican Indian contingent of the Coronado Expedition, information about those indigenous *conquistadores* has been extremely meager. Spaniards who left written records of the expedition generally ignored the roles, and even the very presence, of the *indios amigos*. For example, in the 27 known strictly

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contemporaneous manuscript documents dealing with the Coronado *entrada*, comprising more than 200 printed pages, which historian Shirley Cushing Flint and I have recently published, the expedition's Indian allies are mentioned in only 111 sentences, including 25 that refer only to a single Indian man, an interpreter used by Hernando de Alarcón.² Most of the remaining references make only brief mention, revealing little about who the *indios amigos* were, where they came from, or what possessed them to participate in the expedition.

Nevertheless, ethnohistorians and historians, including myself, have diligently and minutely scrutinized that tiny written record about the Indian allies and have extracted a surprising assortment of data. The admittedly fragmentary documentary evidence demonstrates, for example, that Indian allies constituted the largest component of the expedition as a whole and all of its subsidiary units or detachments, except the maritime group headed by Alarcón. *Indios amigos* fought alongside their less numerous Old World associates during repeated conflicts with natives of the American Southwest and northwest Mexico—Tierra Nueva as it was known to the expeditionaries. Their participation helps account for the ease with which most of the indigenous communities met by the expedition were subdued or overawed into pro forma submission.³ Perhaps routinely some Indian allies traveled ahead of the expedition's advance guard, acting as intermediaries and emissaries. The *indios amigos* also carried equipment and supplies, guarded livestock, and constructed shelters.⁴

The surviving documents have also yielded sketchy information about the places of origin of the expedition's Native allies. According to Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, a Spanish member of the expedition and its best known chronicler, "about eight hundred Indians native to Nueva España" assembled for the troop's departure from Mexico City in late fall 1539.⁵ They came from various unspecified places in a wide east-to-west band across present-day Mexico, from Veracruz to Puebla to Mexico City to Pátzcuaro to Colima, with an additional five hundred or more *indios amigos* from what are now the Mexican states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and Sinaloa, and perhaps other places as well.⁶

The Spanish documentary record has not been wholly devoid of data specific to individual *indios amigos*. The previously known documents, for instance, record the home communities of a few individual indigenous expeditionaries: a couple dozen from Tlatelolco, Coyoacán, Pátzcuaro, Guadalajara, Zapotlán, and Culiacán.⁷ One further pencil of documentary

light was thrown on that subject recently with our publication of a portion of the *Codex Aubin*, an indigenous pictorial codex glossed in Nahuatl. An annal-style document, it records the departure of a party of Tenochca (natives of Tenochtitlan, in what is now Mexico City) bound for Tierra Nueva with the Coronado Expedition in 1539, and the return of the survivors in 1542. No information, however, is provided as to the number of Tenochca who made up that contingent.⁵ One other group of allies of unknown size was reported in 1546 as having joined the expedition from Pátzcuaro under the leadership of a man known to the Spaniards as don Alonso.⁹ Those bits of information, however, still left the origins of most of the Indian allies in the dark.

Information about the *indios amigos* was not recorded during muster of the expedition in Compostela in February 1540. The list that was prepared then has proven to be a rich source of data about European expeditionaries, at least the male men-at-arms. The entries set down by the recording scribe, Juan de Cuevas, focused on the number of horses and the types and quantities of arms and armor each man was taking with him to Tierra Nueva. The declarations concerning arms and armor, although not made about the Indian allies, do, however, allow general inferences about their war gear.

Fully 90 percent of all the European men-at-arms listed on the muster roll declared that they possessed *armas de la tierra*, or arms and armor native to the Americas. Occasionally, indigenous American war gear was supplemented by European pieces such as crossbows, arcabuses, swords, helmets, and pieces of metal armor: a sleeve of mail here, a neck protector there. But, by and large, the European expeditionaries were outfitted exclusively with traditional Indian equipment. Given the obvious scarcity of European arms and armor among the Europeans, it is safe to assume that the Indian allies carried only their traditional armament. Likely exceptions to this rule were a few of the *amigo* leaders, who may have been given individual European weapons or accoutrements as confirmation of their high status. Thus, overwhelmingly the allies carried and employed such items of war as atlatls, bows and arrows, slings, thrusting spears (*tepoztopilli*), obsidian-edged swords (*macuahuitl*), clubs, shields, wood and bone helmets, and quilted cotton body armor (*ichcahuipilli*).¹⁰

Until very recently these few details were virtually all that was known about the *indios amigos* who made up the bulk of the Coronado Expedition. While working in the Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla, Spain, in spring 2006, Shirley Cushing Flint and I had set the goal of reviewing every folio of the massive surviving record of a *visita*, or administrative-judicial

review, of all the royal officials of Nueva España that was conducted between 1543 and 1546. Because of its size—20 *legajos*, or between 24,000 and 30,000 pages—and the fact that no finding aid or index for it exists, researchers rarely can afford to take the weeks required to read through its entire bulk on the chance of finding material pertinent to their research interests.¹¹ Nevertheless, based on our own previous forays into the *visita* record, we were sure that hitherto unstudied material about members of the Coronado Expedition would be found there.

Within the first week of methodically paging through the *legajos*, we were astounded by what we found, while reading the testimonies of 108 witnesses to an *interrogatorio*, or questionnaire, formulated by *visitador general* Francisco Tello de Sandoval.¹² At the end of that record we came upon the statements of sixteen Indian witnesses, five of whom testified that they had participated in the Coronado Expedition. Of equal importance, several of the *visitador's* questions dealt specifically with the *entrada* and its Indian allies. The resulting record of proceedings is remarkably rich in information about the expedition that has not previously been available for study and sheds light on a range of issues that until now have been approachable only through speculation and educated guesswork.

The Tello de Sandoval testimonies add to current knowledge about the *indios amigos* in three different ways. First, they reveal the identities of five previously unknown indigenous men who made the *jornada*, as well as the names of their home communities and the men's political status within those communities. Second, we learn more than we ever have about the size of several contingents of allies. Third, the Indian witnesses provide the first-ever evidence from Natives themselves as to why they chose to participate in the expedition.

Before delving into the data resulting from the *visita* record in more detail and then providing complete, unabridged transcripts and English translations of the testimonies of the five former Indian expeditionaries who served as witnesses, some background is in order concerning the investigation and the witness statements.

The Tello de Sandoval *Visita*

The authority of Hernando Cortés, who in 1521 led the conquest of México-Tenochtitlan, the Mexica capital, over governance and control of indigenous populations was severely restricted after 1535 by Viceroy Antonio de

Mendoza, who acted under royal direction. Cortés, though, made persistent efforts to regain his lost status, first in Nueva España and, beginning in 1540, at the royal court in Spain. Much of this administrative counterattack was directed at Mendoza, who had served as the king's alter ego in Nueva España since 1535 and, as Cortés saw it, had arrogated to himself rights and privileges that properly pertained to Cortés.

He and his supporters repeatedly pushed for the recall of the viceroy. In the wake of Carlos I's and his councilors' promulgation in 1542 of the "New Laws of the Indies for the Good Treatment and Preservation of the Indians" and in response to intense lobbying by Cortés and his partisans, the king authorized a sweeping *visita* to be made of all the royal officials in Nueva España, especially the viceroy. Eighty years ago, historian Arthur Aiton accurately described the *visita* as "a determined endeavor to discredit [Viceroy Mendoza's] rule and to oust him from his high office."¹³ Tapped in early summer 1543 to conduct the *visita* was *licenciado* (holder of an advanced degree) Tello de Sandoval who had recently been appointed a member of, and would later serve as president of, the Consejo de Indias, the royal body with responsibility for oversight of most activities in Spanish America.¹⁴

Tello de Sandoval traveled from Spain to Mexico City already prepped with written complaints and accusations against the viceroy leveled by Cortés.¹⁵ Clearly these complaints figured heavily in the formulation of the outline of his investigation. The *visitador* arrived in Nueva España in February 1544 and energetically set about discharging his duties, traveling around the viceroyalty questioning witnesses for the next three years. In May and June 1546, he was back in Mexico City, where he called 108 witnesses, which, as already mentioned, included the sixteen American Natives of interest in this article.

As was standard practice for such investigations, Tello de Sandoval formulated a long list of questions, an *interrogatorio*, from which he selected in interviewing the witnesses. In the case of the *indios*, he focused on questions 57–77, which dealt with *encomiendas* and the treatment of Natives by *encomenderos*; question 89, concerning expeditions of reconnaissance undertaken or supported by Viceroy Mendoza; and questions 90 and 91, which concentrated on mistreatment of Indians who participated in or were encountered during expeditions of conquest and reconnaissance. In the actual questioning, the *visitador* adhered to those themes, but modified and amplified the questions to suit individual witnesses, repeatedly asking specifically about the Coronado Expedition and the later voyage of Ruy López de Villalobos to the Orient.

What the Indian Witnesses Tell

None of the Native witnesses was expected to answer in Spanish, although several proved to be minimally literate in that language, to the extent of being able to sign their names at least. Almost certainly they all had at least rudimentary conversational skills in Spanish. Nevertheless, they were questioned and made their replies through interpreters, two priests named fray Hernando Méndez and fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz.¹⁶ The process of translation and the tendency of recording *escribanos*, or scribes, to paraphrase witness responses in language that was often formulaic account for the seeming uniformity of tone and phrasing of the various testimonies. The investigation record does not literally record the words of the Native witnesses.

Even though this series of testimonies comes second and third hand, its substance, if not its specific vocabulary and phraseology, is of major significance for study of the Coronado Expedition and other similar enterprises of the first half of the sixteenth century. This source provides the only extant evidence originating directly from indigenous former members of the expedition and contains unique insights into recruitment, treatment, origins, roles, and numbers of *indios amigos*. Most exciting are the statements made by the five Indian witnesses who actually went on the expedition to Cibola: Juan Tlecanen, a *principal*, or leader, from the former Native city of Tenochtitlan; Martín Cacçol, also a native of Tenochtitlan; Juan Coavis, a native of Tlatelolco, Tenochtitlan's companion settlement prior to the conquest, known as Santiago since the coming of the Europeans; Francisco Yautl, from the portion of Tlatelolco known as Los Reyes; and Francisco Abuy, a *principal* from Pátzcuaro, in what now, as then, is Michoacán.¹⁷

In addition to the testimony of the five former expeditionaries, valuable information about the Coronado *entrada* was also provided by four other Native witnesses, who, because of the positions of leadership they held within their communities, were privy to what incentives the expedition's European organizers had offered to potential indigenous expeditionaries, as well as other conditions of participation by *indios amigos*.¹⁸ The remaining seven Indian witnesses, of the sixteen, had nothing substantive to say about the Coronado Expedition and testified primarily in response to questions concerning Viceroy Mendoza's and *licenciado* Lorenzo de Tejada's employment of indigenous laborers in and around Mexico City.¹⁹

All but two of the sixteen Indian men (all the witnesses were men) who were called as witnesses by Tello de Sandoval had been born before the

coming of Europeans to México, Michoacán, and the rest of modern Mexico's Occidente, or west; nearly half of them were adults at the time of that collision.²⁰ Seven of the Native witnesses stated that they had been baptized as Christians. Whether others also had been taken into the Catholic Church is unclear because they made no statement either way. In any case, nearly all had experienced the shift in control of their communities from Native American to European elites and had weathered the associated changes.

All had at least heard about the expedition to Cíbola led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and had been affected by it. Those who spoke specifically about the expedition agreed that the *indios amigos* had joined the *entrada* voluntarily, without coercion. As Francisco Abuy put it, "when they learned that the viceroy was sending [people] to Tierra Nueva, they were saying among themselves that they would like to go there."²¹ Similarly, he stated that the governor of Pátzcuaro, like other governors, had ordered that the indigenous people of the town provide food and other supplies to the expeditionaries when they asked for them.²² His and similar statements by other Native witnesses rebut the common assumption that "allies" were physically coerced participants in the expedition.²³

The fact that most of the witnesses acquired and retained positions requiring routine, official contact with Spanish authorities, as well as at least nominal conversion to Catholicism by some of them, suggests a high degree of cooperation on their part with the colonial regime. Whether their cooperation was eager or reluctant, there is no way to judge. In either case, it was decidedly in their interest to maintain congenial relations with the Europeans. Thus, when it was made known to them, their peers, and predecessors that Viceroy Mendoza was in need of personnel for the intended expedition to Cíbola, they understandably "volunteered" groups from their communities in order to demonstrate goodwill. Juan Tlecanen told it this way:

licenciado [Lorenzo de] Tejada, an *oidor* of this royal *audiencia*, talked with don Diego, *gobernador* of México, and the *principales*, [telling them] that Tierra Nueva had been discovered and that the viceroy was sending people there. [He asked] whether some Indians would be willing to go there voluntarily . . . The [*gobernador* and *principales*] said that they were willing to go.²⁴

Native officials may have wanted to ingratiate themselves with the viceroy and his subordinates by sending their compatriots on the expedition

and, in some cases, going themselves, but they had other incentives too. Statements made by the Tello de Sandoval witnesses make it clear for the first time that Mendoza's minions offered direct cash payments to Indian leaders, ostensibly for purchase of supplies for the contingents they would send with the expedition. Again it was Lorenzo de Tejada, who, according to Juan Coavis, "gave a certain number of gold pesos to the governor don Martín for the purchase of provisions for the Indians who were having to go . . . don Martín gave leather sandals, hardtack, and chocolate to this witness and the other Indians who went, for [their needs] along the road."²⁵

Also newly apparent from their testimony, Indian *principales* and *gobernadores* may have been offered, before the expedition was launched, a reduction in the amount of tribute their communities were required to pay to *encomenderos* or royal officials. Either that or temporary lowering of tribute rates was made later as compensation for indigenous participation in the *entrada*. Speaking of what transpired at Pátzcuaro, the *principal* don Alonso testified through an interpreter:

After those who went with the armed force that traveled to the Tierra Nueva of Cibola had [already] gone, don Luis de Castilla came and called the *principales* to the Franciscan monastery in that *pueblo* and told them he wanted to pay for the food and *tamemes* [load bearers] they had provided to those who had gone to Tierra Nueva. Because of that he was canceling [some of their tribute requirement] and ordering that they pay less of the tribute in *mantas* [blankets] which they were obligated to pay to His Majesty.²⁶

In a more timely manner, Mendoza sent Juan de León Romano ahead of the expedition, at least as far as Michoacán (of which he was *corregidor*), to purchase foodstuffs and other supplies from Native communities along the route.²⁷ Often, these same communities afterward contributed personnel to the expedition.

