Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca

VOLUME THREE

Adorno, Rolena, and Patrick Charles Pautz. *Alvar Núñez Cabeza De Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo De Narváez, Vol. 3.*
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His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez

Rolena Adorno & Patrick Charles Pautz

3

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The publication of this volume was assisted by grants from the Program for Cultural Cooperation between Spain's Ministry of Education and Culture and United States' Universities, and from the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, Direccíon General del Libro, Archivos y Bibliotecas.
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Typeset in Adobe Minion.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Adorno, Rolena.
Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca : his account, his life, and the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez / Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz.
p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8032-1454-5 (3-vol. set : cloth : alkaline paper).
1. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar, 16th century. 2. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar, 16th century. Relación y comentarios. 3. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar, 16th century. – Literary art. 4. America – Early accounts to 1600 – History and criticism. 5. Explorers – America – Biography. 6. Explorers – Spain – Biography. 7. America – Discovery and exploration – Spanish. 8. Narváez, Pánfilo de, d. 1528. I. Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Álvar, 16th century. Relación y comentarios. English and Spanish II. Pautz, Patrick Charles. III. Title.
E125.N9A25 1999 970.01'6'092 [b] – 98-24032 CIP

Adorno, Rolena, and Patrick Charles Pautz. *Alvar Núñez Cabeza De Vaca: His Account, His Life, and the Expedition of Pánfilo De Narváez, Vol. 3.*
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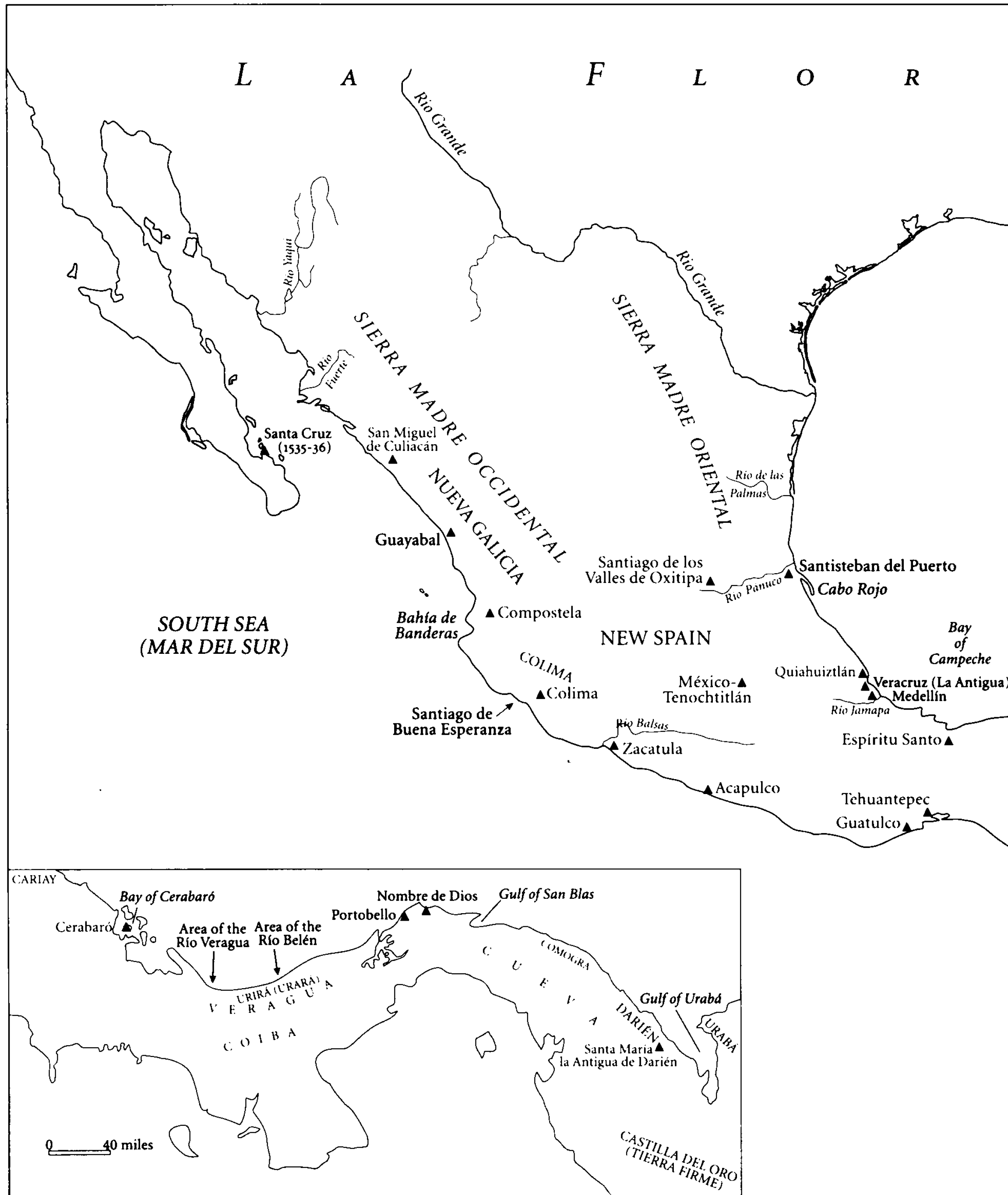

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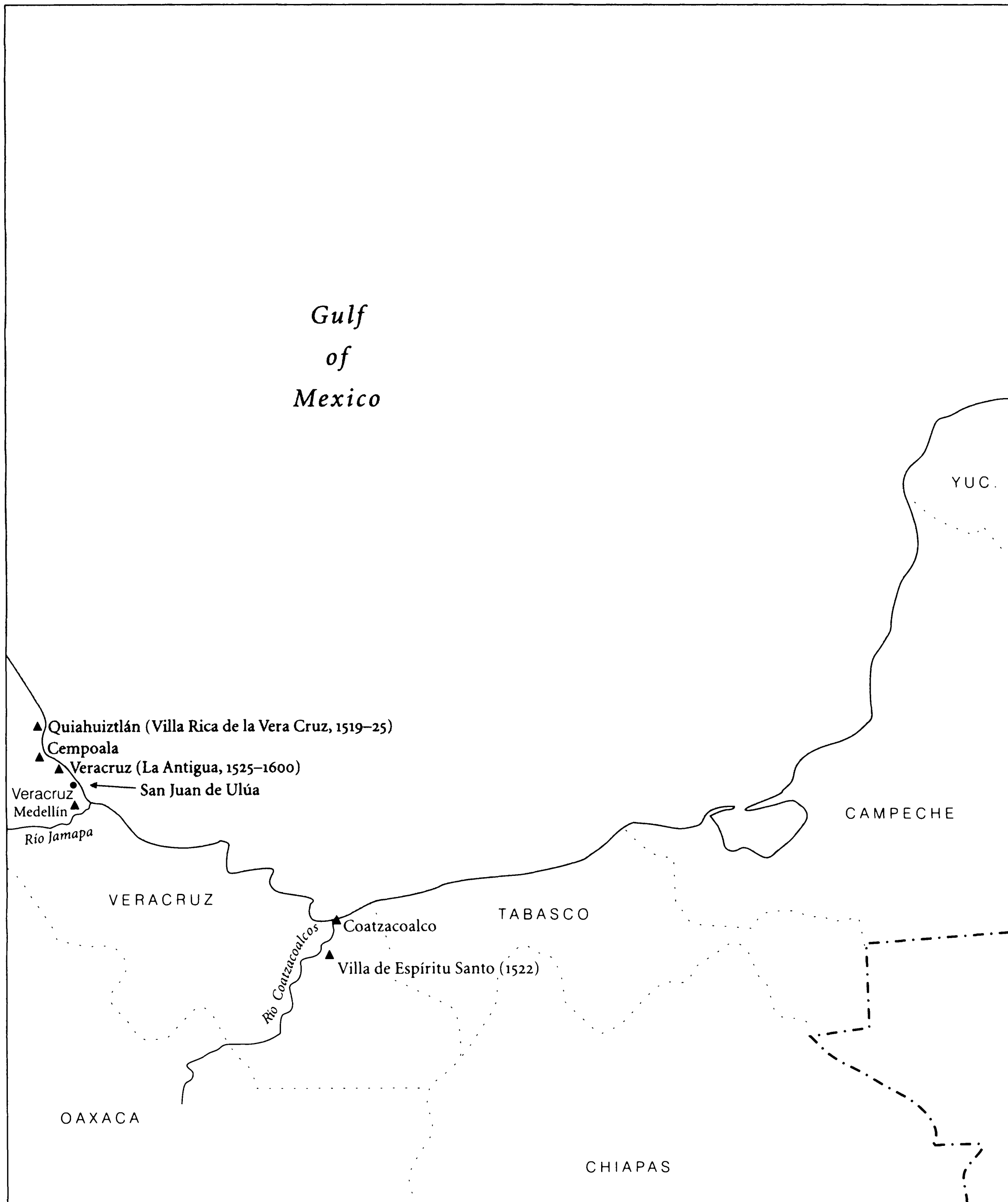

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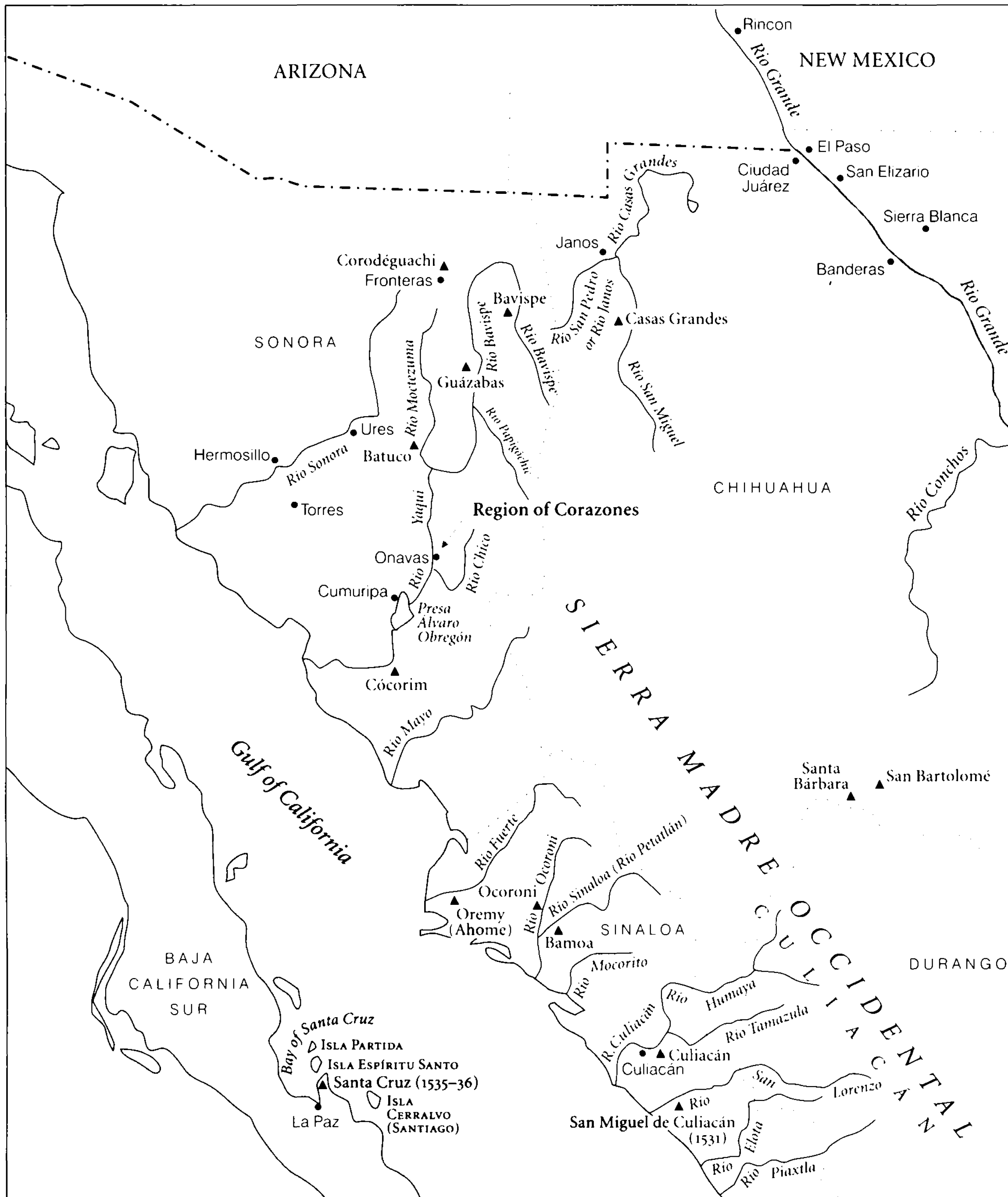

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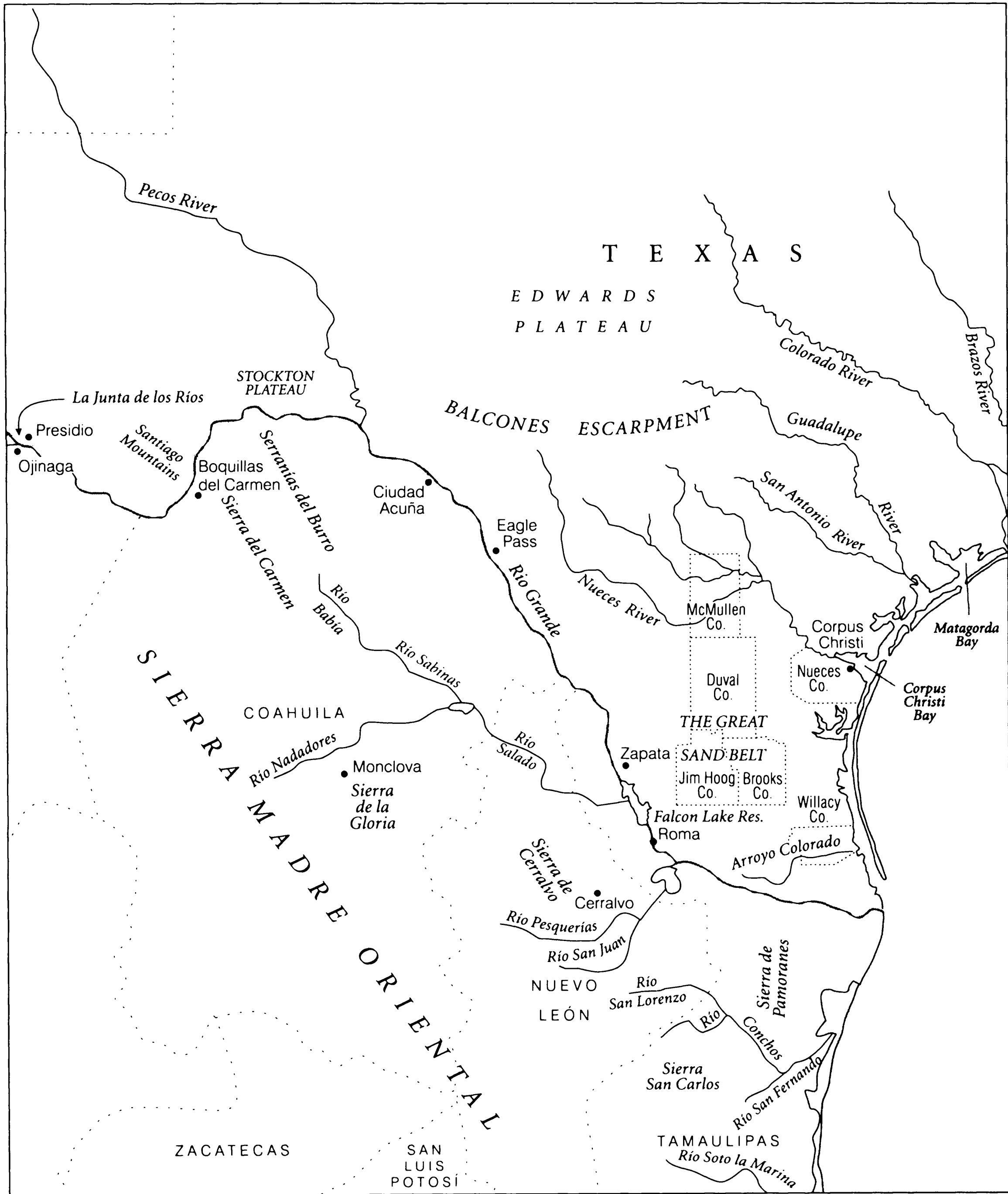