Although not mentioned by any of the Native witnesses, the opportunity to perform deeds of war must have been a major incentive for individual allies to participate eagerly in the expedition. For most of them, social advancement was tied to the capture of prisoners in war, which had become all but impossible within territory under Spanish colonial administration. Thus, official sanction of the opportunity for exploits in war through participation in the Coronado Expedition would have been a welcome development in

many central Mexican indigenous communities—an opportunity not to be rejected.

With regard to how many *indios amigos* joined the expedition to Cíbola, Tello de Sandoval's Indian witnesses provided a wide range of estimates, presenting a far greater measure of accuracy than has previously been possible for modern historians. Generally, the new information pertains only to the particular communities of individual respondents, ranging from 204 to 440 from Mexico City and from 100 to a "great many" from Pátzcuaro and the rest of the *provincia* of Michoacán.²⁸ The witnesses suggested no numbers for *indios amigos* from other locales, but it seems clear from their aggregate testimony that the Native contingent included "many Indians from everywhere." As Juan Coavis stated, the allies originated from "México [Tenochtitlan], from Michoacán [Pátzcuaro], from [the *provincia* of] Culiacán, from many other *pueblos*, and from Zacayuca."²⁹ If anything Castañeda de Nájera's figure of 1,300 Indian allies for the Coronado Expedition, which until now has been the only solid figure available, is probably low. A total of 2,000 *indios amigos* for the expedition now seems reasonable.³⁰ This number is significantly larger than has previously been estimated for the contingent of Indian allies and suggests that the expedition had an even more dominantly indigenous character than has been supposed.

The question of numbers of people, as it turned out, was a complex one for the witnesses to answer, because some Native groups completed the entire course of the expedition and others, notably *tamemes*, accompanied the force for only a few days and then passed their burdens on to bearers from other towns and returned to their homes. Don Alonso from Pátzcuaro made the safest estimate when he said simply that he did not know how many Indians made the trip and he did not count them. He went on to explain: "[I]n some instances two [people or troops] went and in others four, and in still others five. Furthermore the number of *tamemes* provided depended on the [number of] expeditionaries who were passing through. [Besides] not everyone went by way of that *pueblo* [Pátzcuaro], since they were divided onto two routes."³¹ This last statement regarding the use of multiple routes is consistent with the implications of previously studied Spanish documents concerning the expedition. As Castañeda de Nájera wrote, "since it seemed to [the viceroy] that if the expedition departed from [the Ciudad de] México en masse, it would do some injury [as it passed] through the lands of the [Native] allies, [he] decreed that they were to go [separately] to meet in the *ciudad* of Compostela" in the Pacific coastal *provincia* of Nueva Galicia.³²

The total indigenous enrollment on the expedition was one matter, how many *indios amigos* survived the often grueling and violent conditions of the *entrada* was another. When the *visitador* queried the Indian witnesses on that point, they responded with answers indicating that deaths and other losses among the Native expeditionaries were significant. This account represents the first such information that has been available to historians. Witness Juan Tlecanen, for example, reported with apparent precision that only 144 of 207 natives of México returned home after the “war,” as he called it, a casualty rate of 30 percent.³³ Following an evidently even more disastrous experience on the expedition, only twenty natives of Tlatelolco returned safely, according to Tlatelolco’s *gobernador* don Hernando, indicating a catastrophic loss of life.³⁴ Speaking of Pátzcuaro, don Ramiro from Michoacán could say only that “some [Indians] died [on the *entrada*], but he did not know how many.”³⁵ Also testifying about Michoacán, Francisco Abuy said that about 20 out of 100 of the region’s Indians died during the *entrada*.³⁶ Such high casualty rates support the inference that *indios amigos* routinely participated in warfare during the expedition and were thus subjected to the possibilities of injury and death much more frequently than if they had simply served as load bearers and herders, as the record of the Tello de Sandoval *visita* could lead one to conclude.

Even more elusive than firm statistics concerning Native American participation in the expedition has been any indication as to exactly how, or even whether, the *indios amigos* were integrated into the European force. Again, the testimonies of Indians given to Tello de Sandoval in 1546 illuminate this topic, although they do not settle it. Once more, Juan Tlecanen, the senior Native witness who provided the most copious detail in his answers, made a particularly telling statement:

[T]he [people] from this *ciudad* of México traveled in the service of Captain General Francisco Vázquez, thirty Indians from the community of México and another thirty from the community of Santiago carrying loads belonging to the captain [general]. The rest served him in carrying forage and in other ways, as the [Spaniards] directed them. The Indians from the other *pueblos* served other Spaniards.³⁷

Tlecanen’s testimony strongly suggests that many of the *indios amigos* were assigned to specific Spanish individuals on the expedition and may have

traveled with those individuals, rather than as a segregated, all-Indian unit that would have included individuals assigned to multiple Spaniards. This arrangement probably applied especially to *tamemes* and men given the chore of tending the private livestock of individual *conquistadores*. There may, nevertheless, have been others, especially those who served a primarily warrior function and those who served the force as a whole, who were not as a rule mixed with the European expeditionaries. The Tello de Sandoval records provide the first documentary evidence available on this matter.

An anecdote reported by witness Francisco Yautl demonstrates that many indigenous members of the expedition remained largely independent of Spanish leadership and could operate on their own. "Six days' journey from this *ciudad* [de México]," he said, "the aforesaid don Martín returned unwell because he fell from a horse, and many Indians returned with him."³⁵ The story also suggests that the authority of indigenous leaders such as don Martín remained largely undiluted by the presence of a parallel Spanish hierarchy. Thus, when he decided not to make the journey to Tierra Nueva, it appears that all the people who were with him from his community left the expedition at his direction and returned home. It is also interesting to note that don Martín had been riding a horse, an activity generally forbidden to Indians, although his case was certainly not a unique exception to the prohibition.

The testimonies of several Tello de Sandoval witnesses reveal that recruitment of contingents of *indios amigos* was done at the level of the indigenous dynastic state, or *altepetl*. Individual Indians did not enlist separately. Size of the aggregate group to be sent from any given *altepetl* (Tenochtitlan, for example) was set by the Native governor/*tlatoani* and the leaders of the constituent *barrios/calpolli*. The quotas thus established were then filled under the leadership of traditional *calpolli* leaders, or *teuctlatoque*, who then maintained authority over their individual *calpolli* corps while on the expedition, regardless of where within the expeditionary force they traveled or lodged.³⁹ Again, no documentary evidence has been available before now regarding the mechanism of recruitment of the Indian allies.

The size and organization of the various contingents of *indios amigos* referred to in the testimony of 1546 are consistent with the reconstructions of protohistoric indigenous Mesoamerican fighting forces described by anthropologist Ross Hassig. As he writes in *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (1988):

[E]ven where the figures [for the sizes of armies and their subunits] do not appear to be round, they are often from the perspective of the Aztec vigesimal (base-20) numerical system . . . resulting in typical troop numbers of 200, 400, 8,000, and so forth. . . . The basic Mesoamerican army units (called squadrons in the Spanish chronicles) were probably town or calpolli commands. Each town marched under its own banner with its own leaders, and if it was large enough to have more than one calpolli, it had one overall leader, or tlahtoani, and subordinate leaders for each of the several calpolli units. These calpolli units were often dispersed among and incorporated into the larger armies of a major campaign, but they apparently were not divided.⁴⁰

Juan Tlecanen was about forty-eight years old at the time he joined the Coronado Expedition, making him probably the most senior member of the force, either Native American or European. The four other indigenous witnesses during the *visita* of 1546 who had served on the expedition had been in their late twenties and early thirties in 1539, ranking them among the oldest expeditionaries and likely the most experienced men-at-arms. They could have been a tremendous asset to the Spanish leadership of the expedition, if they chose to take advantage of the *amigos*' experience.

All indications are that the Indian allies of the Coronado Expedition maintained traditions of organization, dress, accoutrements, travel, and provisioning that antedated the arrival of Spaniards at Tenochtitlan in 1519. As historian James Lockhart and others have shown about many aspects of Nahua life under the colonial regime, the participation of Tenochcas, Tlatelolcas, Tarascos, and others in the expedition to Cibola also reveals the strong persistence of indigenous norms, even while Europeans claimed to have brought those American Natives within a new orbit of kings, popes, tribute, and world trade. While the *indios amigos* appeared to serve Spanish ends, they continued to pursue modes of behavior and motivations that were distinctly their own.

Many questions about the expedition's *indios amigos* remain unanswered even after studying the Tello de Sandoval *visita* testimony. Although I suspect, for instance, that Native allies frequently undertook activities largely or wholly unknown to the Spanish leadership of the expedition, documentary confirmation of that supposition remains elusive. Nor do we know whether such freelance activities sometimes embroiled the full expedition with natives of Tierra Nueva or, on the contrary, whether they may sometimes have

forestalled conflict. I hope that someday conclusive evidence will be brought to bear on the question of whether the *indios amigos* continued their preconquest practice of capture and sacrifice of high-status war prisoners in the course of the Coronado *entrada*. Was there trade or other peaceful communication between the allies and Indians of Tierra Nueva?

These and other similar issues remain untouched by the testimony of Native witnesses during Tello de Sandoval's *visita*. In fact the *visitador* did not complete his investigation, being recalled to Spain in 1546 after the viceroy's brother became president of the Consejo de Indias. Nevertheless, the testimony that he did take and that has survived the vicissitudes of time adds substantially to the store of what is known about the *indios amigos*.⁴¹ This source repeatedly throws light where before there was none.

Aside from what the Indian witnesses had to say about the expedition, identification, however sketchy, of individual indigenous expeditionaries is an important development. Little by little, discrete individuals emerge from what has been known only as a mass and then only with the scantest of detail.⁴² My special hope over the years has been to shed light on the expedition's Indian members, but such information has been extremely scarce. Thus, it gives me great pleasure to present in Spanish transcription and English translation the following testimonies of Juan Tlecanen, Martín Cacçol, Juan Coavis, Francisco Yautl, and Francisco Abuy. Without them and their companions the expedition, for better or worse, would have been all but impossible.

Translation of the Testimonies

Note on editorial protocols: Folio numbers are included in both transcripts and translations to facilitate navigation back and forth between the two, and even between them and the original manuscripts when that may seem advisable. Folio numbers, either recto [r] or verso [v], are shown in square brackets [].

Many words that occur in the original manuscripts, including archaisms, technical terms, and obsolete usages of seemingly familiar words, are extremely cumbersome to render into English. Spanish words that fall into this category include *criado*, *caballero*, *encomendero*, *entrada*, *hidalgo*, *oidor*, *repartimiento*, *requerimiento*, and dozens of others. I have left such words untranslated throughout the documents, but have provided a glossary at the end of the article that contains explanations of those terms not defined elsewhere in the text.

The sixteenth-century usage of *ciudad*, *pueblo*, and *villa* deserves special note. Spanish society of the era was thoroughly hierarchical. Persons had their ranks and stations, but so did political and social entities. When speaking of settlements, that hierarchy was never out of mind. Thus, to designate a place a *ciudad*, was to recognize that community as being among the highest ranking, most important, and largest settlements. In the Spanish world, to be called a *ciudad*, a place had to be so designated by the king. Outside the Spanish sphere of control, a *ciudad* was a place of comparable status, importance, and, usually, size. In descending order of importance and size, *ciudad* was followed by *villa*, *lugar*, and *aldea* (hamlet). *Pueblo*, although less precise, referred to a place of minor importance.

In both transcripts and translations, scribal marginalia, titles, addresses, and like matter are enclosed and designated by flourished brackets { }. In preparing the original-language transcriptions, I have adhered to the following conventions: All emendations, additions, and expansions, whether scribal or editorial, are rendered in italics. In the case of scribal emendations, the characters or words in italics are preceded by a caret ^ . Marginal notes, symbols, and marks appearing in the texts are rendered in roman type but are enclosed between flourished brackets { }. Letters that are superscribed in the documentary text are lowered to the main text line in the transcriptions. Both scribal and editorial deletions are preserved in the transcripts, but are identified as deletions by being enclosed between standard parentheses (). In the case of scribal deletions, a caret is also included within the parentheses (^).

[604v]

. . . {93rd witness}

{Juan Tlecanen, *principal*}

Afterward the lord *visitador* ordered Juan Tlecanen to appear before him. [He is] a *principal* whom don Diego [*gobemador* of México] brought with him.⁴³ Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. In this he employed a representation of the cross and promised to tell the truth by means of the aforementioned interpreter. He was questioned under that oath and said the following:

{1} In response to the first question of the *interrogatorio* he said that he is familiar with Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza [and has been] since he came to this land.

[605r] In response to the questions concerning personal data required by law he stated that he is about fifty-five years old and is a baptized Christian

and that none of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. He said that he will tell the truth about what he may know and will not withhold it because of fear or for any other reason.

{Viceroy} {/}

He was asked what service it is that [the Indians] provide each day to the viceroy in his house. [In response] he said that every day they provide forty measures of forage, each measure being two large loads. Also fifteen loads of firewood and three sacks of charcoal, plus one handful of split pitch pine. That is what they provide and have provided each day to the aforesaid viceroy. In addition, every day [they provide] ten loads of water from Chapultepeque, as well as twenty or twenty-five [loads] of water that comes to this *ciudad* in the aqueduct. The aforesaid service is provided for twenty days by the community of México [Tenochtitlan] and the next twenty days by the community of Santiago [de Tlatelolco]. By this rotation they have always provided him the aforementioned service, since he came to this land.

Furthermore, they provide him with Indian servants who serve him in his house, both in the pantry and in the kitchen, and in other things. The community of México ordinarily provides him sixty Indians who serve him, and sometimes seventy or seventy-five. And these [people] have always served him. This the witness knows because he, as a *principal* of this *ciudad*, which he is, was, in the past, in charge of service in the house of the aforesaid viceroy, involving the aforementioned Indians. He saw it.