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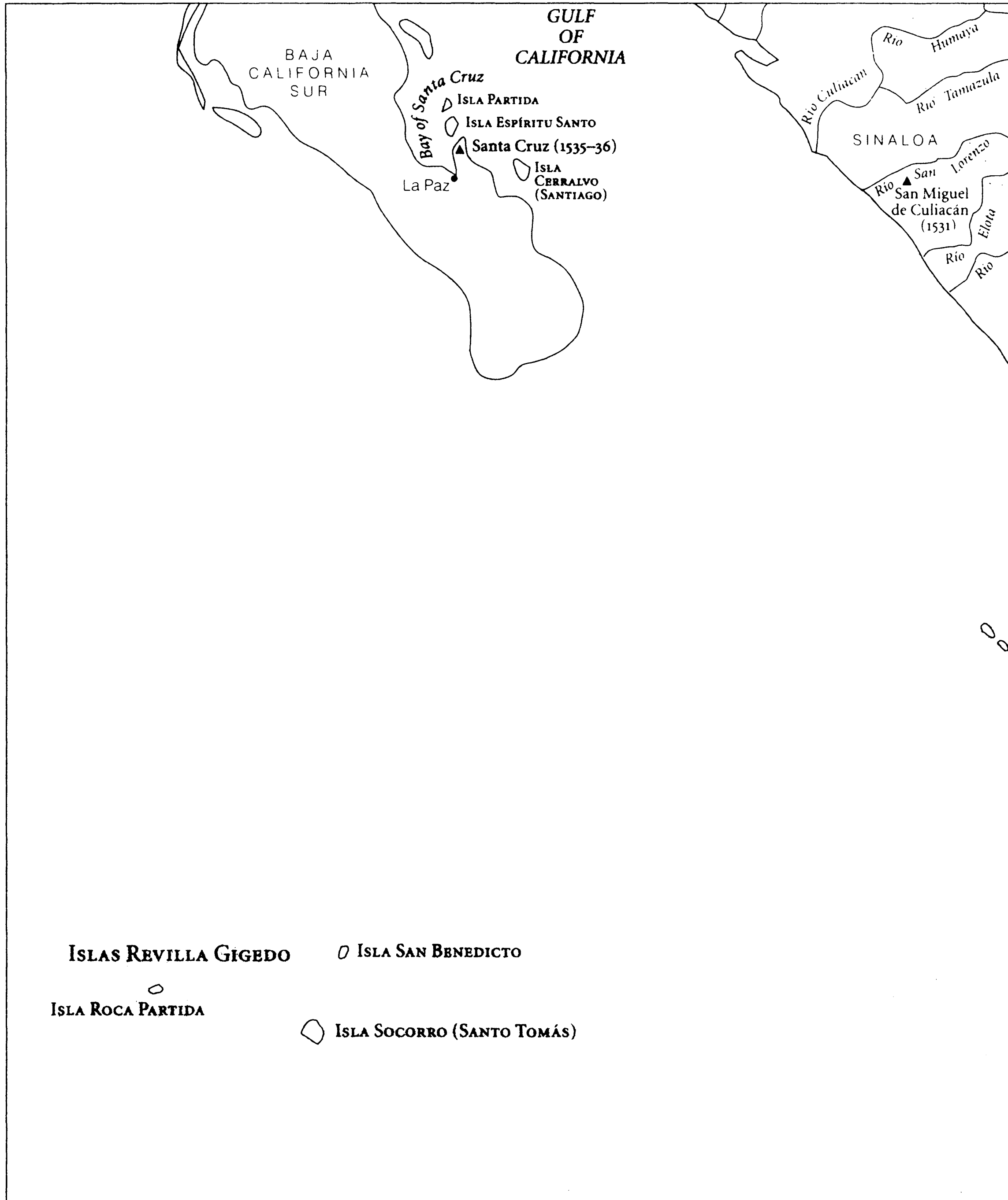

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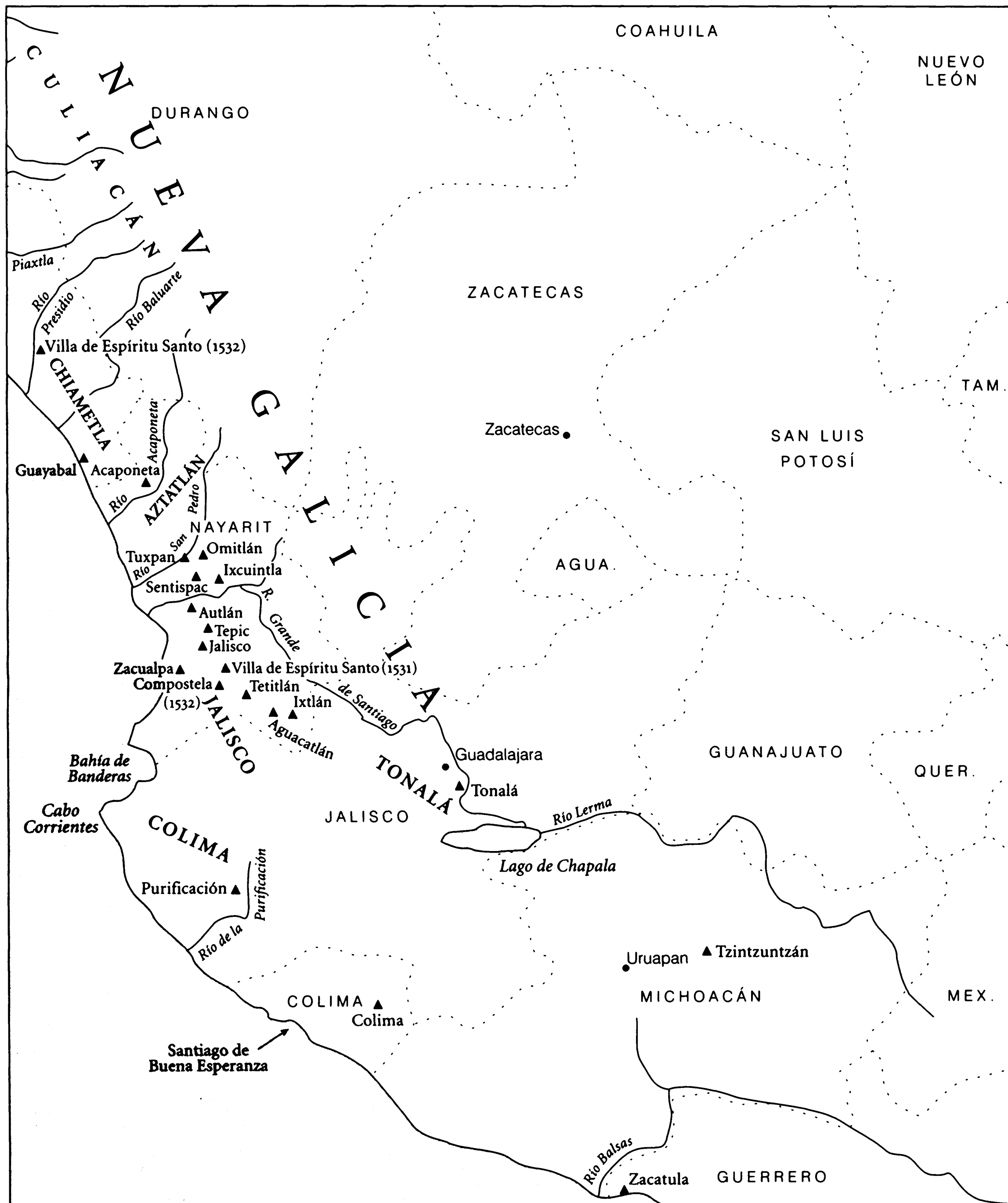

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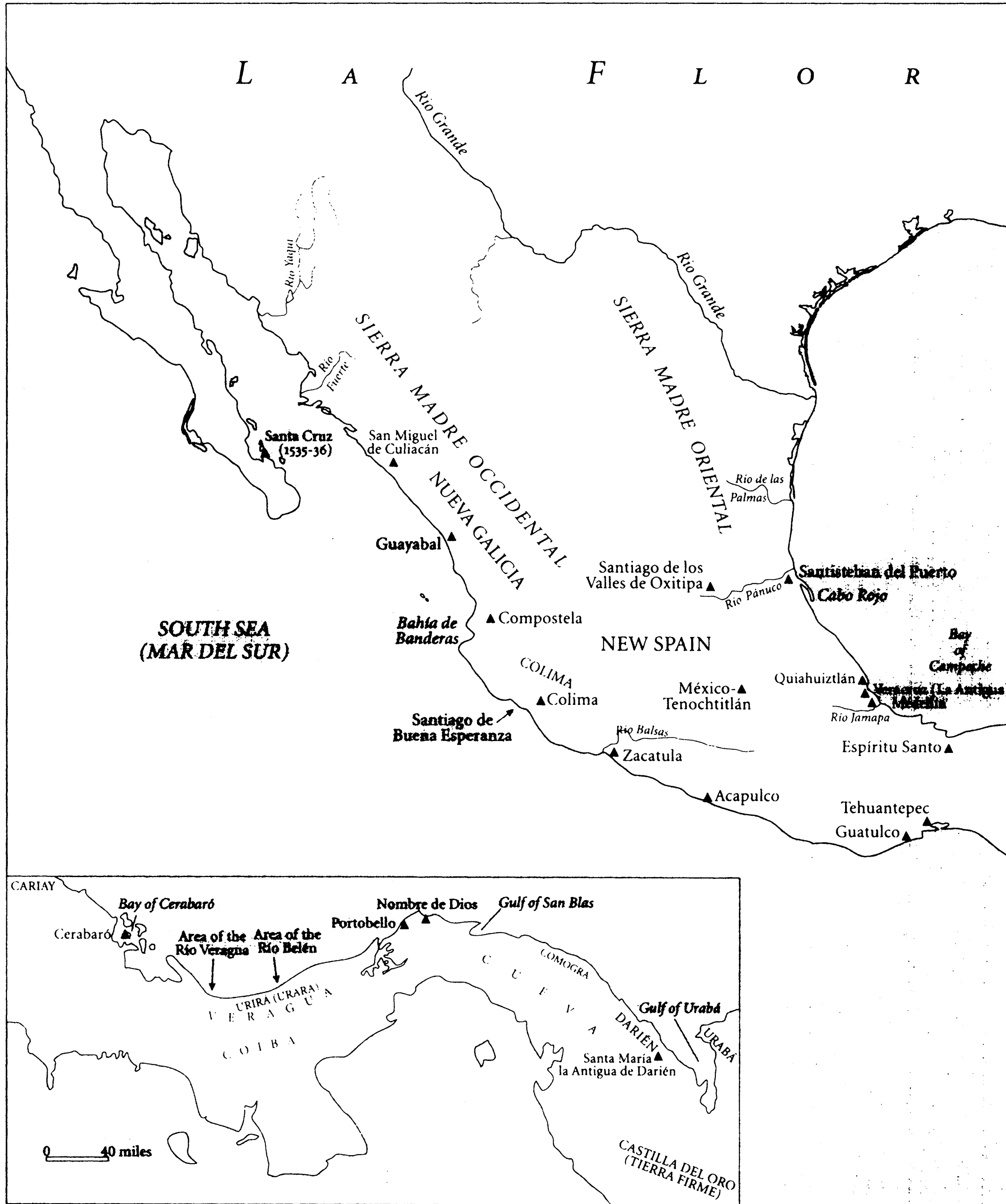

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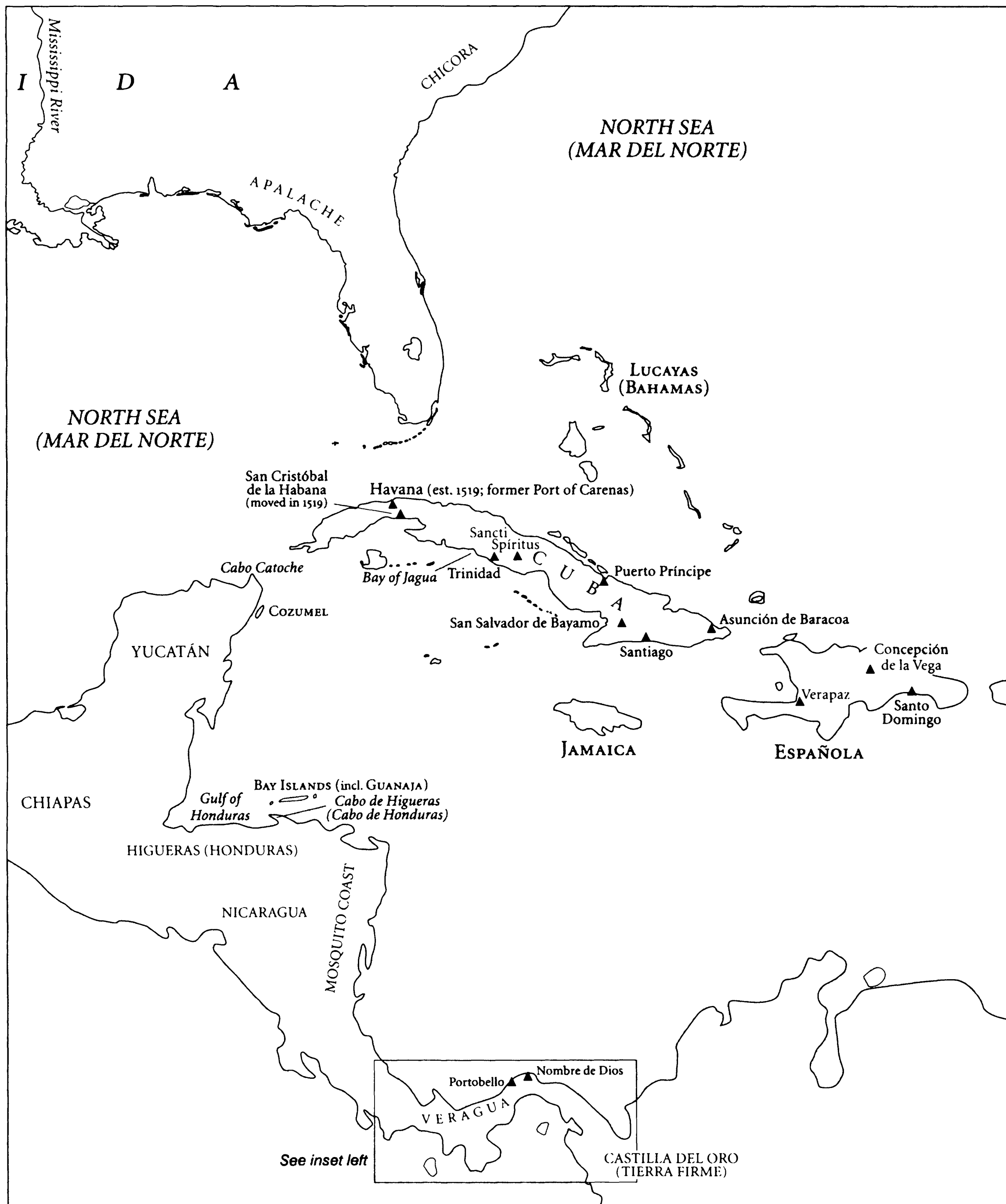

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ABBREVIATIONS

AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain
CDI	*Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía*
CDIE	*Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*
CDU	*Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar*
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, Spain
DHC	*Documentos inéditos relativos a Hernán Cortés y su familia*
DRAE	Real Academia Española. *Diccionario de la lengua española*
ENE	*Epistolario de Nueva España, 1505–1818*
JCBL	John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence RI
USLC	United States Library of Congress, Washington DC

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CHAPTER 12

Textual History of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación*

1. INTRODUCTION: TEXTS AND SOURCES

When Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo encountered Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca at court in 1547, he had the opportunity to meet one of the three still-living survivors of the Narváez expedition. Oviedo was able to query Cabeza de Vaca about his experience and take the measure of it against the Joint Report on which he had relied some half dozen years earlier to write his account of the Narváez expedition. In his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Oviedo (614ab [chap. 7]) referred to Cabeza de Vaca as a caballero to whom credence should be given, because "everything he reported was understood to be true." He also remarked that Cabeza de Vaca had published "everything that is told in this *relación*" and that it now circulated in print. Oviedo had beseeched him to show him the published version, and after consulting it, he added a seventh chapter to the six he had written in book 35 of his *Historia general* "in order to satisfy the demands of history." Oviedo (615a [chap. 7]) referred to the Joint Report as "the first *relación*" and to Cabeza de Vaca's printed account as "the second *relación*."

Oviedo's description reminds us of the primacy of the Joint Report and the secondary character of the 1542 *relación*. Cabeza de Vaca's account is often considered a sui generis account, unique with respect to any other period source. Yet there are a number of relevant accounts alongside which to study it. By coordinating them we can understand more clearly the experiences they describe as well as the unfolding processes of interpretation that those experiences generated.

Cabeza de Vaca's fulfillment of his responsibilities as the royal treasurer of the Narváez expedition, as well as his post-1536 interest in obtaining a royal contract for further conquest in the lands of *Florida*, account for his preparation of a *relación* that would lead ultimately to the 1542 publication. Among his duties as royal treasurer, he was instructed to provide the emperor with written accounts of the expedition's progress. His formal instructions of 15 February 1527 stated:

> Also, you will take great care of, and be diligent to look after everything that may tend to our service and which should be done in that country

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> or the neighboring islands, for their peopling and pacification, informing us extensively and particularly of every matter, especially of how our commands are obeyed and executed in those lands and provinces, of how the natives are treated, our instructions observed, and other of the things respecting their liberties that we have commanded; especially the matters touching the service of our Lord and divine worship, the teachings of the Indians in the Holy Faith, and in many other things of our service, as well as all the rest you see, and I should be informed of. (AGI, Casa de la Contratación 3309, 32-4-29/35, f36v; Smith, *Relation* 221)

These instructions give us the original reason for Cabeza de Vaca's reporting of his *Florida* experience.

The failure of the Narváez expedition, however, ultimately left Cabeza de Vaca back in Castile without a royal appointment. Thus the information to which he was privy assumed a second role; it served not only to inform the emperor of what had occurred on the Narváez expedition but also to document Cabeza de Vaca's service to the crown, for which he hoped to be compensated with another royal commission. In other words, the *relación* as we know it (the version published in 1542) combines two purposes: first, the belated fulfillment of the original, 1527 order to its author as treasurer of the expedition and, second, the presentation of an unsolicited personal account, prepared sometime over the course of the years 1537–40, which Cabeza de Vaca used in his quest to obtain a second royally appointed assignment.

There exists a certain tension among apparently competing objectives in Cabeza de Vaca's writing. The formal dedication to the emperor in the *relación* published in 1542 clearly suggests the goal of seeking a new royal commission as compensation for services rendered on the Narváez expedition. The proem of the edition of 1555, in contrast, speaks to the broader goals of edifying and entertaining the prince and the elite reading public. As the stated aims of publishing the work became more general and more abstract from 1542 to 1555, they stand in increasing contrast to Cabeza de Vaca's original obligations as a royal official on the Narváez expedition.

Assessing Cabeza de Vaca's related but different objectives of reporting on the expedition of 1527–36 immediately afterward and then in print in 1542 and 1555 requires us to examine them in order of appearance. We identify four successive phases of Cabeza de Vaca's ongoing interpretive endeavor and outline them briefly before taking up each in turn.