Indians from the community of Santiago also ordinarily serve. This witness has seen that because while the one [group] serves upstairs in the pantry, the other serves downstairs in the kitchen. He does not know, however, the number of those who serve from the community of Santiago.

In addition, ten or twelve Indians, and sometimes thirteen, carry wheat for [the viceroy] to the mill and bring it [back] from there ground. [This they do] every third day, and sometimes every day. This is the service they provide him and have always provided him [605v] since he has been in this land. They have never, in all that time, been given or paid anything for this. He knows this because he has seen it and is a *principal* and has been in charge of affairs of the community and of the *maceguals* [common people].
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Asked whether this witness went on the conquest of the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola, to which the aforementioned viceroy sent Francisco Vázquez de Coronado as captain general, he said, yes, he went.

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He was asked how many Indians went with the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez on that conquest and how many of them returned. He stated that four hundred and forty Indians from this *ciudad* of México went on the aforesaid conquest. Likewise, Indians from Michoacán and other *pueblos* went, but this witness does not know how many. He did not count them or have a count made, except of those who went separately from this *ciudad*. But [he can say] that [there was] a great multitude of [Indians from other places].

From this *ciudad* of México, one hundred forty-four Indians, of two hundred and seven who went, returned from that war. The rest died there and along the way.

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He was asked whether the aforementioned Indians had carried loads on the route. He replied that the [people] from this *ciudad* of México traveled in the service of Captain General Francisco Vázquez, thirty Indians from the community of México and another thirty from the community of Santiago carrying loads belonging to the captain [general]. The rest served him in carrying forage and in other ways, as the [Spaniards] directed them. The Indians from the other *pueblos* served other Spaniards. This witness saw that some of those [Indians] carried loads. They did not [begin] carrying loads at this *ciudad*, but rather they started carrying loads in the way he has said twenty-six days' journey from this *ciudad*.

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He was asked by whose order the Indians who went on the aforesaid conquest did so. [In response] he stated that *licenciado* [Lorenzo de] Tejada, an *oidor* of this royal *audiencia* [high court], talked with don Diego, *gobernador* of México, and the *principales*, [telling them] that Tierra Nueva had been discovered and that the viceroy was sending people there. [He asked] whether some Indians would be willing to go there voluntarily [606r] because they could be sure that [the Spaniards] would not use force or take them against their will, as Nuño [Beltrán] de Guzmán had done when he went to Jalisco.

The [*gobernador* and *principales*] said that they were willing to go [to Tierra Nueva], and they went willingly. The aforementioned *licenciado* Tejada gave the [*principales*] from the community of México sixty pesos [of silver] *de tepuzque* [while they were still] in this *ciudad*. [This was] so that they could buy sandals and provisions and other things for those who had to go to the war. The witness believes that [Tejada] gave a similar amount to the [*principales*] from Santiago. When they had arrived at Jalisco, where

they found the aforesaid viceroy, the viceroy asked them if they were going willingly or under compulsion.⁴⁴ And they said that they were going by their own free will and not by coercion. There [Mendoza] ordered the people from México to carry 30 loads for the captain [general], and those from Santiago [were ordered to carry] an equal number. [Tlecanen said] that for this [the Spaniards] did not give them any payment, neither outbound or on the return, except seven loads of hardtack that they gave them to eat.

The witness [stated] that he knows all the foregoing because he went on the aforementioned journey and saw it. Further, he was in charge of the Indians from the community of México who went there. [He] also [said] that in everything else they themselves carried their food and sustained themselves. This is what he knows and what occurred concerning what he has been asked.

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[Tlecanen was] asked whether the Indians who he said traveled with loads with the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez, were always carrying loads along the whole route. He replied that they were bearing loads until the supplies that they carried in the aforementioned loads were exhausted. From there onward they carried nothing except their own food. He said that he believes [it was] at Culiacán that the supplies that made up their loads were used up and that from there on they did not carry loads.⁴⁵

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[He was] asked whether in this *ciudad* [de México] they provided any *tamemes* or supplies for the people who went on the aforementioned conquest and [with] other armed forces, he stated that he did not know more than he has said before. And he reaffirmed that. When he was read [his statement] he said that it is rightly recorded, and he confirmed it. The aforesaid interpreter signed it with his name because the witness did not know [how].

[606v] Afterward he said that it is five days [on] and five days [off] to bring water to the house of the aforementioned viceroy. The [people] from the community of México provide service for five days, and those from Santiago [do so] for the next five days. Thus they alternate five days and five days bringing water. [It is] likewise as concerns transporting wheat to the mill to be ground. He said that by turns those from México provide service for five days and those from Santiago [do so] for the next five days. During these five days pertaining to them, sometimes they go every day and other times every third day, as he has said and stated above.

Likewise, he declared, regarding what he has said about being in charge of the Indians who went to Cíbola, that this witness and three other Indians were in charge of them.⁴⁶ This is the truth, everything he said and declared through the translation of the aforesaid fray Hernando Méndez, interpreter, who signed it.

Where it reads “tre,” “Francisco Vázquez,” [and] “y” [the words are] struck out. It stands as struck out.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{94th witness}

{Martín Cacçol}

After what was stated above, on the aforesaid day the lord *visitador* ordered Martín Cacçol to appear before him. [He is] an Indian [and] *vecino* [citizen with full political rights] of this *ciudad*. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell the truth. He was questioned under that oath and said the following:

[He was] asked whether he is familiar with the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza and for how long. He replied, yes, he knows [him and has] since he has been in this land.

Asked the questions concerning personal data, he stated that he is thirty-eight years of age, more or less, and that he is a baptized Christian and a native of the *ciudad* de México. [He said] that none of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying] and that he will tell the truth about what he may know, and nothing else.

{607r} {viceroi} {/}

[He was] asked how many Indians from the community of México provide service in the house of the viceroy in this *ciudad*. He replied that from the community of México sixty Indians serve continuously in the house of the aforementioned viceroy. [They serve] for twenty days in the pantry and twenty [days] downstairs in the kitchen. When they are serving in the pantry, those from Santiago serve in the kitchen, and when those from México are serving in the kitchen, those from Santiago serve in the pantry. He does not know, though, how many [persons] from the community of Santiago provide service, but he knows and has seen that sixty Indians [from] the community of México serve continuously. He knows this because for two years this witness was in charge of those who provide service there and saw it.

Likewise, they serve [the viceroy] in carrying wheat to the mill for grinding. Concerning this matter of the mill, those from México serve five days and alternate with those from Santiago for five days that fall to them. Sometimes they go twice and other times three times; every time fourteen Indians travel with loads to the mill. It has always been this way since the aforementioned viceroy came to the land. [The Spaniards] have not given or paid them anything for this, not [anything] to eat or anything else.

Asked whether this witness went with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to the tierra nueva of Cíbola, he said, yes, he went.

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[Cacçol was] asked how many Indians from the Ciudad de México went to the aforesaid tierra nueva of Cíbola. He replied that two hundred and four Indians went from the community of México. Four of them fled along the way and two hundred went [all the way] there. Indians from the community of Santiago also went there, but he does not know how many went nor did he count them. Likewise, he saw that Indians from other *provincias* and *pueblos* also went to the aforesaid war. But he did not count them, nor does he know how many they were.

[He was] asked how many Indians of the ones who went to the aforementioned war from the community of México returned. This witness replied that he does not know because he returned from Cíbola [607v] with *padre* fray Marcos [de Niza] and did not go beyond there. Afterward, when the Spaniards returned, he heard it said that a hundred and forty Indians from the community of México returned.

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[Cacçol was] asked by whose order the aforementioned Indians went to the war. He stated that the *oidor* [legislator/judge] *licenciado* [Lorenzo de] Tejada spoke with don Diego [Huanitzin] and the *principales*, [asking] whether they wished to go to the aforesaid war and conquest. And they said, yes. Thus, they went of their own free will. The aforementioned *licenciado* Tejada gave them a certain sum, which he does not remember, of *pesos de oro* for [purchase of] equipment and provisions. He also stated that four *principales* went from the community of México; they were in charge of the two hundred Indians from their community who went to the aforesaid war.

[He said] that from Jalisco to Culiacán they carried twenty loads, more or less, on *tamemes*, for the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez, who went as captain general. He did not give them anything or pay them for that,

except this witness saw that he gave them a certain number of loads of corn to eat. And at Culiacán [the Spaniards] gave them some fresh tortillas, and they provided service to Francisco Vázquez in carrying forage for the horses and in [doing] other things he ordered them [to do]. [The Spaniards] did not pay them anything for it, which this witness knows of. Further, the Indians themselves carried their own food.

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[Cacçol was] asked who ordered them to carry the aforementioned loads and to provide service to the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez. He stated that those four *principales* who were in charge of the common people ordered them to do so. He does not know by whose order [beyond that]. Those four who were in charge of the Indians and were *principales* are called don Pedro (who is now dead), Damián (who, likewise, is dead), Juan Tecçane from the barrio [or *calpolli*] of San Juan, and Martín Xalacate from the barrio [or *calpolli*] of Santa María.⁴⁷ They will know better.

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[He was then] asked whether he knows that some Indians from this *ciudad* went in other armed forces that the aforementioned viceroy dispatched, and further whether [the Indians] had provided some *tamemes* or some food-stuffs for [the forces] and the people who went in them. [He] replied that [608r] he did not know and that this is the truth and what he knows and saw concerning what he has been asked about. When he was read his statement he said that it is rightly recorded, and that he was confirming and did confirm everything he said and declared through translation by the aforementioned interpreter fray Hernando Méndez, who signed his name. [Cacçol] was ordered to keep secret everything stated above under pain of one hundred lashes. He promised to hold it close and keep it secret.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{ . . . }

[615v] { . . . }

{98th witness}

{Juan Coavis}

After what was stated above, in the aforesaid *ciudad*, on the aforementioned day, the lord *visitador* ordered that the Indian Juan Coavis appear before him.⁴⁸ He says that he is a native of the community of Santiago [de Tlatelolco]. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell

the truth. He was questioned under that oath by means of translation by the interpreter fray Hernando Méndez. He said and declared the following:

When he was questioned according to the first question of the *interrogatorio*, he answered that he is familiar with all of those mentioned in that question, and [has been] since they each came to the land.

In response to the questions concerning personal data required by law he stated that he is thirty-six years of age, more or less, and is a baptized Christian. [616r] He is a native and *principal* of Tlatelolco and is in charge of the commoners of the barrio of Santa Catalina.⁴⁹ None of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. [He said] that he will tell the truth about what he may know and will not fail to tell it because of fear or for any other reason.

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[Coavis was] asked whether he knew of any injuries or abuses that the Indians and commoners of this *ciudad* had received at the hands of the aforesaid viceroy [and] president or from the *oidores*, or from any one of them. Or whether [the Spanish officials] had treated them well and held them justly. He replied that he did not know of any person having done [them] harm or having abused [them]. Rather, they have treated everyone justly, as far as this witness has seen.

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[He was then] asked what service it is that the Indians of Tlatelolco provide in the house of the viceroy, for how long they have provided it, and by whose order [they did so]. He replied that they serve him in [bringing] forage and firewood. The [people] of Santiago [de Tlatelolco] serve him for twenty days, and those from México the next twenty days. Thus they serve him by turns. For the twenty days during which it falls to those of Santiago to provide service he knows and has seen that they supply him forty quantities by weight of forage every day. That is eighty large loads, because each quantity by weight equals two loads. Likewise, they provide firewood to him, but he does not know how many loads per day. [The viceroy] is also provided *ocote* [pitch pine], and they bring him water, but he does not know how much.

They also supply [Mendoza] with Indians who serve him in the pantry and in the kitchen. It is thirty-five Indians from the community of Santiago who serve the viceroy continuously in his house. The people from México also provide service, but he does not know how many. But when the one group provides service in the pantry, the other provides service in the kitchen,

and the ones in the pantry and the ones in the kitchen switch every twenty days. This they have provided to him and do still ever since he came to the land [616v] by order of the *caciques*.⁵⁰

[Coavis was] asked whether the aforementioned viceroy has paid or is paying them anything for that service. He stated that, no, he has not nor is he paying them anything for it.

Asked whether, at the viceroy's house, [the Spaniards] feed the Indians whom he says provide service there, he said, no, rather they take their own food.

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[He was] asked [next] how many Indians from the community of Santiago went to the tierra nueva of Cíbola with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and the people who went with him. He answered that eighty Indians from the community of Santiago went on the aforementioned conquest. He knows this because this witness went there. Furthermore, he and three other [men] took and were in charge of the Indians from the community of Santiago who went.⁵¹

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[Then he was] asked by whose order the aforesaid eighty Indians from the community of Santiago [de Tlatelolco] whom he says went to the war did so. He replied that the *oidor licenciado* Tejada spoke with the *caciques* of Santiago, telling them that the Spaniards were going to that tierra nueva and [asking] whether any Indians would want to go there voluntarily and whether they might consider it. The *caciques* and don Martín, who was governor at the time, but is now dead, told the Indians what the aforementioned *licenciado* Tejada had told them.⁵² And the Indians voluntarily wanted to go, and they went as he has said.

Also [he said] that the aforesaid *licenciado* Tejada gave a certain number of gold pesos to the governor don Martín for the purchase of provisions for the Indians who were having to go. [He stated] that he does not know how much [money] it was, except that the aforementioned don Martín gave leather sandals, hardtack, and chocolate to this witness and the other Indians who went, for [their needs] along the road.

Of the eighty Indians from Santiago who went, twenty carried loads of foodstuffs for the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez from Jalisco as far as Cíbola. [Those foodstuffs] were being used up along the way. The rest [of the Indians from Santiago] provided service to Francisco Vázquez by guarding the livestock which [the Spaniards] were taking and in putting up shelters in which the encampment was settled.

[617r] [Coavis was then] asked how many Indians returned of those who he says went to the aforementioned war from the community of Santiago. He replied that sixty Indians returned and the other twenty died there.

Asked what payment [the Spaniards] gave them for going to the war, he said that they did not give or pay them anything more than what he has said.
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[The witness] was asked by whose order [the Indians] carried the loads belonging to Francisco Vázquez, and who directed them to serve him in the ways he has said they served him. He answered that the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez ordered it and they did it by his order.

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[He was then] asked whether Francisco Vázquez paid them anything for it and whether, along the road, he fed the Indians who were carrying his loads. He stated that [Francisco Vázquez] did not pay or give them anything. Nor did he feed them. The witness said that he knows this, as to whether sometimes he fed them, because this witness did not see it.

Asked for how long they traveled around there providing service to the aforesaid Francisco Vázquez, [Coavis] replied that the going and coming and the being there lasted three years.⁵³

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[He was] asked from what other *pueblos* Indians went on the aforesaid journey with Francisco Vázquez. He said the [Indians] went from México [Tenochtitlan], from Michoacán [Pátzcuaro], from [the *provincia* of] Culiacán, from many other *pueblos*, and from Zacayuca.⁵⁴ And he stated that he did not know how many [went] from each community, except that many Indians went from each and especially many went from the *provincia* of Michoacán. And they were divided up to serve the Spaniards. [But] he does not know how many.

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Asked whether many of the aforementioned Indians died during the journey, [Coavis] answered that he does not know because he did not keep track [of anyone] except the [people] from Santiago whom he was in charge of.

[617v] {Tejada}

{[note this] in regard to [questions] 16 and 17 [regarding] Tejada}

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[The witness] was asked whether he is aware and has knowledge of a certain property and parcels of land that *licenciado* Tejada has close to

Chapulteque. He replied, yes, he knows about them because he has seen them.

[Coavis was then] asked whose the parcels were before they were the aforesaid *licenciado* Tejada's. He stated that they were lands of the Indians of México and Santiago who had their properties there.

Asked what was on those parcels when, [as he] says, they belonged to the Indians, he replied that [they were] farm lands where the Indians planted corn. Also there were maguey plants, a few fruit trees, and some Indians' houses. It seems to this witness that in the portion belonging to Santiago there were seven houses and that there were also houses in the portion belonging to México, but he does not know how many because he did not count them. He knows what is stated above because he saw it during the time it belonged to the Indians.

[He was] asked whether on those parcels there were any churches or religious retreats. He answered that on the portion that belonged to Santiago there was a small church, like a small religious retreat. He does not know whether there were more.

[Coavis was] asked who gave the aforementioned parcels to *licenciado* Tejada. This witness stated that he does not know because at the time he was in the tierra nueva of Cíbola.

[Next he was] asked whether the church, houses, trees, and maguey plants that he says were there are presently on those parcels. He stated, no, everything [has been] removed and torn down. He does not know who removed [them] because he was at that time, as he has said, in Tierra Nueva. Because of this he was not questioned further on this matter.

[He said] that this is the truth. When he was read his statement, he said that it was well recorded, and he was confirming and did confirm it. He was instructed to keep secret everything that he said and stated through translation by the aforementioned interpreter, who signed his name here.

Later this witness stated that [regarding] the church that he said was on those lands that the *licenciado* presently holds [618r] he does not remember whether it was there before the parcels belonged to *licenciado* Tejada, but after he returned from Tierra Nueva he saw it had been done. It may have been about a year ago that this witness went there and saw the aforesaid church on those lands, and it had not been removed or torn down. He does not know whether since that time they have removed it or whether it is [still] there. The aforesaid church was inside the fence of the land that *licenciado* Tejada has enclosed, on a portion that was not being planted.

It is valid where “hardtack,” “it,” and “he said” are written between the lines. Where “os” is struck out it stands as struck out, and it is not affected.

[Further, he was] asked whether he knows that the Indians of Santiago provide service to the aforementioned viceroy in carrying wheat to the mill and carrying it after it has been ground. He replied that he has heard it said by other Indians that the [people] of Santiago provide service of the type stated above for five days and the [people] of México [do so] for the next five days. During the five days that apply to [the people of Santiago], eight loads of wheat go to the mill. The Indians carry it every day and sometimes every third day. Further, they carry it once it has been ground. This witness does not know more than what he has heard said. And he ratified it, and the aforesaid interpreter signed it with his name.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{99th witness}

{Francisco Yautl}

After what was stated above, on the aforesaid day, the aforementioned lord *visitador* ordered the Indian Francisco Yautl to appear before him. He said that he is a native of the barrio of Los Reyes in Santiago [de Tlatelolco]. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell the truth. He was questioned under that [618v] oath by means of translation by the interpreter fray Hernando Méndez. He stated the following:

To the first question he replied that he is familiar with everyone mentioned in it [and has been] since each of them came to this land.

In response to the questions concerning personal data required by law he stated that, in his opinion, he is thirty-five years of age, more or less, although he does not know for sure. He is a baptized Christian. He is in charge of tribute in the barrio of Los Reyes, which is in Santiago.⁵⁵ None of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. [He said] that he will tell the truth about what he may know and will not fail to tell it because of fear or for any other reason.

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[This witness was] asked whether the Indians and the common people of Santiago have been treated benevolently by the aforementioned viceroy, president, and *oidores*, and whether they have treated them justly, or whether they have done [the Indians] any injury or abuse. He replied that

[the officials] have treated them well. He does not know that [the officials] have done them any injury or abuse. Rather, they have treated them justly.
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[Yautl was then] asked what sort of service it is that the Indians of Santiago have provided and do provide in the house of the aforementioned viceroy. He stated that they provide him with forage, firewood, water, and Indians to serve in the kitchen. But he does not know how many [or how much] of each item [they provided] because he was not in charge of that. [The Indians] have always provided it to [the viceroy] since he has been in the land. [They did it] by order of the governor and *principales* of Santiago. This witness does not know whether or not [the viceroys] paid for it because he has not seen him pay.

[He was] asked what service or Indians they provide to the *oidores*, or any one of them, or have provided since they have been in the land. He answered that he does not know.

[619r]

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[This witness was then] asked how many Indians from Santiago went to the Tierra Nueva of Cibola with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and the Spaniards who went with him, and by whose order [they went]. He answered that don Martín, who at that time was *gobernador* of Santiago, went on the aforementioned expedition with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado.⁵⁶ Six days' journey from this *ciudad* the aforesaid don Martín returned unwell because he fell from a horse, and many Indians returned with him. Those who went on and traveled on the aforementioned journey, it seems to this witness, were up to a hundred Indians. [That is,] concerning [only] the [people] from the community of Santiago. However, he did not count them. This witness [said] that he went there and was one of four [men] who was in charge of the Indians from Santiago.⁵⁷

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Asked by whose order they went on the aforementioned expedition, he said the *oidor licenciado* Tejada told the *caciques* and *principales* of México [Tenochtitlan] and Santiago [de Tlatelolco] that the Spaniards were going to Tierra Nueva and [asked] whether they would see if some Indians would want to go voluntarily, because [that way] they would not have to be forced and taken against their will. And the *principales* talked with the Indians. Thus [it was] that they went voluntarily.

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[Yautl was then] asked whether [the Spaniards] gave them anything because they went on the aforementioned expedition. He stated that he did not know more than that don Martín gave to each one [going] a pair of leather sandals and some chocolate that they took together, in order to eat along the way.

[He was] asked what it [was] that the [Indians] did on the aforesaid expedition and whom they served. [He replied] that, from Jalisco to Culiacán, twenty-eight of those Indians carried loads for the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez. [These were loads] of provisions and foodstuffs that were used up along the road, as well as arms and armor. The other Indians provided service to Francisco Vázquez [619v] by herding and guarding the livestock and by gathering forage and making his shelter.

[This witness was then] asked by whose order the [Indians] provided service to Francisco Vázquez and carried loads for him during that expedition. He declared that the aforementioned Francisco Vázquez told and ordered [the *principales*] and put them in charge of it. They did it by his order.

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[He was] asked what Francisco Vázquez gave and paid them for the aforementioned service and *tamemes*. [Yautl] replied that he did not give or pay them anything except that at Culiacán he ordered that those from Santiago be given twenty loads of unshelled corn. He gave them nothing else.

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[He was then] asked whether, along the road, Francisco Vázquez fed the Indians whom he took along carrying his loads. He replied that [Vázquez de Coronado] did not feed them or give them anything else, except what he stated above he gave them in Culiacán. This witness knows it because he went on the aforesaid expedition and was in charge of the Indians from Santiago, as he has said.

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[Yautl was then] asked how many of the Indians who went from the community of Santiago returned [there]. He replied that he does not know more than that he had heard it said by one of the four [men] who were in charge of them that it was sixty who had returned.

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[He was] asked how much time they spent on the aforementioned expedition, [to which] he answered that they spent three years from when they left this *ciudad* until they returned to it.

This witness [was] asked whether he is married and whether he was married at the time he says he went to Tierra Nueva. He stated that he is married and was [married] then and that he has children.

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[Next he was] asked from which other *pueblos* Indians went to the aforesaid Tierra Nueva and how many. He replied that they went from México, Culiacán, Zacayuca, and from the *provincia* of Michoacán. They were many, but he does not know the number [620r] because he did not count them. But he knows and saw that many Indians went.

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[Yautl was then] asked who [it was] that the other Indians served, who went to the aforementioned war. He said that some of them traveled with particular Spaniards. This witness knows everything that he has stated above because he went on the aforesaid expedition and saw it.

{/}

[Next he was] asked whether many of the Indians who went from this land died on the expedition. He replied that many [of them] died there, but he does not know the number. This is the truth. When he was read his statement, he confirmed it and said that it is well recorded because it is the truth as translated by the aforementioned interpreter. He was directed to hold and keep secret everything stated above, which he promised to hold and keep [thus]. He did not sign because, he said, he did not know how to write. The aforementioned interpreter signed his name.

fray Hernando Méndez [rubric]

Miguel López [rubric]

{ . . . }

[625r]

{102d witness}

After what was stated above, in the *ciudad* de México, on the sixteenth day of the month of June in the aforesaid year the lord *visitador* ordered the Indian Francisco Abuy to appear before him. He said that he is a native of the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro which is in the *provincia* of Michoacán. Since he was present, the oath was taken and received from him in the form prescribed by law. He gave [his oath] and promised to tell the truth. He was questioned under that oath by means of translation by the interpreter fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz and stated the following:

[He was] asked whether he is familiar with don Antonio de Mendoza, [who is] viceroy and governor of Nueva España. He replied that he has known him for about the last ten years.

When [he was] asked the questions concerning personal data required by law he said that he does not know how old he is, [but] that he is a native of Pátzcuaro in the *provincia* of Michoacán and a *principal* of that *pueblo*. None of the other such questions are relevant or impede him [from testifying]. [He said] that he will tell the truth about what he may know and nothing else. From his appearance he seemed to be forty years old, more or less.

{/}

[Abuy was] asked whether he knew or had heard about certain armed forces that Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza has put together. He replied that he knows and has seen that the aforesaid viceroy sent one armed force by land to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola because this witness went there. Furthermore, he saw that [the viceroy] dispatched another armed force by sea, and this witness saw many Spaniards go with it.⁵⁵ [He said] that it is six years ago, more or less, that [the viceroy] dispatched the armed force that went to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola and a little less than four years [since he sent off] the one that went by sea. This is public knowledge and widely held.

{/}

[He was] asked what are the things that [the Indians] provided in the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro, where this witness says he is a Native, for those [625v] armed forces. He answered that they did not provide anything that this witness knows of, except that, for one expedition, they fed and provided *tamemes* to the Spaniards who passed through that *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro and were going on the aforementioned expeditions.

{/}

[The witness was] asked by whose order they provided the food and *tamemes* that he says were provided to the people who went in the aforementioned armed forces. He stated that the Spaniards who passed through there asked for it for the aforementioned armed forces and the Indian don Pedro, who was governor at the time, ordered them to provide it to [the Spaniards]. And they provided, as he has said, food and *tamemes* to carry their loads for one day's journey.

{/}

[He was] asked how much food and how many *tamemes* it was that he says [the Indians] in the aforesaid *pueblo* provided to the Spaniards who went in those armed forces. He stated that he does not know the quantities of them.

{/}

[He was then] asked whether [the Spaniards] paid them for the aforesaid food and *tamemes* or whether they provided it without payment. He stated

that [the Spaniards] did not pay them anything then, but afterwards everything has been paid for.

{/}

[Abuy was] asked who paid them for it and how much he gave them and paid for it. This witness answered that he did not see the payment, but he heard it said by other *principales* of the aforesaid *pueblo* that El Romano had paid them for everything.⁵⁹ He does not know how much it was. But he heard him tell them that everything they had provided for the aforementioned armed forces had been counted, from the chickens to the firewood that they provided, and that [the Spaniards] had paid them for everything.

{/}

[He was] asked whether he knows that, in the aforesaid *pueblo*, they had provided anything for which they have not been paid. He answered that he does not know more than what he has stated above.

{/}

[He was] asked whether the people who went in the aforementioned armed forces did [the Indians] in the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro any injury or abuse. This witness said that he does not know that they did anyone any hurt or abuse whatsoever.

[626r] This witness [was] asked whether he went to the Tierra Nueva of Cíbola with the people and Spaniards who went there. He said, yes, he went.

{/}

[Abuy was] asked how many Indians went to the aforesaid Tierra Nueva. He replied that about a hundred Indians went from that *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro, and no others went from the *provincia* of Michoacán. Indians also went from México and its land, but he does not know how many because he did not count them. Of the hundred who went from Pátzcuaro about twenty Indians died there, and the rest returned. This witness knows it because he went there and saw it.

{/}

[He was] asked by whose order the aforementioned Indians went on that expedition. He said that they went voluntarily because when they learned that the viceroy was sending [people] to Tierra Nueva, they were saying among themselves that they would like to go there. And, thus, those he has said went did so.

[He was] asked whether [the Indians] carried loads belonging to the captain [general] or to the Spaniards who went on the expedition, or whether they provided service to them in any other way. He answered that they did not

carry loads belonging to anyone, but they served the Spaniards in bringing forage for the horses. They did not serve [the Spaniards] in any other way.

[This witness was] asked whether [the Spaniards] paid them or gave them anything because they went on the aforementioned expedition. [To which] he said, no.