Phase one, the Joint Report (1536): In addition to fulfilling his commissioned duties as the expedition's royal treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca along with Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo Maldonado were required to provide sworn testimony on the Narváez expedition upon their return to Spanish-held territory; this resulted in a report that the three hidalgos

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submitted to the viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, and the emperor, via Mendoza. We call this account the Joint Report, as previous scholars have done.

Phase two, the Cabeza de Vaca–Dorantes *relación* (1536–37): Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes desired to present this and further information to the emperor so that they could advance their plan to obtain a royal patent for the conquest of *Florida.* This effort resulted in a report that we know through the Gentleman of Elvas, who was at court in 1537 at the time the De Soto expedition was being prepared and when Cabeza de Vaca appeared there. He noted that Cabeza de Vaca presented a confidential report to the emperor on that occasion. As we will discuss below, Alonso de Santa Cruz, the royal cosmographer, likely used it as a source for his own account of the Narváez expedition in his *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* (c. 1551).

Phase three, *La relación que dio Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* . . . (1538–40): In the wake of the assignment of *Florida* to Hernando de Soto, Cabeza de Vaca sought a royal commission on his own behalf, producing a *relación* that resulted in the 1542 publication.

Phase four, *La relación y comentarios* (1555): Seeking vindication of his name for the humiliation suffered in his aborted governorship of Río de la Plata, Cabeza de Vaca edited and republished his 1542 *relación* alongside his secretary Pero Hernández's *Comentarios.*

Within this purview, we see the subject of our inquiry—the 1542 *relación*—not as a mere preliminary version of the final work but already a mature result within a prior and still ongoing process of royal solicitation and historical interpretation. In the following discussion we seek to outline all the known testimony in which Cabeza de Vaca might have had a hand and make explicit the relations among them. Here we identify two sets of pertinent materials.

One group consists of three extant accounts written prior to the 1555 publication. The most important of these is book 35 of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias.* The second is an anonymously authored narration of events of the Narváez expedition from 1527 to 1533 found in the Archivo General de Indias, Patronato section. We will argue that this account, which we call here the Short Report, was written around 1542 or sometime afterward. Whereas both Oviedo's account and the Short Report are typically studied in relation to the Narváez expedition, we add to them a third account never before considered in this context. This is the narration written sometime between 1537 and 1551 by the royal cosmographer, Alonso de Santa Cruz, in his *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* (pt. 5, chap. 41).

The second set of accounts that we must take into consideration but cannot study directly was written between 1527 and 1542 and is now lost.

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Because of its testimony of the three Castilian survivors, the most critically important of these is the Joint Report, indirectly preserved in Oviedo's book 35. Second is the manuscript that Cabeza de Vaca presented on behalf of himself and Andrés Dorantes to the emperor at the end of 1537; from this, Santa Cruz most likely wrote his *Crónica* account. Third is the final, manuscript version of the *relación* from which the 1542 edition was typeset and from which the Short Report may have been written. These three accounts constitute part or all of the series that gave rise to Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación* of 1542, as well as to Oviedo's narration in his *Historia*, the anonymous Short Report, Santa Cruz's account in his chronicle of the reign of Charles V, and other variant copies (see Nieto Nuño).

Oviedo's version of the Narváez expedition and Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 published *relación* point in turn to at least three documents that were written between 1528 and 1536 as part of the official record of the expedition: 1) the letter sent by Cabeza de Vaca to Spain from Cuba in February 1528 that describes the events of the expedition up to that point, 2) a formal certification of the arrival of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition at Sinaloa in northwestern Mexico in early 1536, also sent to Spain according to Oviedo's (612b [chap. 6]) account, and, of course, 3) the Joint Report, composed of testimony the three Castilian survivors of the expedition gave in Mexico probably by September 1536 and assuredly before 11 February 1537, by which date the viceroy Mendoza had sent it to the emperor by courier. In addition, a letter from the emperor to Cabeza de Vaca on 27 March 1528 reveals that Charles had received from the royal treasurer a letter of November 1527, and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, in his *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (12:43 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]), stated that the survivors gave sworn testimony ("declaración, con juramento") at San Miguel de Culiacán on 15 May 1536.

Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, which is cited throughout our study, was written between 1540 and 1548, but book 35 of the whole work (book 16 of part 2, according to Oviedo's original textual divisions) was not published until the middle of the nineteenth century. Although part 1 of Oviedo's *Historia* was first published in Seville in 1535 and again in Salamanca in 1547, the only portions of parts 2 and 3 published prior the nineteenth century were a version of book 12 of part 3 (book 50 of the entire work), which appeared at the end of both the 1535 and 1547 editions of part 1, and book 1 of part 2 (book 20 of the entire work), which was published separately at Valladolid in 1557. As a result of Oviedo's death in 1558, the remainder of part 2 (containing the account of the Narváez expedition in book 16 [book 35 of the entire work]) and all of part 3, save the portion of

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book 12 mentioned above, remained unpublished. The complete *Historia general y natural*, consisting of Oviedo's additions to the 1535 publication of part 1, as well as the complete parts 2 and 3, was edited by José Amador de los Ríos and published by the Real Academia de la Historia in 1851–55. We have used the Real Academia edition, citing book and chapter designations corresponding to the fully assembled work as given in that edition, as well as its volume and page numbers. In referring to Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition, we cite the page number and column (a, b) of volume 3, where the account is found on pages 579–618; all references giving a page number or a page and chapter number only pertain to Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition in his *Historia*.

The most recent study of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* has been Enrique Pupo-Walker's *Naufragios*. Pupo-Walker proposed that Cabeza de Vaca wrote his *relación* in a number of phases, going from the 15 February 1528 letter, to the Short Report, which he argues was given to Mendoza, to the Joint Report used by Oviedo, to the 1542 *relación*, and, finally, to the 1555 *Relación and comentarios*, the *Relación* portion of which Pupo-Walker recently edited under the familiar title *Naufragios*. Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 67) took the position that the Short Report, "in spite of its brevity and impersonal tone," is a fragmentary manuscript of the earliest version of the complete *relación* given by the survivors of the Narváez expedition to Antonio de Mendoza. He went on to recognize the difficulty in passing from that account to Oviedo's *Historia* version of the expedition, the increased extent and detail of which he explains by the multitestimonial nature of the Joint Report and Oviedo's long interpolations.

In our view, the difficulty Pupo-Walker had in establishing a filial relationship between the Short Report and Oviedo's account, with the former as the source of the latter, derives from the fact that the Short Report is not the early, fragmentary version of the *relación* Pupo-Walker assumed it to be but rather a late, secondhand paraphrase of the *relación*, as we will demonstrate. Likewise, the letter and/or *probanza* that Cabeza de Vaca sent to court in Spain on 15 February 1528 has virtually no direct relationship to the writing of the *relación*. It is highly unlikely that Cabeza de Vaca had a copy of the document(s) nine years after it had been sent to Spain from Cuba. If it was available to him when he wrote the first version of the *relación* once back in Spain, it would have provided at most a few details regarding his first year on the Narváez expedition. He had the letter in mind, however, when he began his testimony in the Joint Report in 1536, as Oviedo's text shows. Yet if it had been a *probanza*, it would have consisted of several persons' reiterative confirmation of the basic facts about the November 1527 hurricane and its devastating destruction (in particular, the expedition's loss of sixty men and

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two ships) but would not have provided Cabeza de Vaca with a very helpful sketch of the first portion of the Narváez expedition.

Pupo-Walker's suppositions reveal the difficulties that have confronted textual studies of the Cabeza de Vaca corpus. Because the relationships among the various accounts of the Narváez expedition have been frequently discussed (and frequently confused), we have sought to submit the sources to a rigorous comparative examination, taking into account internal, textual considerations as well as external factors that situate the writings in question in time and place. The challenge presented by the sources is twofold: first, to examine and compare the content of the accounts and, second, to understand their formal conventions with respect to their potential and limitations. The writings studied here are variously legal, historical, or administrative in character. To avoid unnecessarily decontextualizing them, we seek to elucidate the protocols by which they were produced in order to better understand how meaning was constructed through them. Apart from various types of *relaciones*, documents such as the *probanza* were essential features of the lives of men like Cabeza de Vaca who were seeking to establish or restore their public reputations of royal service (see vol. 1, f4v).

We take up the *probanza* on various occasions. It was a series of individual oral testimonies, sworn before and written down by a notary public (*escribano*), responding to a questionnaire prepared to establish certain facts. In authenticating the *probanza*, the notary vouched not for the truthfulness of the contents of the testimonies but rather for the fact that they had been taken in the prescribed manner under the circumstances mentioned. While many modern readers erroneously assume that the notaries public of the expedition were responsible for reporting events, their function was not to formally *report* to higher authorities but rather to *record* and authenticate the actions and testimonies offered by others.

2. ANTECEDENTS OF THE 1542 *RELACIÓN* (1527 to 1540)

2.A. *Documents of the Expedition (1527 to Spring 1536)*

After the Narváez expedition set sail from Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 17 June 1527 and arrived in Cuba in the autumn of 1527, Cabeza de Vaca had need on several occasions to fulfill his duties as royal treasurer by informing the emperor of the progress of the expedition. In this section we take up the writings—extant or lost—that we know to have originated in the course of the expedition itself. The period in question extends from late 1527 through the spring of 1528, prior to the departure of the overland expedition into the Florida Peninsula on about 1 May of that year. Our knowledge of these

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documents is based on Cabeza de Vaca's own 1542 *relación* (f7r, f8v) and Oviedo's *Historia*, book 35, which was written, as noted above, between 1540 and 1548.

Both Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca pointed to at least two early documents that have since disappeared without a trace. Oviedo had not seen them, and his information was evidently derived only from references to them in the account of the expedition jointly authored by the three Castilian survivors and submitted to the emperor and the Audiencia of Santo Domingo (the now lost Joint Report). Cabeza de Vaca had been directly involved in the preparation of these documents, yet he made only general and passing reference to them in his *relación*. The existence of such communications is confirmed by other documents that we cite below.

2.A.1. *Cabeza de Vaca's Letters to the Emperor (28 November 1527 and 15 February 1528).* Oviedo (582b [chap. 1]) followed Cabeza de Vaca's testimony in the Joint Report and noted that the latter had stated that the Narváez expedition was at the port of Jagua, Cuba, from 6 November "of the year already mentioned" (that is, 1527) to 22 February 1528. In the *relación*, Cabeza de Vaca (f5r–v) also recalled the expedition's departure date from Jagua as 22 February 1528. There is evidence that Cabeza de Vaca wrote at least two letters to the emperor during this time.

One letter was sent from Jagua and dated 15 February 1528. According to Oviedo's (582a [chap. 1]) account, it appears that Cabeza de Vaca had testified in the Joint Report that he "had written to His Majesty about what had happened" to that point in the expedition and included the notice of the loss of two ships, sixty men, and twenty horses in the hurricane of early November 1527. Oviedo (582a) used the language of the written transcription of the oral testimony that Cabeza de Vaca gave ("who says" [el cual dice], "where this Cabeza de Vaca says" [donde dice este Cabeza de Vaca]) and noted that the letter was written and sent from the port on "15 February 1527." The actual date, as noted above, was 1528. Oviedo's account reveals that the text was a description of the losses suffered in the hurricane that struck the Caribbean in the autumn of 1527.

In the *relación*, Cabeza de Vaca (f3v) considered the hurricane and its aftermath sufficiently noteworthy to record them there: "[a]nd because what happened to us there was such a notable thing, it seemed to me that to tell it here would not be unrelated to the purpose and goal for which I chose to write an account of this journey." He mentioned that he compiled a *probanza* regarding the loss of ships, men, and horses (f4v). Although he stated that he sent it to the emperor, he did not give the date of the document nor

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indicate that Jagua was its point of transmission. Solely Oviedo, at second hand, transmitted the information given in the Joint Report.

Although Cabeza de Vaca's February 1528 letter to the emperor from Jagua has apparently not come to light, an earlier letter he sent regarding the hurricane and loss of men and ships is verified by a letter from the emperor to Cabeza de Vaca dated 27 March 1528. This brief missive is located in the Archivo General de Indias (Indiferente General 421, 139-1-7) and is available in photostat in the Stetson Collection of Florida History at the P. K. Yonge Library in Gainesville and, in microfilm, at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The letter is addressed to Cabeza de Vaca, signed by the emperor, and countersigned by Francisco de los Cobos; Cobos was the secretary of the Councils of Castile and the Indies who on 11 December 1526 had authorized Narváez's contract to settle on the Río de las Palmas as well as Cabeza de Vaca's 15 February 1527 commission as royal treasurer and grant of a councilorship (*regimiento*) in that jurisdiction.

In the emperor's letter to Cabeza de Vaca of 27 March 1528, the monarch acknowledged the receipt of a letter of 28 November 1527 from Cabeza de Vaca at Jagua; he lamented the loss of ships and lives therein recounted. He also lauded Cabeza de Vaca's efforts to keep him informed and urged him to continue to do so. Robert Weddle (187, 204) had mentioned such a letter to Cabeza de Vaca, citing it as "AGI, Indiferente General 421, lib. 13, f298." Although Weddle named Cobos as its author (rather than its countersignatory), he did not give the date of the letter; most likely it is the one we cite here.

The content of one or both of Cabeza de Vaca's letters to the emperor, as well as the *probanza*, all sent in fulfillment of his responsibilities as treasurer, pertained to the status of the expedition and relevant economic matters. Oviedo's (582ab [chap. 1]) specific remarks about the letter of 15 February 1528 and the more general description by Cabeza de Vaca (f4v, f5r) of the testimony he sent the emperor, as well as the emperor's letter to the treasurer of 27 March 1528, all confirm this to be the case. On this basis alone, it is impossible to entertain the claim, made by Carpani (68–69n6), that the contents of the unseen 15 February 1528 letter was the anonymous, seven-page *relación* of the Narváez expedition to which we refer as the Short Report and that, as we will demonstrate below, has been attributed erroneously to Cabeza de Vaca. The Short Report summarizes events from the summer of 1527 all the way through the spring of 1533, beyond the end of Cabeza de Vaca's long stay on Malhado and to the announcement that there were three other men like him in the area. Its temporal scope alone precludes its identification as the 1528 account of the disastrous hurricane in Cuba.

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2.A.2. *Certification of the Four Survivors' Arrival at the Río Petatlán (Spring 1536).* Another document to which we are alerted by Oviedo's narrative and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* is the formal certification of the four survivors' return to Spanish civilization, that is, their arrival in the Spanish province of Nueva Galicia in northwestern Mexico in the spring of 1536. To our knowledge no student or commentator of the Narváez expedition narratives has ever explicitly proposed the existence of a document certifying the date and manner in which the four survivors of the Narváez expedition were encountered. Only Sauer ("The Road" 20) transcribed a third-person account narrating that meeting (see chap. 9, sec. 1); it was no doubt part of testimony given in an official inquiry into slave-hunting activities in Nueva Galicia during Nuño de Guzmán's governorship.

Cabeza de Vaca's and Oviedo's accounts of the event differ, but together they confirm that a dated and notarized account, which was a standard feature of expeditionary reporting, had been prepared upon the survivors' return to Spanish-held territory. According to Oviedo's (612b [chap. 6]) reading of the Joint Report, the four survivors were requested by the Spaniards whom they encountered near the Río Petatlán (Río Sinaloa) to give formal testimony "of the manner in which they came and were bringing those people, who were following them willingly and in peace." Oviedo stated that this testimony was then sent to the emperor. In the *relación*, Cabeza de Vaca (f59r) spoke of a certification protocol in which he demanded that the Spanish party he encountered give sworn testimony authenticating his arrival; he states that this was done when he and Estevanico went in search of the Spaniards and encountered them before calling for Dorantes and Castillo with the news that they had found their countrymen. Cabeza de Vaca declared that he asked the mounted horsemen to certify the date and manner in which they had found him (obviously excluding Estevanico and prior to the arrival of his companions), and he stated that they subsequently did so.

Regrettably, neither Oviedo nor Cabeza de Vaca mentioned the date of either occurrence. From the two accounts we may deduce that an as-yet-unfound document, prepared sometime in the spring of 1536, officially confirmed the men's arrival at the area of Spanish settlement (Nueva Galicia) in northwestern Mexico. Although from our perspective the failure of both writers to record the date of arrival is disappointing, both Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo may have considered that this information, formally documented and submitted to the appropriate authorities at the time, was irrelevant to their present purposes. At this point, both authors were engaged in writing narrations of those events, not legally certifying their occurrence.

In the early seventeenth century, the official chronicler of the Indies, Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, mentioned another instance in which the

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three men gave sworn testimony ("hicieron declaración, con juramento"), and this certification procedure was presumably carried out at San Miguel de Culiacán. Although it is evident that he wrote his account of the Narváez expedition from a copy of the *relación* published in 1555, Herrera y Tordesillas (12:43 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]) added an event that is not found in any of the accounts we have already mentioned: "[i]t seemed to these Christians that the distance in crossing from one sea to the other, where they had crossed, would have been two hundred leagues, and thus they certified it in the *villa* of San Miguel, where they made a declaration about this and everything else referred to here, swearing to its truth before an *escribano* on 15 May of this year." Although "this year" refers to 1537 (he included this event in his account of that year), Herrera should have entered it in the section of his work corresponding to 1536. Although he primarily paraphrased the 1555 published version of the *relación* (see chap. 13, sec. 12), it is clear that he had access to additional documentation, as we consider with respect to identifying some of the officials of Narváez's expedition (chap. 1, secs. 6.B–C; chap. 2, sec. 6.B.1).

As noted by Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 7), Antonio Ardoino (7b) declared that Herrera had written his account from Cabeza de Vaca's "histórica narración," which was still preserved in the Royal Archives. At the time of Ardoino's writing around the early 1730s, his reference could only be to the Royal Archives in Simancas, which had been established in 1543–44; the Archivo General de Indias in Seville was not founded at the Casa Lonja until 1785. Apart from Cabeza de Vaca's "histórica narración," Herrera's mention of the 15 May 1536 certification at San Miguel de Culiacán may have come from a copy of the Joint Report that had been sent to Spain.