{/}

[He was then] asked how long it took them and [how much time] they spent in traveling to and from the aforesaid Tierra Nueva. He stated that they were there for two years, and during the third they returned.

{/}

[Abuy was] asked whether he knows of any injury or abuse that Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza did to any persons or [whether] he took anything from them in the *pueblo* of Pátzcuaro or in any other *pueblos* of the *provincia* of Michoacán. He replied that, no, he does not know of, nor did he see, that the viceroy himself or by his order did any injury or abuse to [626v] any person in the aforementioned *provincia* or in any other community. Nor has he heard such a thing talked about. Rather, he has seen that [the viceroy] loves and is very fond of [the Indians]. This is the truth and what he knows about this matter.

He was read his statement, and when he was, he said that it is well recorded and he confirmed it because it is the truth. He was directed to hold and keep secret everything stated above, under penalty of one hundred lashes, which he promised to hold and keep [thus]. He signed his name to everything he said and declared by means of translation by the aforementioned interpreter fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, who, likewise, signed it with his name.

Where it is written between lines and says "les" is valid.

fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz [rubric]

Francisco

Miguel López [rubric]

{ . . . }

Transcription of the Testimonies

[fol. 604v]

{ . . . }

{testigo xcii}

{joan tlecanen / prinçipal}

E luego el señor visitador mando parecer Ante sy a Juan tle- / Çanen prinÇipal que el dicho don diego truxo Consigo del / qual siendo presente

fue tomado E *Recibido Juramento en forma / debida de derecho* y el lo hyzo sobre la señal de la cruz E *pro- / metio de decir verdad* por lengua del dicho ynterprete E / so Cargo del dicho *Juramento* le fue preguntado E dixo lo siguiente

{1}

A la primera pregunta del ynteRogatorio dixo *que / conoÇe al VisoRey don antonio de mendoça despues / que vino a esta tieRa*

[fol. 605r]

{{ (^ dxcij) ^ deV }

a las preguntas generales dixo *que es de hedad de ÇinCuenta / E çinco años poCo mas o menos e que es cristiano baUtizado / E que no le toCan ny enpeçen nynguna de las otras preguntas generales E que dira verdad de lo que supiere E no la / dexara de dezir por temor ny por otra CaUsa*

{VisoRey}

{/}

preguntado *que servycio es El que dan cada dia al Visorrey en su / casa dixo que le dan cada dia quarenta pesos de / yerba que son dos Cargas de las grandes cada peso y / quinze cargas de leña y tres costalejos de Carbon / y un manojo de ocote y que esto es lo que le han dado E / dan al dicho Visorrey cada dia y mas diez cargas de / agua de la de chapultepeque y veynte cargas y veynte / e ÇinCo de agua de la del caño del agua que viene a esta / Çiudad cada dia y que este dicho servycio le dan veynte dias / de la parte de mexico y otros Veynte dias de la parte de / santiago y asy por esta (h)orden le han dado el dicho / servycio sienpre despues que vyno A la tieRa y que asy- / mysmo le dan yndyos de servycio que le sirVen en su Casa / asi En el aparador como en la Cozina y en otras cosas / y que de la parte de mexico le dan sessenta yndyos que le / sirVen ordynariamente y algunas Vezes setenta E seten- / ta E Çinco y que estos le han servydo sienpre E que lo sabe / porque este testigo como prinÇipal que es de esta Çiudad los dias / pasados tuVo cargo de servir en Casa del dicho VisoRey / con los dichos Yndyos E lo Vido y que tambien sirVen / yndyos de la parte de santiago ordynariamente y este testigo / lo ha Visto por quando los unos syrVen aRiba en el / aparador los otros syrVen abaxo en la Cozina pero / que no sabe quantos son los que sirVen de la parte de san- / tiago E que asymysmo le lleVan ^diez o doze yndios / y algunas Vezes treze trigo al molyno y lo traen mo- / lido de el (terçer) a terçer (a) dia y otras Vezes cada / dia y que esto es el de servycio que le han dado y dan sienpre*

[fol. 605v]

despues *que* esta En la tieRa y *que* nunCa les han dado ny /pagado cosa
nynguna por ello En todo el dicho tiempo E / *que* lo sabe porque lo ha Visto
y es prinÇipal E tiene cargo / de las Cosas del pueblo y de los maÇcguales
{/}

preguntado si Fue este *testigo* a la Conquista de la tieRa nue- / Va de Çibola
donde el dicho (^francisco Vazquez) VysoRey / enVio a francisco Vazquez
de Coronado por Capitan general / dixo *que* si fue
{/}

preguntado *que* tantos yndyos fueron con el dicho francisco Vaz- / quez a la
dicha conquista E quantos Volvyeron de ellos dixo / *que* de esta Çiudad de
mexico fueron quatro çientos E Catorze yn- / dios a la dicha Conquista E
que de mechuaCan y de otros pueblos / asymysmo fueron yndios pero *que*
este testigo no sabe quantos / ny los Conto ny tuVo cuenta sino con los de
esta Çiudad / *que* yban por si aparte mas de *que* fue mucha Cantidad de
ellos / y de muchas *provnycias* e pueblos y de esta Çiudad de mexico /
Volvyeron Çiento E quarenta E quatro yndios de la dicha / gueRa de la
parte de mexico de dozientos E siete *que* fueron / y los demas muryeron
Alla e por los Camynos
{/}

preguntado sy yban cargados por el Camyno los dichos yndios / dixo *que* de
los de esta Çiudad de mexico fueron servyendo a francisco / Vazquez capitan
general y *que* fueron cargados treynta / yndios de la *parte* de mexico y otros
treynta de la *parte* de / santiago con cargas del dicho capitan y los demas / le
servyan En traer yerba y en otras Cosas *que* les mandaban / y *que* los yndios
de los otros pueblos servyan a otros españoles / y algunos de ellos Vio este
testigo que yban cargados y *que* de esta Çiu- / dad no fueron cargados sino
que de Veynte E seys jornadas de es- / ta Çiudad començaron a yr Cargados
Como dicho tiene
{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado fueron a la dicha conquista / E jornada los
yndios *que* dize *que* fueron a ella dixo *que* el licenciado / tejada oydor de esta
Real aUdiencia hablo a don diego gobernador / de mexico y a los prynÇipales
como se *habia* desCubierto aquella / tieRa nueVa y *que* el VisoRey EnViaba
gente a ella *que* si al- / gunos yndios de su Voluntad quysiesen yr a ella *que* lo
[fol. 606r]

{{ (^dxciij) ^dcVj}}

Viesen porque no les *habian* de hazer fuerça ny lleVarlos / contra su Voluntad
como lo hizo nuño de guzman quando / fue a xalisCo y *que* Ellos dixeron

que queryan yr alla / y de su Voluntad fueron y el dicho licenciado teJada les / dio sessenta pesos de tepuzque en esta Çiudad a los de la / parte de mexico para conprar cutaras y matalotaje / E otras Cosas para los que habian de yr a la dicha gueRa / cree este testigo que otros tantos dio a los de santiago / y que llegados que fueron a xalisCo donde hallaron al / VisoRey El dicho VisoRey les pregunto sy yban de / su Voluntad o por fuerça y (e) ellos dixeron que yban de / su Voluntad y no por fuerça y ally les mando / que lleVasen al capitan treynta Cargas los de mexico / y otras tantas los de santiago y que no les dieron / por ello paga nyinguna A la yda ny a la Venyda syno / fue siete Cargas de bizcocho que les dieron para Comer / E que sabe todo lo susodicho este testigo porque fue a la dicha / Jornada E lo Vido y tenia (^y) Cargo de los yndios de la / parte de mexico que fueron Alla E que en lo demas Ellos mys- / mos lleVaron su Comyda E se mantuVieron E que esto / es lo que sabe y pasa ÇerCa de lo que le ha sido preguntado

{}

preguntado si los yndios que dize que fueron cargados con el dicho / francisco Vazquez si fueron cargados sienpre todo el Ca- / myno dixo que fueron cargados hasta que se aCabo el / bastimento que lleVaban en las dichas Cargas y dende en / adelante no lleVaban syno sus Comydas de los mys- / mos yndyos y que en CuliaCan cree que se aCabo el basti- / mento de las cargas y de ally adelante no lleVaron / cargas

preguntado si sabe que para la gente que fue a la dicha Conquys- / ta E otras armadas si dieron Algunos tamemes / o bastimentos en esta Çiudad dixo que no sabe mas / de lo que dicho tiene de suso y en ello se afirmo E / siendo le leydo dixo que esta bien escryto y RatifiCose en ello / y el dicho ynterprete lo firmo de su nombre porque el testigo no sabia

[fol. 606v]

E luego dixo que se traer del agua a Casa del dicho Vy- / soRey y es de Çinco a Çinco dias los de la parte de mexico / sirVen ÇinCo dias y los de santiago otros ÇinCo E asy / se mudan de ÇinCo a Çinco dias para traer la dicha agua / E asmysmo En lo que toCa a lleVar el trigo al molino / A moler dixo que sirVen a Vezes los de mexico Çinco dias / y los de santiago otros Çinco y en estos Çinco dias que les caben Van algunas Vezes cada dia y otras Vezes de ter- / Çer a terÇer dia como de suso tiene dicho y deClarado / y asmysmo dixo que En lo que tiene dicho que este testigo lleVaba / cargo de lo yndyos que fueron a Çibola dixo que este testigo y otros / tres yndios lleVaban cargo de ellos E que esta es la verdad / todo lo qual dixo E deClaro por lengua del

dicho fray hernando / mendez ynterprete el qual lo firmo Va testado / donde
dezia tre Francisco Vazquez y pase por testado

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{testigo xciii}

{martyn cacçol}

E despues de lo susodicho en este dicho dia el / señor Visitador mando
pareçer ante sy a martyn cacçol / yndio Vezino de esta Çiudad del qual
siendo pre(^guntado) ^sente / fue tomado e Recibido Juramento en forma
debida de derecho y el lo hyzo / e prometio de (de) dezir verdad e so Cargo
del dicho Juramento / le fue preguntado E dixo lo syguente

preguntado si conosçe al VisoRey don antonyo de mendoça y de / quanto
tiempo a esta parte dixo que si conosçe despues que esta / en esta tieRa

preguntado por las preguntas generales dixo que es de hedad de treyn- / ta e
ocho años poCo mas o menos E que es cristiano baUtiza- / do y natural de
esta Çiudad de mexico E que no le toCan ny / enpeçen nynguna de las otras
generales y que dira / verdad de lo que supiere E no otra Cosa

[fol. 607r]

{(^ dxciii) ^ dcvij}

{Vysorey}

{/}

preguntado que tantos yndios sirVen de la parte de mexico / En Casa del
VisoRey en esta Çiudad dixo que de la parte / de mexico sirVen a la Con-
tinua en Casa del dicho VisoRey sessenta yndyos Veynte dias En el aparador
/ y Veynte En la cocina abaxo E que quando Ellos sir- / Ven En el aparador
los de santiago sirVen en la / cocina E quando los de mexico sirVen En la
Cocina / En el aparador sirVen los de santiago pero que / no sabe quantos son
los que sirVen de la parte de santia- / go mas de que sabe y ha Visto que la parte
de mexico / sirVen a la continua sienpre sessenta yndyos E que / lo sabe porque
este testigo tuVo cargo de los yndyos que / alli sirVen dos años e lo Vido E que
asymismo le / syrVen En lleVar trigo a moler al molyno y que en / esto del
molino sirVen a Veze ÇinCo dias los de / mexico y ÇinCo dias los de santiago
y en estos ÇinCo / dias que les caben algunas Veze Van dos Veze E otras /
Veze tres cada vez catorze Yndyos cargados al moli- / no y que esto ha sido
asy sienpre despues que el dicho Vy- / sorrey vino A la tieRa e que no les han
dado ny pa- / gado cosa nynguna por ello ny de Comer ny otra / cosa

preguntado si Fue este testigo con Francisco Vazquez de Coronado / a la
tieRa nueVa de Çibola dixo que si Fue

{/}

preguntado *que* tantos yndyos fueron a la dicha tieRa / nueVa de Çibola de esta Çiudad de mexico dixo *que* de la / parte de mexico fueron dozientos E quatro yndyos E / los quatro de ellos se huyeron del Camyno e los dozientos / fueron alla y *que de la parte* de santiago tambien Fue- / ron yndios pero *que* no sabe *quantos* (h)eran ny los Con- / To y *que* de otras provyncias e pueblos asymysmo Vido / *que* fueron yndyos a la dicha gueRa pero *que* no los conto / ny sabe *quantos* (h)eran

preguntado *quantos* yndios de los *que* dize *que* fueron de la / parte de (^xalysCo) mexico a la dicha gueRa VolVieron / dixo *que* no lo sabe porque este *testigo* Volvyo desde Çibola

[fol. 607v]

con el padre Fray marCos y no paso de ally adelante / y despues *quando* Volvyeron los españoles oyo dezir / Volvyeron de los de la parte de mexico Çiento E quaren- / ta yndyos

{/}

preguntado por cuyo mandado fueron a la dicha gueRa / los dichos yndyos dixo *que* el licenciado tejada oydor ha- / blo a don diego y a los prinÇipales si queryan yr / a la dicha gueRa E Conquysta y ellos dixieron *que* sy asy / fueron de su Voluntad y *que* el dicho licenciado tejada les dio / para matalotaje Çiertos pesos de oro *que* no se aCuerda *quantos* / fueron E *que* de la parte de mexico fueron quatro prinÇipales / *que* lleVaban cargo de los dozientos yndios *que* de su parte / fueron A la dicha gueRa y *que* desde xalisCo hasta Culia- / can lleVaron veynt(a)e cargas poCo mas o menos en tame- / mes al dicho francisco Vazquez *que* yba por Capitan general / y *que* no les dio ny pago cosa nynguna por ello *que* este *testigo* / Viese syno fueron Çiertas cargas de mayz *que* les dio / para Comer y en CuliaCan les daban algunas tortillas / frescas y servian al dicho francisco Vazquez en traerle / yerba para los Caballos y en otras Cosas *que* les mandaba / E *que* no les pagaron nynguna Cosa por ello *que* este *testigo* supie- / se y *que* los yndyos ellos mysmos lleVaban su Comyda