2.B. *The Joint Report of Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado (Autumn 1536 to Winter 1536–37)*

The most significant account of the Narváez expedition is the lost Joint Report, apparently written in México-Tenochtitlán in the late summer of 1536 and collectively signed by Cabeza de Vaca, Andrés Dorantes, and Alonso del Castillo Maldonado. This lost report is the source from which Oviedo wrote his account of the expedition and its survivors, and, as we will demonstrate below, it also served Cabeza de Vaca as the outline from which he worked in writing his 1542 *relación*. Because Oviedo's book 35, chapters 1–6 is the best basis for reconstructing the Joint Report, it has often erroneously been taken as a simple paraphrase or even a transcription of it. Such is not the case, as we discover when we examine Oviedo's exercise of his considerable gifts as a critical historian.

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2.B.1. *Oviedo Receives the Joint Report.* Oviedo (582b [chap. 1], 614ab [chap. 6]) tells us that he wrote chapters 1–6 (582–614) of his account of the Narváez expedition on the basis of a letter (*carta*) that the three surviving Spaniards of the Narváez expedition had dispatched to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. It is not clear whether the origin of the letter, which Oviedo identified as a *relación* (582b, 614a, 618b), was conveyed in its contents or if the process of its dispatch resulted in the documentation of its provenience. At the time he wrote these chapters, Oviedo understood that the report had been sent from Havana by the three men when "they passed through in the year past of 1539" en route from New Spain to Castile. After reading Cabeza de Vaca's published account in 1547, Oviedo (618b [chap. 7]) implied in a remark he made in his newly drafted chapter 7 that the "gentleman from Jerez" had dispatched the report from Havana in 1537, since the latter had stated in his published account that he had passed through the port in that year. Oviedo's earlier remark tells us, however, that it was *after* 1539 when he learned about the jointly authored letter. Because such expressions as "el año pasado de 1539" were commonly used to indicate any prior year as well as the one immediately past, we cannot assume that Oviedo meant "last year" when he said "the past year." Thus, it was not necessarily 1540 but likely afterward that the Joint Report came into his possession.

The discrepancy regarding the person who delivered the report, as well as when it was sent from Cuba to Española, proves that even though Oviedo resided continuously in Santo Domingo from 1536 to 1546, he had no firsthand evidence of any of the men's passage through Havana, either in 1537 or 1539. His account in chapters 1–6 was apparently derived in its entirety from the Joint Report, from which he must have deduced that all three men were planning to return to Spain. We do not know the origin of Oviedo's (614a [chap. 6]) erroneous supposition that the report was conveyed by all three men as they passed through Havana three years after they arrived in New Spain from *Florida.* In this regard, it is also curious that Oviedo (*Historia* 1:544b [bk. 17, chap. 21]) incorrectly stated 1539 as the year when De Soto arrived in Cuba en route to the conquest of *Florida.* De Soto, who had met Cabeza de Vaca at court in Spain in late 1537, arrived in Cuba in 1538.

With regard to Oviedo's composition of his chapter 7, he stated in its title (614) that he wrote it on the basis of the published version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* as well as on information that its author had given him personally at the court of Prince Philip in Madrid in 1547. Weighing what he read in Cabeza de Vaca's account in relation to the Joint Report, which he had already studied thoroughly, Oviedo probably composed this final chapter at the end of 1547 or shortly afterward.

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In the *relación*, Cabeza de Vaca made no mention whatsoever of the preparation of the Joint Report in 1536 and its dispatch to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo in 1537. He stated that he was in Havana from 4 May to 2 June 1537 (f64r), which would have given him sufficient time to expedite the report. Despite his omission of any information regarding his preparation and delivery of the Joint Report between July 1536 and May 1537, a reference in Oviedo's text and corroborating external evidence prove that the three Castilian survivors of the Narváez expedition prepared their account of the Narváez expedition in New Spain before early 1537.

2.B.2. *Multiple Copies of a Single Report.* On 11 February 1537, the viceroy of New Spain, Don Antonio de Mendoza, wrote a letter to the empress (CDI 14:235–36) to inform her that "Cabeza de Baca" and "Francisco Dorantes" would be coming to Spain to give an oral account of their eight-year sojourn in *Florida* and northern Mexico. Mendoza stated in the letter that the two were going to Castile to give this report because, in addition to the written account that they had given him and that he had already dispatched to the court, they still had further information to impart. He added that they also wished to request compensation from the emperor for their services.

The Mendoza letter confirms that by February 1537 the three men had prepared an account of the Narváez expedition that Mendoza had sent to Spain. Furthermore, the letter corroborates the information Cabeza de Vaca gives in his *relación* regarding his and Dorantes's planned departure from New Spain in April of the same year. We are pleased to report a heretofore unused source documenting Cabeza de Vaca's arrival in Spain in 1537. This corroborating evidence is found in the letter sent by the officials of the Casa de la Contratación to the emperor on 8 November 1537, notifying him that they had had "Álvar Núñez" called "to declare in writing all the things he had seen and learned about that province of *Florida* where he had been" (CDI 42:530). The officials went on to say that Cabeza de Vaca had informed them that "within four days he would depart" for the court to give account of everything to His Majesty.

It is impossible to prove that the lost documents—the report used by Oviedo, the sworn statement ("declaración, con juramento") that Herrera said the men gave in Culiacán on 15 May 1536, and the report prepared by the three men that Mendoza said he sent to Spain—all refer to the same account and that this is the Joint Report Oviedo used. This is, however, the most likely case. In his February 1537 letter, Mendoza clearly stated that he had sent the account the Narváez survivors had given him to Spain on his own initiative, rather than in compliance with any formal request. Since *Florida* lay in the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo rather than in

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that of New Spain, Cabeza de Vaca, as treasurer of the Narváez expedition, would have been obligated to file an official report in Santo Domingo in spite of Mendoza's dispatch of the account to Castile.

According to Oviedo (614a [chap. 6]), the three Spanish survivors had written to the emperor, giving an account of what his own history now related ("haçiendo relaçion de lo que la historia ha dicho"), informing him that through all the lands they had walked up to their arrival at Compostela, they had seen neither idolatry nor (human) sacrifice. Oviedo referred on a number of occasions to his account as "la historia" or relation of the Narváez expedition (e.g., 590a, 596a, 613a), and thus he implied that the men's written account, sent to the emperor and certifying the absence of idolatry and sacrifice, was the same one from which he was writing.

Thus, we believe that the account of the Narváez expedition the three Spanish survivors gave to Mendoza and the official testimony given by the men about their journey through *Florida* that Oviedo (614a [chap. 6]) mentioned as the one he used to write his account in Santo Domingo were both copies of the same Joint Report. As such, the Joint Report formed the first official account of the Narváez expedition given by any of the men. Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 11) made an even stronger claim, stating that he believed that the Joint Report "was the only account that was written at that time" and that it was therefore "the only genuine account."

Although it is apparent that a number of official copies (*traslados*) of the Joint Report were prepared at the time, none of them has been located. Uncovering one would shed considerable light on Cabeza de Vaca's writing of the *relación* by clearly demonstrating the relationship between the testimony the three Castilians gave upon their arrival in New Spain and the account that Cabeza de Vaca wrote after he returned to Spain in 1537 and before he departed for South America at the end of 1540. Since the Joint Report itself has not been discovered the determination of its contents and composition rests on a close analysis of Oviedo's *Historia* and its comparison to Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación.* Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition does more than merely attest to the existence of a collective report prepared by the three men; it is, in its own right, the earliest full account of the loss of the Narváez expedition.

2.B.3. *Oviedo's Working Method.* A clear distinction must be maintained between the lost Joint Report and the account in Oviedo's *Historia*, despite the fact that the latter is our source for the former. With respect to Oviedo's working method, Demetrio Ramos offers significant insights. Although Enrique Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 70) cited Ramos's work to argue for

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Oviedo's "lack of method," we discover that Ramos's careful study leads precisely to the opposite conclusion.

In *Ximénez de Quesada en su relación con los cronistas*, Ramos compared Oviedo's account of the conquest of Nueva Granada with the surviving truncated *Epítome de la conquista de la Nueva Granada* written by Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada. Ramos's reconstruction of the "gran cuaderno" used by Oviedo to write book 26, chapters 18–29 of his *Historia* and of the summary notes ("notas entresacadas") found at the end of the "gran cuaderno" to write his chapters 31 and 32 forms only a small portion of the work Ramos carried out in his analysis of Jiménez de Quesada's *Epítome*. Ramos employed a method of structural analysis, followed by grammatical and stylistic analyses; he concluded by determining the filial relationship of the writings he reconstructed, their relationship to surviving accounts, and the hands through which the writings had passed—all in order to understand the manner by which the *Epítome* came into being.