{/}

preguntado quien les mando *que* lleVasen las dichas Cargas y *que* sirViesen / al dicho francisco Vazquez dixo *que* aquellos quatro prinÇipales / *que* lleVaban cargo de los maçeguales les mandaban / *que* lo hiziesen E *que* no sabe por cuyo mandado y *que* estos / quatro *que* tenian cargo de los yndios se dizen don *pedro* *que* es / ya muerto y damyan *que* asymysmo es muerto y

Juan / tecçane del baRio de san Juan y martyn xalacate del baRio / de santa
 marya y *que estos que* (h)eran prinÇipales sabran / me]or /
 {/}

preguntado si sabe *que* a otras Armadas *que* al dicho Viso- / Rey *haya enViado*
hayan ydo algunos yndyos de esta Çiudad / o *hayan dado* para ellas y para la
 gente *que* yba a ellas / algunos tamemes o algunos bastimentos *dixo que*
 [fol. 6o8r]

{(^dxcV) ^dcVii}

no lo sabe E *que* esta es la verdad y lo *que* sabe e Vido / sobre lo *que* ha sido
 preguntado e syendo le leydo su / dicho *dixo que* esta bien escryto y en ello
 se RatifiCaba / E RatifiCo todo lo qual *dixo e deClaro* por len- / gua del
 dicho fray hernando mendez ynter- / prete el qual lo firmo de su nombre
mandosele /que tenga secreto de todo lo susodicho so pena de / Çien(t)
 aÇotes el qual prometio de lo tener E / guardar

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{. . . }

[fol. 615v]

{. . . }

{testigo xcVii}

{Joan co(^y)^avis}

E despues de lo susdicho En la dicha Çiudad en este / dicho dya El dicho
 señor Vysytador mando parecer / ante sy a Juan coaVis yndyo natural *que*
dixo ser de esta / Çiudad de la parte de santiago del qual siendo presente /
fue tomado E Reçevydo Juramento en forma debida de *derecho /y* el lo hizo
 E prometio de *decir verdad* E so Cargo del dicho *Juramento /* le fue
 preGuntado por lengua del dicho fray hernando men- / dez ynterprete *dixo*
 E depuso lo syguiente

preGuntado por la primera preGunta del ynteRogatorio / *dixo que* Conoçe
 a todos los En la dicha pregunta Conteny- / dos desde *que* Cada Uno de
 ellos Vynieron a la tieRa

preGuntado por las preGuntas generales *dixo que es* de hedad / de treynta E
 seys años poCo mas o menos E *que es cristiano* baU-

[fol. 616r]

{dxcVj}

tizado E natural de t]alelulCo E *que es prynÇipal /* E tiene Cargo de
 maçeguales En el baRio de santa / Catalyna E *que* no le toCan ny enpeçen

nynGuna / de las otras generales E *que* dira verdad de lo *que* supiere / E *que* no la dexara de dezir por myedo ny por otra / cosa alguna

{/}

preguntado si sabe de algunos agraVios o malos- / tratamyentos *que* los yndyos E maceguals de esta Çiu- / dad o de otras partes *hayan* ReÇeydo de los dichos / VisoRey presydenete E oydores o de alguno de ellos / o si los han tratado bien E los han tenydo *en* Justicia / dixo *que* no sabe *que* a nynGuna persona *hayan* / hecho agraVio my maltratamyento syno *que* A todos / han tenydo En Justicia En lo *que* este testigo ha Visto

{/}

preGuntado *que* seruycio es el *que* dan los yndyos de tlalte- / lulCo En Casa del VisoRey E *que* tanto tienpo / ha *que* lo dan E por Cuyo mandado dixo *que* le sir- / Ven de yerba E leña E *que* los de santiago le sirVen / Veynte dias E los de mexico otros Veynte dyas / y asy a Vezes le sirVen E *que* los Veynte dias *que* Ca- / be a seruyr a los de santiaGo sabe E ha Visto / *que* le dan cada dya quarenta pesos de yerba *que* son / ochenta cargas de las grandes *que* Cada peso es / dos cargas y *que* asymismo le dan leña pero / *que* no sabe quantas Cargas cada dya y *que* tambien se / le da ocote y le traen agua pero *que* no sabe *que* tan- / To y *que* tambien le dan yndyos *que* le sirVen En el / aparador y *en* la Cozina y son treynta E ÇinCo yndyos / los *que* A la Continua sirVen En Casa del dicho VisoRey / de la parte de santiago y *que* tambien sirVen de los de / mexico pero *que* no sabe quantos mas de *que* quando los / Unos syrVen En el aparador los otros syrVen *en* la / Cozina y se mudan de Veynte a Veynte dias los / Unos al aparador y los otros a la Cozina y *que* esto le / han dado y dan sienpre despues *que* Vyno a la tieRa

[fol. 616v]

por mandado de los CaÇiques

preguntado si les ha (^y)^paGado o paga alGuna Cosa / El dicho VisoRey por El dicho seruycio dixo *que* no les ha pagado ny paga cosa nynGuna por ello preguntado si dan de Comer En Casa del dicho Vysorrey a / los yndyos *que* dize *que* sirVen En ella dixo *que* no syno / *que* Ellos se traen su Comyda

{/}

preguntado quantos yndyos Fueron de la parte de santiago / a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola con Francisco Vazquez de Coronado / y Con la gente *que* Con el yba dixo *que* de la parte de santiago / fueron ochenta yndyos a la dicha conqysta e *que* lo sabe por- / *que* este testigo Fue Alla y el y otros tres lleVaban y tenyan / cargo de los yndyos *que* fueron de la parte de santiago

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado Fueron los dichos ochenta (^de) /yndios que dize que fueron a la dicha gueRa de la parte de /santiago dixo que el licenciado tejada oydor hablo a los ca- / Çiques de santiago como los españoles yban a aquella / tieRa nueVa que si algunos yndyos quysiesen yr alla de / su Voluntad que lo Viesen y que los caÇiques y don martyn / que (h)era A la sazón gobernador que es ya muerto hablaron / a los yndyos lo que el dicho liçençiado tejada les habia dicho / y que los yndyos de su Voluntad quysieron yr y se Fue- / Ron Como dicho tiene y que el dicho licenciado tejada dio Çier- / tos pesos de oro a don martyn gobernador para conprar de ma- / talotaJe para los yndyos que habian de yr que no sabe / quantos fueron mas de que el dicho don martyn les dio a este testigo / y a los otros yndyos que Fueron cacles ^E bizcocho E cacao para el Camyno / y que de los ochenta yndyos que fueron de santiago los Ve- / ynte de ellos lleVaban cargas del dicho Francisco Vazquez des- / de xalisCo hasta Çibola de Cosas de Comer que fueron Ga- / standose por el dicho camyno E los demas servyan al dicho / francisco Vazquez En guardar El Ganado que lleVaban y en / hazerle Ranchos donde se asentaba El Real [fol. 617r]

{dcxVij}

preguntado quantos yndyos Volvyeron de los que dize que dize que / Fueron a la dicha GueRa de la parte de santiaGo dixo / que Volvyeron sessenta yndyos E que los otros Veynte / murieron por Alla

preguntado que paga les dieron porque fuesen A la dicha / GueRa dixo que no les dieron ny paGaron Cosa nynGuna / mas de lo que dicho tiene

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado lleVaban las Cargas / del dicho francisco Vazquez y quien les mando que le / sirViesen En ^lo que tiene dicho que le servyan dixo que el / dicho francisco vazquez se lo mando E por su mandado / lo hazian

{/}

preguntado si les paGo alguna Cosa por ello El dicho / francisco Vazquez E si les daba de Comer por el Camyno / a los yndyos que lleVa(^C)^ban sus Cargas dixo que no / les dio ny pago cosa nynguna ny les dio de / comer que este testigo lo supiese E que si alguna Vez les / dio de Comer que este testigo no lo vido

preguntado que tanto tienpo anduVieron por alla / servyendo al dicho Francisco Vazquez dixo que En la / yda y Venyda y estada Alla se detuVieron tres / años

{/}

preguntado de *que* otros pueblos fueron yndyos a la dicha / Jornada con el dicho Francisco Vazquez dixo *que* fueron / de mexico y de mechuaCan y de culuaCan y de otros / muchos pueblos E de ÇaCayuca y *que* no sabe *quantos* / de Cada parte mas de *que* Fueron muchos yndyos por / todos y espeÇialmente de la provnçia de mechuaCan fueron / muchos E *que* Como yban Repartidos servyendo / a los españoles no sabe *quantos*

{/}

preguntado si murieron muchos de los dichos yndyos / En la dicha Jornada dixo *que* no lo sabe porque no te- / nya cuenta syno con los de santiago *que* llevaba a / su Cargo

[fol. 617v]

{tejada}

{para el 16 tejada / y 17}

{/}

preguntado si sabe E tiene notiÇia de Çierta here- / dad E tieRas *que* el liçençiado tejada tiene Çerca de cha- / pultepeque dixo *que* si sabe porque las ha Visto

preguntado cuyas (h)eran las dichas tieRas Antes *que* Fue- / sen del dicho licenciado tejada dixo *que* (h)eran tieRas / de yndyos de mexico E santiago *que* tenyan ally / sus heredades

preguntado *que* habia En las dichas tieRas quando dize / *que* (h)eran de los yndyos dixo *que* tieRas de labor En *que* / los yndyos senbraban mayz E *que* habia magueyes y algunos arboles frutales Raros E algunas / casas de yndyos y *que* le pareÇe a este *testigo* *que* En la parte / de santiago habia siete Casas y *que* tambien habia / casas En la parte de mexico pero *que* no sabe *quantas* / porque no las conto E *que* sabe lo susodicho porque lo / Vido En el tiempo *que* (h)era de los yndios

preguntado si habia En las dichas tieRas algunas yGlesias / o hermytas dixo *que* habia Una yGlesia pequeña en la / parte de santiaGo como hermyta pequeña E *que* no sa- / be si habia mas

preguntado quien dyo las dichas tieRas al dicho li- / Çençiado tejada dyxo *que* no lo sabe porque a la sazón / este *testigo* estaba En la tieRa nueVa de Çibola

preguntado si Estan al presente En las dichas tieRas / la yGlesia E Casas E arboles y magueyes *que* dize *que* habia / en ellas dixo *que* no *que* todo Esta quytdo y deshecho E / *que* no sabe quien lo quyto porque el Estaba Como dicho tiene / a la sazón en la tieRa nueVa E por esto no se le preGunto / mas en este Caso E *que* esta es la verdad fue le leydo su dicho / E siendo le leydo

dixo *que* esta bien escrito y *en* ello se Rati- / fiCaba E Ratifico mandosele *que* tenga secreto de todo lo / qual dixo E deClaro por lengua del dicho ynterprete *que* / aquy firmo de su nombre y luego dixo Este testigo *que* la yGlesia / *que* ^dixo habya *en* las dichas tieRas *que* el licenciado tiene al presente

[fol. 618r]

{dcxvii}

no se a Cuerda si la *habia* Antes *que* las tieRas Fuesen del / liçençiado tejada mas de *que* despues *que* vino de la / tierra nueVa la Vido hecha E *que* podra haber Un / año poCo mas o menos *que* este testigo fue Alla E Vido / la dicha yglesia En las dichas tieRas E *que* no Estaba / quyhada ny deshecha y *que* despues aCa no sabe / si la han quyhado o sy esta Ally E *que* la dicha / yGlesia Estraba dentro del ÇerCado de la tieRa /*que* tiene ÇerCado El dicho licenciado tejada En parte *que* no / se senbraba Va escrito entre Renglonos donde dize E biz- / cocho lo dixo Vala Va testado donde dezia os pase / por testado E no le EnpezCa

preguntado si sabe *que* al dicho VisoRey le sirVen / los yndyos de santiago En lleVar triGo al molino / y traerlo molido dixo *que* ha oydo dezir a otros yndyos / *que* los de santiago sirVen ÇinCo dyas *en* lo susodicho / y los de mexico otros ÇinCo y *que* En estos ÇinCo dias / *que* les caben Van ocho Cargas de triGo al molyno y / lo lleVan los yndyos cada dya y algunas Vezes a / terçero dya y lo traen molido porque este testigo no / lo sabe mas de haber lo oydo dezir y aFirmose / *en* ello y el dicho ynterprete lo Firmo de su nonbre

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{testigo xcjx}

{francisco yautl}

E despues de lo susodicho En este dicho dia el / dicho señor Visytador mando parecer Ante sy / Francisco yaUtl yndio natural *que* dixo ser de santiago / del baRio de los Reyes del qual siendo presente fue / Tomado E Reçivdo Juramento *en* forma debida de derecho y el / lo hizo E prometio de dezir verdad E so Cargo del dicho

[fol. 618v]

Juramento siendo preguntado por lengua del dicho fray hernando / mendez ynterprete dixo lo syguiente

a la primera pregunta dixo *que* Conosçe a todos los *en* ella / Contenydos desde *que* Cada Uno de ellos Venyeron a esta / TieRa

preguntado por las preguntas generales dixo *que es de edad de / treynta E ÇinCo años poCo mas o menos a su parecer / aUnque no lo sabe de Çierto y que es cristiano baUtizado / y que tiene cargo del tributo En el baRio de los Reyes que es / En santiaGo e que no le toCan ny enpeçen nynGuna / de las otras generales E que dira la verdad de lo que supie- / Re E que no lo dexara por myedo ny por otra Cosa*

{/}

preguntado si han sido bien tratados los yndyos de / santiago E los maçeguales de los dichos VisoRey / presydenTe E oydores E si les han hecho Justicia o sy / les han hecho algunos agraVios o malostratamyentos / dixo *que les han tratado bien E que no sabe que les / hayan hecho agraVio ny maltratamyento Alguno antes / los han tenydo en Justicia*

{/}

preguntado *que servycio es El que han dado E dan En Cassa del / Visorrey los yndyos de santiago dixo que sabe E / ha Visto que le dan yerba y leña y agua y yndyos / para que sirVan En la Cozina pero que no sabe que tan- / To de Cada Cosa porque no ha tenydo Carga de ello E que sien- / pre se lo han dado despues que esta en la tieRa por / mandado del gobernador E prinÇipales de santia- / Go E que no sabe Este testigo sy lo paGa o no porque no / lo ha Visto paGar*

preguntado *que servycio o yndyos dan a los oydores o a / alguno de ellos o lo hayan dado despues que estan / en la tieRa dixo que no lo sabe*

[fol. 619r]

{dxcjx}

{/}

preguntado *quantos yndyos de santiago Fueron / a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola con Francisco Vazquez de / Coronado E Con los españoles que fueron Con el E por / cuyo mandado dixo que don martyn gobernador que a la / sazón (h)era de santiago yba A la dicha Jornada / con el dicho francisco Vazquez de Coronado y que de seys / Jornadas de esta Çiudad Volvyo El dicho don martyn / Enfermo que Cayo de Un Caballo y Con el Volvyeron / muchos yndyos y que los que pasaron adelante E Fueron / a la dicha Jornada le parece a este testigo que seryan / hasta Çien(t) yndyos de los de la parte de santiago / aUnque no los Conto y que este testigo fue Alla que Fue / Uno de quatro que lleVaban Cargo de los yndios de / santiago*

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado fueron A la dicha Jornada / dixo *que el licenciado tejada oydor hablo a los caÇiques / y prynÇipales de mexico E*

santiago como los / Españoles yban A la tieRa nueVa que si querian yr / algunos yndyos de su Voluntad que lo Viesen porque no / habian de ser apremyados ny los habyan de lleVar / contra su Voluntad y que los pynÇipales hablaron / con los yndyos y asy fueron Ellos de su Voluntad
{/}

preguntado si les dieron alguna Cosa porque Fuesen / a la dicha Jornada dixo que no lo sabe mas de que el / dicho don martin dio a Cada Uno Un par de cotaras / y algun cacao que llevaban En Comun para Comer / En el Camyno

{/}

preguntado que es lo que hizieron en la dicha Jornada / y a quyen sirVieron dixo que Veynte ocho yndyos de ellos / fueron CarGados desde xalisCo hasta culiaCan / con Cargas del dicho francisco Vazquez de bastimentos / E Vytualas que se Gastaban por el Camyno y armas E que / los otros yndyos servyan al dicho francisco Vazquez

[fol. 619v]

En lleVar E guardar El Ganado y en ReCoger yerba / para los Caballos y en hazerle su Rancho

preguntado por Cuyo mandado sirvyeron en la dicha Jornada / al dicho francisco Vazquez y le lleVaron sus Cargas dixo / que el dicho francisco Vazquez se lo dixo E mando y les dio / cargo de ello y por su mandado lo hazian

{/}

preguntado que les dio E paGo El dicho Francisco Vazquez por el / dicho servycio E tamemes dixo que no les dio ny paGo / cosa nynGuna mas de que En CuliaCan les mando dar / a los de santiago Veynte Cargas de marçorCas de mayz / E que no les dio otra Cosa

{/}

preguntado si daba de Comer por el Camyno El dicho francisco Vazquez / a los yndyos que lleVaba Cargados con sus Cargas dixo / que no les daba de Comer ny otra Cosa nynGuna sino / lo que aRiba tiene dicho que les dio en Culiacan E que lo / sabe porque este testigo fue A la dicha Jornada y tenya / Cargo de los yndyos de santiago Como dicho tiene

{/}

preguntado quantos yndyos VolVyeron de la dicha Jornada / de los que Fueron de la parte de santiago dixo que no / lo sabe mas de que oyo dezir a Uno de los quatro que / Tenyan cargo de ellos que (h)eran sessenta los que habyan / Vuelto

{/}

preguntado *que* tanto tiempo se detuVieron en la / dicha jornada dixo *que* (^sa) tardaron tres años desde *que* / sallyeron de esta Çiudad hasta *que* Volvieron a ella

preguntado si es cassado este *testigo* e si lo (h)era al tiempo / *que* dize *que* Fue A la tieRa nueVa dixo *que* es casado / y lo (h)era *entonçes* y tenya hijos {/}

preguntado de *que* otros pueblos fueron yndyos a la / dicha tieRa nueVa y *que* Cantidad dixo *que* Fueron de / mexico y de CuluaCan y de ÇaCayuca y de la provyncia de / mechuaCan fueron muchos pero *que* no sabe la Cantidad

[fol. 620r]

{dcxx}

porque no los Conto mas *que* sabe e Vido *que* Fueron mu- / chos yndyos {/}

preguntado A quien servyan los yndyos de los / otros pueblos *que* dize *que* fueron a la dicha GueRa / dixo *que* Algunos de ellos yban con algunos españoles / E *que* sabe todo lo *que* de suso ha dicho porque este *testigo* fue / a la dicha Jornada E lo Vido

{/}

preguntado si murieron En la dicha Jornada / mucha cantidad de los yndyos *que* fueron de esta tieRa dixo / *que* muchos murieron alla pero que no sabe la / cantidad y *que* esta es la verdad E siendo / le leydo su dicho se RatiFico en ello E dixo *que* / esta bien escrito porque es asy la verdad por / lengua del dicho ynterprete mandosele *que* tenga / E guarde secreto de todo lo susodicho el qual / prometio de lo tener E guardar E no firmo / porque dixo *que* no (^C)^ssabia escribyr y el dicho ynterprete / lo firmo de su nombre

Fray hernando / mendez [rúbrica]

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{. . . }

[fol. 625r]

{dcxxv}

{testigo cij}

E despues de lo susodicho En la Çiudad de mexico / diez e seys dias del mes de Junio del dicho / año el señor Visitador mando pareçer ante sy / a francisco a(^h)^buy yndyo natural *que* dixo ser del pueblo / pazcuaro *que* es En la provyncia de mechuaCan del qual / siendo presente fue tomado E Reçevydo Juramento en forma / debyda de derecho y el lo hizo E prometio de dezir verdad / E so Cargo del dicho Juramento por lengua del dicho fray / alonso

de la Vera cruz ynterprete le fue preGuntado E / dixo lo siguyente
preguntado si conoçe a don Antonyo de mendoça VisoRey / E Gobernador
de esta nueVa españa dixo que si conoçe /de diez años a esta parte poco mas
o menos

preguntado por las preGuntas generales dixo que no sabe la / hEdad que
tiene E que es natural de pazCuaro de la provyncia de / mechuaCan E
prinçipal del dicho pueblo E que no le to- / Can ny enpeçen nynGuna de
las otras preGuntas gene- / Rales E que dira verdad de lo que supiere E no
otra cosa / pareÇia por su aspeto ser de quarenta años poCo mas / o menos
{/}

preguntado si sabe E tiene notiÇia de Çiertas arma- / das que el VisoRey
don antonyo de mendoça ha hecho / dixo que sabe E ha Visto que el dicho
Visorrey EnVio Una / armada por tieRa a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola porque
/ este testigo fue Alla E que asymysmo Vido que EnVio otra / armada por
mar y este testigo Vido muchos españoles / que yban de ella y que ha seys
años poCo mas o menos que / EnVio El armada que fue a la tieRa nueVa de
Çibola / y poco menos de quatro años la que fue por mar E que esto / es
publico E notorio

{/}

preguntado que Cosas son las que dieron para las dichas
[fol. 625v]

armadas y para la gente que fue a ellas En el pue- / blo de pazcuaro donde
este testigo dize ser natural / dixo que no dieron cosa nynGuna que este
testigo sepa syno / es que daban comyda E tamemes para Una Jornada / a los
Españoles que pasaron por el dicho pueblo de pazcuaro / que yban A las
dichas armadas

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado dieron la Comyda E tame- / mes que dize
que daban a la gente que fue A las dichas / armadas dixo que los Españoles
que pasaban por ally / para las dichas armadas lo pedian y don pedro / yndyo
Gobernador que A la sazón (h)era les mandaba que se / lo diesen y ellos se lo
daban Como dicho tiene comy- / da y tamemes para llevar sus Cargas Una
Jornada

{/}

preGuntado que tanta cantidad de tamemes E Comyda / fue la que dize
que dieron En el dicho pueblo a los / españoles que fueron A las dichas
armadas dixo que no / sabe la Cantidad de ello

{/}

preguntado si les pagaban la dicha Comyda E *tamemes* / o si lo daban sin paGa dixo *que* no les paGaban cosa / *nynGuna* entonçes y *que* despues se la han paGado todo

{/}

preguntado quyen se la paGo y *que* tanto les dio E paGo / por ello dixo *que* este *testigo* no Vido la paGa mas de oyo / dezir a los otros prinÇipales del dicho pueblo *que el* / Romano les *habia* paGado todo E *que* no sabe la Can- / tidad *que* fue mas de *que* les oyo dezir *que* todo lo *que* / *habyan* dado para las dıchas armadas se *habia* conta- / do hasta las Gallinas y hasta la leña *que* dieron / E todo les *habia* pagado

{/}

preguntado si sabe *que* *hobiesen* dado En el dicho pueblo / alguna cosa *que* no se les *haya* paGado dixo *que* no sabe / mas de lo *que* de suso tiene dicho

{/}

preguntado si les hizieron algunos agraVios o malos- / tratamyentos En el dicho pueblo de pazCuaro o en otro alguno / la gente *que* Fue A las dıchas armadas dixo *que* no sabe / este *testigo* *que* a nadie hiziesen agraVio my maltratamyento alguno

[fol. 626r]

{dcxxVj}

preguntado si fue Este *testigo* a la tieRa nueVa de Çibola / con la gente y españoles *que* fueron alla dixo *que* si fue

{/}

preguntado *que* tantos yndios fueron a la dicha tieRa / nueVa dixo *que* del dicho Pueblo de pazCuaro fueron / Çien(t) yndyos poco mas or menos E *que* de la provyncia de / mechuaCan no fueron otros *nynGunos* y *que* de mexico / y su tieRa fueron yndyos pero *que* no sabe quantos / porque no los conto y *que* de los Çiento *que* fueron de / pazCuaro murieron por Alla obra de Veynte yndy- / os pocCo mas o menos y los demas Volvieron / E *que* lo sabe porque este *testigo* fue Alla E lo Vido

{/}

preguntado por Cuyo mandado fueron los dichos yn- / dyos En la dicha armada dixo *que* Fueron de su Vo- / luntad porque Como supieron el VysoRey EnVyaba / a la dicha tieRa nueVa Ellos hablaron Entre sy *que* que- / Rian Ellos yr alla E asy fueron los *que* dicho tiene

preguntado si lleVaron Cargas del Capitan o de los es- / pañoles *que* fueron a la dicha Jornada o si [^]les servyan En / otra Cosa alguna dixo *que* no lleVaron

Cargas nynGunas / de nadie y *que* servyan a los españoles En traer yerba / para los Caballos E *que* no les servyan En otra Cosa

preGuntado si les paGaron o dieron alguna Cosa por- / *que* fuesen A la dicha jornada dixo *que* no

{/}

preGuntado *que* tanto tiempo estuVieron y tardaron / En yr y Venir A la dicha tieRa nueVa dixo *que* dos / años EstuVieron Alla y al terçero se venyeron

{/}

preGuntado si sabe de algunos agraVyos o malostra- / Tamyentos *que* el VisoRey don antonyo de mendoça haya / hecho a Algunas personas o les haya tomado al- / Go asy En el pueblo de pazCuaro como En otros quales- / quyer pueblos de la provyncia de mechuaCan dixo *que* no / sabe ny ha Visto *que* el VisoRey ny otro por su mandado / haya hecho agraVio ny maltratamyento alguno a

[fol. 626v]

nynGuna persona En la dicha provyncia ny en / otra parte alguna ny tal ha oydo dezir an- / tes ha Visto *que* los ama E quyere mucho / E *que* esta es la verdad E lo *que* sabe de este Caso

fue le leydo su dicho E siendole leydo dixo / *que* esta bien escrito y *que* En ello se RatifiCaba E / RatifiCo porque es asy la verdad mandosele *que* tenga / E guarde secreto de todo lo susodicho so / pena de Çien(t) aÇotes El qual prometio de lo tener / E guardar E Firmolo de su nonbre todo lo qual / dixo E deClaro por lengua del dicho fray alonso / de la Vera cruz ynterprete El qual asymismo / lo firmo de su nombre Va escrito entre Ren- / Giones donde dize les Vála

Fray alonso / de la Vera cruz [rúbrica]

Francisco

miguell lopez [rúbrica]

{. . . }

Glossary

cacique: an Arawak word meaning “headman,” widely used in Spanish America; usually a Native ruler with vassals or someone understood by Spaniards to have such status

corregidor: a salaried, royally appointed official who administers an *encomienda* held directly by the crown; that person serves at the pleasure of

the king/Consejo de Indias as the chief administrator and justice for the Native community embraced by the *encomienda*

encomendero: a person holding and exercising an *encomienda*

encomienda: grant of the right to collect tribute and/or labor from an indigenous community, usually granted by the king as reward for service; limited to a specific Native polity; the grant also entails responsibility for providing defense and religious instruction to the community; the term also applies to the community and its territory so granted

entrada: an expedition penetrating new territory

gobernador: the leader of an indigenous community recognized and sanctioned by the Spanish colonial regime

licenciado: the holder of an academic degree roughly equivalent to a modern masters degree

principal: an indigenous leader, usually one of several in a community

provincia: a political division of a *reino*, or kingdom, administered by a governor; when the term is applied in indigenous contexts, a similar political hierarchy is assumed

tameme: indigenous load bearers common in Mesoamerica from prehistory through much of the Spanish colonial period

tepuzque: term applied to silver pesos of 272 *maravedíes* each, nearly equal to the gold peso

vecino: a person with full political rights in a municipality; such rights were not automatic but granted by the *cabildo*, or city council, after payment of a fee and pledge to establish and maintain a residence for a certain length of time

visitador: a special investigator dispatched to make an inspection of the government of a *reino* or *provincia*, or some part thereof, whether secular or ecclesiastical; often sent to resolve some particular problem or complaint

Notes

1. In recent years scholarly interest has been increasingly engaged by the decisive presence of *indios amigos* on sixteenth-century expeditions throughout the hemisphere. Two excellent volumes that detail the major role of indigenous *conquistadores* in what traditionally has been thought of as the Spanish conquest of the Americas are Matthew Restall, *Maya Conquistador* (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1998); and Laura E. Matthew and Michel R. Oudijk, eds., *Indian Conquistadors: Indigenous Allies in the Conquest of Mesoamerica* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

2. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, eds. and trans., *Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542: “They Were Not Familiar with His Majesty, nor Did They Wish to Be His Subjects”* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2005).
3. Flint and Flint, introduction to “Record of Mexican Indians Participating in the Expedition, 1576,” in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 165.
4. One of the non-Indian witnesses called by Tello de Sandoval, Juan Bacza de Herrera, testified that many of the *amigos* served as interpreters and guides. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 529r, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Spain [hereafter AGI].
5. Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative, 1560s [copy, 1596], Rich Collection, no. 63, fols. 16r–16v, New York Public Library, transcribed and translated as “The Relación de la Jornada de Cíbola, Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative, 1560s (copy, 1596)” in Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 389, 440.
6. It has been stated that Tlaxcaltecas also joined the expedition to Cíbola. The *Tlaxcala Codex*, prepared probably in the 1580s, contains a drawing and caption claiming that during the Coronado *entrada* “the Tlaxcaltecas were there in the service of His Majesty and the royal crown of Castilla.” However, I know of no instance of a person who was actually on the *entrada* referring to the presence of such a contingent, and there is no other known evidence that confirms that claim. The *Tlaxcala Codex*, MS Hunter 242 (U.3.15), fol. 317r, Glasgow University Library, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland. The *Tlaxcala Codex* accompanies the *Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala* written by Diego Muñoz Camargo, the *mestizo* interpreter at Tlaxcala in the 1570s to the 1590s. See also Marc Simmons, “Tlascalans in the Spanish Borderlands,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 39 (April 1964): 107.
7. For the names of the specific Natives, as well as the respective documentary source citations, see Flint and Flint, introduction to “Record of Mexican Indians Participating in the Expedition, 1576,” in *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 165–66.
8. *Codex Aubin*, Chronicle of Mexican History to 1576, continued to 1607, Add MSS 31219, fols. 46v and 47r, Library of the British Museum, London; transcribed and translated as “Record of Mexican Indians Participating in the Expedition, 1576,” in Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 169–70.
9. Testimony of Francisco Troche and Padre Juan Vanegas, in Probanza hecha en nombre de don Antonio de Mendoza, Zacatula, 1546–1547, Justicia, 263, Pieza 1, AGI.
10. Ross Hassig, *Aztec Warfare: Imperial Expansion and Political Control* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 75–90.
11. Justicia, 258–277, AGI.
12. Over the next month and a half we finished reading through the entire 20 *legajos*. Significant new information about European members of the expedition resulted, but we found no further information about the *indios amigos*.
13. Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1927), 137.

14. Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias: Su historia, organización y labor administrativa hasta la terminación de la Casa de Austria*, 2 vols. (Sevilla, Spain: Universidad de Sevilla, 1935), 1:351, 354.
15. José Luis Martínez, *Documentos Cortesianos*, 4 vols. (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1992), 4:210–15, 248–55.
16. Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz was a well-known Augustinian teacher and writer of theology. Pedro Oroz, *The Oroz Codex: The Oroz Relación, or Relation of the Description of the Holy Gospel Province in New Spain, and the Lives of the Founders and Other Noteworthy Men of Said Province*, ed. and trans., Angélico Chávez (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1972), 128; and Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1985), 45.
17. These five men were ages 55, 48, 36, 35, and 40, respectively, in 1546 (48, 41, 29, 28, and 33 in 1539), easily placing them among the most senior members of the expedition. These Indians' experience, in warfare for instance, far exceeded that of most of the European expeditionaries, many of whom were to see their first fighting in the course of the *entrada*. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 602r–636r, AGI. A document from Michoacán in 1559 (Complaint by the Indians of Michoacán, México, 96, R. 4, AGI) shows Francisco Abuy still alive and still a *principal*. It also gives variant spellings of his name, Ahuy and Huzi.
18. These four witnesses were don Hernando, *gobernador* of Tlatelolco, about 65 years old; don Alonso, a *principal* of Pátzcuaro, about 40 years old; don Francisco, from Tzintzuntzan and who went to Castilla with the bishop of Michoacán, about 25 years old; and Diego Guaçaquy, also from Tzintzuntzan, who appeared to be about 40 years old.
19. The seven Native men were don Diego, *gobernador* of “México de los Indios,” about 50 years old; Diego Tepeacmecatl, from México, about 57 years old; Luis Guaxtle, from México, 75 years old; don Ramiro, a *principal* of Michoacán, who appeared to be more than 50 years old; Domingo, a *principal* of Tzintzuntzan, more than 25 years old; Marcos Coany, from Tzintzuntzan, who seemed to be about 40 years old; and don Francisco, a *principal* of the barrio of Yuarço in Michoacán, more than 55 years old. According to the *Codex Aubin*, *gobernador* don Diego is Diego Teuetzquititzin (also spelled Tehuetzqui). He was a grandson of Moctezuma's uncle Tizoc, and he was actually the sixteenth ruler of the Tenochca, rather than the thirteenth as this entry states. See Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 169–70; Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964), 169; and Ross Hassig, *Time, History, and Belief in Aztec and Colonial Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 21.
20. In this article, the use of the Spanish spelling of México (with an accent over the e) is used in reference to events both contemporary to and prior to the Spanish conquest of the Americas

21. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 626r, AGI.
22. *Ibid.*, fol. 625v.
23. See, for example, Philip Levy, *Fellow Travelers: Indians and Europeans Contesting the Early American Trail* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). He describes sixteenth-century Spanish-led expeditions as “half-blind, brutal, anxiety-ridden bands of Europeans led from place to place by coerced and terrified Natives” (p. 21).
24. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 605v–606r, AGI.
25. *Ibid.*, fol. 616v.
26. *Ibid.*, fol. 623r.
27. This Juan de León Romano is probably the Juan de León who, as an *escribano* of the Audiencia de México, was later sent by Mendoza to Suchipila with Miguel de Ibarra in an attempt to put a quick and peaceful end to the Native uprising that became known as the Mixtón War. The “Romano” portion of his surname may have been an epithet or perhaps an indication of his place of origin. Thomas Hillerkuss, *Diccionario Biográfico del Occidente Novohispano, Siglo XVI*, vol. 4. J–L (Zacatecas, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, forthcoming).
28. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 605v, 607r, 626r, AGI.
29. *Ibid.*, fol. 623r. One non-Indian witness during the Tello de Sandoval *visita* contributed information that some *tamemes* that served during the expedition came from Toluca and Tlripitío. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 492r, AGI.
30. In contrast to the indigenous witnesses before Tello de Sandoval, several of the non-Indian witnesses offered comprehensive estimates of the number of *indios amigos* who participated in the expedition. Serván Béjarano, the most conservative in his estimate, had been present at the muster of the expedition in Compostela in February 1540. He testified that a total of “between 1,300 and 2,000 native Indians of this land” joined the expedition. Meanwhile, Gonzalo Cerezo estimated the number at 3,000 to 4,000, and Iñigo López de Anuncibay said the number was about 4,000 to 5,000. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fols. 432r, 494r, 589v, AGI.
31. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 623r, AGI.
32. Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera’s Narrative, 1560s [copy, 1596], Rich Collection, no. 63, fol. 20r, New York Public Library; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 390, 442.
33. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 605v, AGI.
34. *Ibid.*, fol. 614r.
35. *Ibid.*, fol. 622r.
36. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 626r, AGI.

37. Ibid., fol. 605v.
38. Ibid., fol. 619r.
39. For a concise generalized description of the political organization of Nahuatl communities, see James Lockhart, *The Nahuatl after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992), 16–17.
40. Hassig, *Aztec Warfare*, 55–56.
41. For a wider-ranging and more in-depth discussion of the *indios amigos* of the Coronado Expedition, see Richard Flint, *No Settlement, No Conquest: A History of the Coronado Entrada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), see esp. chaps. 1, 5. Six months after locating the testimonies of the former *indios amigos* published here, we came across references to another indigenous former member of the expedition. He was don García de Padilla, *gobernador* of Zapotitlán in the *provincia* of Tuxpán. He led a contingent from his Otomi-speaking community. René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones Geográficas del Siglo XVI*, vol. 10, *Nueva Galicia* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1987), 58. Don Diego is don Diego Huanitzin, or Panitzin, nephew of Moctezuma and twelfth *tlatoani*, or dynastic ruler, of Tenochtitlan, who was recognized by Viceroy Mendoza as the first official Spanish-style governor of México-Tenochtitlan about 1536. He died in 1539 before departure of the Coronado Expedition. Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 169; *Codex Aubin*, Chronicle of Mexican History to 1576, continued to 1607, Add MSS 31219, fol. 46v. Library of the British Museum, London; and Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 169. For a genealogical chart of Huanitzin's descent, see Emma Pérez-Rocha and Rafael Tena, *La nobleza indígena del centro de México después de la conquista*, Colección Obra Diversa (México, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2000), 79. The indigenous community of Jalisco was located less than two leagues (about five miles) south of Compostela, the capital of Nueva Galicia at the time and the place where the muster of the expedition was conducted in February 1540. Compostela was then located at the site of modern Tepic in the Mexican state of Nayarit. At the time the expedition began, Jalisco was held in *encomienda* by Cristóbal de Oñate, lieutenant governor of Nueva Galicia under Vázquez de Coronado. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 140.
45. Culiacán was then the most northerly Spanish settlement in Nueva Galicia, situated about ten miles upstream from the mouth of what is now known as the Río San Lorenzo in west-central Sinaloa. Flint and Flint, *Documents of the Coronado Expedition*, 601.
46. Throughout the testimonies taken by Tello de Sandoval, the Spanish term *principal* is used to designate the political status of many of the witnesses. This designation obscures the complexity of indigenous political organization. Reference in Juan Tlecanen's testimony to authority shared by four men of the community, or *parte*, of México strongly suggests that the Native classification of that polity was probably an *altepetl*, the basic Nahuatl political entity both before and after Spanish

conquest. Each *altepetl* was divided into constituent parts, or *calpolli*, usually in an even number, most commonly four, as appears to be the case here. Tecanen may have been the leader of his *calpolli*, a leader known as a *teuctlatoani*. As James Lockhart has written, "As equal and separate entities, the *calpolli* would contribute separately and more or less equally to common obligations of the *altepetl* . . . in time of war, each contributed a fighting unit under its own leadership." Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 16–17.

47. Juan Tecçane is presumably another spelling of the name of Juan Tecanen, whose testimony immediately precedes that of Juan Cacçol. The community of San Juan mentioned here is San Juan Moyotlan, the southwestern quadrant of the Indian *altepetl* of Tenochtitlan, which in its entirety encircled the Spanish settlement, México. The remaining three component *calpolli* of early colonial Tenochtitlan were Santa María Cuepopan in the northwest (mentioned here as the home of Martín Xalacate); San Sebastián Atzacualco in the northeast; and San Pablo Zoquipan in the southeast. Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule*, 370.
48. Administrative Review of the Viceroy and Oidores Conducted by Tello de Sandoval, Justicia, 258, Pieza 1, fol. 612v, AGI.
49. According to a mid-sixteenth-century map of the Valley of Mexico attributed to Alonso de Santa Cruz, Santiago de Tlatelolco, the neighboring *altepetl* of Tenochtitlan, seems to have had eight constituent *calpolli*, which had become Catholic parishes. One of these parishes was Santa Catalina (Cohuatlán). The other seven were Santa Ana (Atenántitlan), San Martín (Atezcapan), los Reyes (Capoltitlán), Santa Inés (Hueipantonco), Santa Cruz (Atecoquecan), Santa Lucía (Telochcaltitlán), and San Antonio. Robert H. Barlow, "Las ocho hermitas de Santiago Tlatelolco," in *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, vol. 2, *Tlatelolco, Fuentes e Historia*, Jesús Monjarás-Ruiz, Elena Limón, and María de la Cruz Paillés, eds. (México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1989), 453.
50. Again, the Spanish terminology obscures the indigenous political hierarchy. In this statement the term *cacique* is equivalent to the Nahuatl designation *tlatoani*, or dynastic ruler. Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*, 611.
51. Contrary to the information provided in note 49 above, this statement suggests that in 1539 there may have been only four *calpolli* in Tlatelolco. Of one of them, Juan Coavis, was a *teuctlatoani*, just as Juan Tecanen was of his *calpolli* in Tenochtitlan.
52. This don Martín is evidently don Martín Guavzin, whose surname is also given as Tlacatecatl, although Barlow shows that his term in office began in 1542, too late for the events described here, and lasted until 1548, beyond the life span of the don Martín referred to by Juan Coavis. Monjarás-Ruiz, Limón, and de la Cruz Paillés, *Obras de Robert H. Barlow*, following page 361. The *Anales de Tlatelolco* show his surname as Ecatzin. Rafael Tena, ed. and trans., *Anales de Tlatelolco*, Cien de México (México, D.F.: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2004), 35–39.
53. The expedition left the Ciudad de México beginning in November 1539, and most members did not return until September 1542, just short of three years later.
54. Zacayuca may be an error for Acayuca, an indigenous community in the *provincia* of Michoacán, east of the Spanish town of Colima. Joan Blaeu, "Nova Hispania et

Nova Galicia," in *Atlas maior sive cosmographia Blaviana, qua solum, salum, coelum, accuratissime describuntur*, vol. XI (Amstelaedami: Labore and sumptibus Ioannis Blaeu, 1665), 548–49.

55. See note 49 above, for the identity of the barrio of Los Reyes.
56. See note 52 above, for probable identity of this don Martín.
57. The reference to four *teuctlatoque* suggests once again the existence of four *calpolli* in Tlatelolco at this time. See also note 47 above.
58. The sea voyage referred to here is the one led by the viceroy's nephew Ruy López de Villalobos, which sought to cross the Pacific to the Molucca Islands. It departed from the port of Santiago on the coast of what is now the Mexican state of Colima in November 1542. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America*, vol. 2, *The Southern Voyages, 1492–1616* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 492–93.
59. El Romano is Juan de León Romano. See note 27 above.