In the course of reconstructing the Jiménez de Quesada text by sifting through Oviedo's, Ramos revealed that Oviedo's method was one of reading and extracting information from his sources, recording it in the same order that he found it, sometimes repeating information he had already given in previous chapters because he encountered it in more than one source. Ramos (*Ximénez* 59) completely rejected the possibility that Oviedo might have restructured the accounts from which he wrote his *Historia*, at least with regard to the parts written between the end of 1546 and the beginning of 1549:

> Pero a esta solución se opone radicalmente lo que sabemos—por comprobarse en cada caso—del método seguido por Oviedo, limitado a extractar al hilo de la fuente utilizada y más por la prisa con que, en las fechas en que se sirvió del "gran cuaderno", se veía acuciado, tanto por la falta de tiempo como por el inmenso trabajo que entonces pesaba sobre él.
>
> [This solution—restructuring the account—is radically opposed by what we know, being confirmed in each case, about the method followed by Oviedo, which was limited to extracting the thread of the source used and, more because of the hurriedness with which, in the period when he used the "great journal," he found himself working under great pressure, due as much to a lack of time as to the immense workload that weighed on him.]

Ramos (*Ximénez* 75) went on to conclude that Oviedo's *Historia* is valuable in two ways: first, for the preservation of the sources used and, second, for the history he offered of how he acquired them.

Oviedo's critical approach is particularly evident in his treatment of Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación*, and it can be applied to his treatment

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of the Joint Report in the years preceding 1546. As noted above, Oviedo explicitly stated that chapters 1–6 of his book 35 of the *Historia*, written in the early 1540s, were drawn from the letter (the Joint Report) sent by the Spanish survivors of the Narváez expedition to Santo Domingo. Furthermore, he stated how he acquired his sources for chapter 7 of book 35 in 1547; this occurred during the same visit to Spain in which he received the Jiménez de Quesada account, as Ramos (*Ximénez* 35, 177) explained. Oviedo (614) declared that he spoke with Cabeza de Vaca in Madrid and consulted the printed version of his *relación*. Thus, some years (perhaps as many as seven) after he had written his account of the Narváez expedition from the Joint Report, Oviedo (615a) submitted Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* to his test of historical validity. In doing so, he determined that, as a historical source, he preferred the Joint Report.

It is apparent that the values of critical history that Ramos attributed to Oviedo's work for the period 1546–49 also apply to the preceding years. Thus we reject Pupo-Walker's (*Naufragios* 70) assertion that "in examining O[viedo's text], we will never be certain whether we are confronting the chronicler's transcription or that which he read in the account of Núñez, Dorantes, and Castillo." Fortunately, we can transcend Pupo-Walker's (*Naufragios* 70–71) conclusion that the complex relationship between the Joint Report, Oviedo's own additions to the account, and his additions from the published 1542 *relación* all make it impossible to directly compare the texts and determine the contents of the Joint Report.

Although Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 70) quoted Ramos in support of his position, a careful reading of Ramos shows that Ramos's study contradicts the claim that Pupo-Walker attempted to make on its basis regarding Oviedo's supposed lack of method. On this point, Pupo-Walker cited Ramos's following statement: "[p]recisely for this reason we allude to Oviedo's felicitous lack of method [*feliz falta de método*] because it is that which makes his chronicle a kind of compendium of direct accounts of the protagonists which, in turn, he embellishes with personal reflections." Ramos's declaration, found on page 176 of his work (not 81 as cited by Pupo-Walker), must be understood in light of his immediately preceding utterance: "[a]s we have also been able to gauge in Fernández de Oviedo's method—his felicitous lack thereof—[he] consistently copies what fell into his hands, even though it might have been a repetition."

It is precisely Oviedo's faithful copying of material from his sources that eliminates the potential for editorial capriciousness that Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 70) attributes to him ("suppressing, adding, or commenting on what seemed opportune"). Oviedo's technique, furthermore, makes it possible to clearly distinguish his personal interpolations from his source

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material and allows us to determine the content of the Joint Report embedded in his work. We employ here a methodology similar to that of Ramos in order to reconstruct the Joint Report from Oviedo's book 35, chapters 1–6, as well as to determine the relationships among the Joint Report, Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación*, the Short Report, and the early account included in Alonso de Santa Cruz's *Crónica del emperador Carlos V*.

2.B.4. *Reconstructing the Joint Report.* Reconstructing the Joint Report from Oviedo's text is a necessary step in the process of determining how Cabeza de Vaca wrote his *relación*. By following Ramos's approach, we will first characterize the Joint Report and then consider the way Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca used it to prepare their own accounts. Oviedo (582ab, 614ab, 618b) explicitly stated that he wrote his account from the Joint Report around 1540 or shortly thereafter. Thanks to the fact that he went to Spain in 1546 and spoke with Cabeza de Vaca and consulted the published *relación* in 1547, we can ascertain significant differences between their accounts. By collecting information common to both, we can begin to see the outline of the Joint Report's contents. Had Oviedo been unable to consult Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación*, it would be far more difficult to determine whether differences between Oviedo's account and Cabeza de Vaca's were the result of Oviedo's exclusion of Joint Report material from his history or Cabeza de Vaca's expansion of the Joint Report in his *relación*. Oviedo's scrupulously critical approach allows us to learn a great deal more about the relationships among the various sources.

2.B.5. *Determining Oviedo's Interpolations.* The first step in our analysis of Oviedo's book 35, chapters 1–6, is to isolate the sections of the text that he wrote using the Joint Report from those he composed to frame the account of the Narváez expedition. Oviedo's additions are easily identifiable. Besides the proem to book 35, there are eight obvious additional interpolations in chapters 1–6, when we count the ones at the end of chapter 3 and at the beginning of chapter 4 separately (586ab, 587ab, 590a, 595a–96b, 597a–98b, 608b, 612b–13a, 614ab). These interpolations begin with addresses to the reader or exclamatory remarks by Oviedo and end with a transitional phrase signaling a return to the expedition narrative. Where Oviedo does not explicitly advise the reader that he is temporarily suspending or resuming his account, the obvious change in topic, the high frequency of present-tense verb forms, and the use of first-person grammatical constructions all inform the reader that the narration has been temporarily abandoned while Oviedo reflects on the significance of the events he narrates.

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Even explicitly misleading references do not produce any difficulty in distinguishing the parts of narrative drawn from the Joint Report from those that are Oviedo's interpolations. At the end of chapter 3, for example, Oviedo (596b) states, "Let us return to the story . . . proceeding with the same *relación* of that caballero Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions." At the beginning of chapter 4 (597a), however, the narrative does not resume as we expect. Instead, Oviedo offers a long critique of Castilian policy and conduct in the Indies that extends for a page and a half (598b); it is clearly recognizable as one of his characteristic digressions, decrying Castilian ignorance of the geography of the Indies and the crown's lack of adequate investment in the discoveries, which Oviedo claimed had relied instead on "paper and fine words" and the misguided expectations and pretentiousness of the expeditionaries themselves. Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 70) overstated the interference of Oviedo's "personal reflections" mentioned by Ramos; they present no difficulty in separating out the sections of chapters 1–6 that have their origin in the Joint Report.

Another category of comments is more difficult to assess. These are statements intended to clarify; they are quite diverse with respect to topic and brief in length. It is difficult to know which originated in the Joint Report and which are Oviedo's personal interventions. José Amador de los Ríos enclosed many of these statements in parentheses in the Real Academia edition, and this editorial adjustment foregrounds them, making them appear to be Oviedo's late interpolations. One class of these additions clarifies narrative elements of the text, as in Oviedo's misidentification of Andrés Dorantes as the island-mainland merchant, as we will see below (sec. 2.B.8). In the cases where the grammatical first person is used, it seems clear that Oviedo (592b [chap. 3], 609b–10a [chap. 6]) is speaking in his own voice: "I mean this Dorantes and the companion whom he had retrieved"; "and they came with them (I mean with the Christians, wherever they went, a thousand or a thousand five hundred persons)." The origin of others, such as a parenthetical indication of a date (599b [chap. 4]), is harder to prove. The amusing comment about guests who outstay their welcome (598b [chap. 4]), inserted parenthetically in Andrés Dorantes's narration of the men's journey down the Texas coast, is undoubtedly Oviedo's own intervention, as is the explanatory remark regarding a geographic reference to the northern Pacific coast (610b [chap. 6]).

Once we have separated out the pieces of chapters 1–6 that were written on the basis of the Joint Report, we must confront the more difficult problem of Oviedo's modification of the Joint Report text as he wrote his own account. Although he often drew on the language of the report itself, his text does not

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represent an unmediated transcription of the Joint Report, as the chronicler (582ab [proem]) himself explains:

> Account will be given of this hidalgo [Pánfilo de Narváez] and his unfortunate end and of his luckless contingent . . . according to the notice of his voyage presently available: . . . as can be deduced from the *relación* that three hidalgos named Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca, and Andrés Dorantes, and Alonso del Castillo sent to this Royal Audiencia, which resides in this city of Santo Domingo: these men went with Pánfilo de Narváez, and state in writing what occurred on his voyage and where they went. And upon their return they went to Spain to give account viva voce of the things that will here be told by me, writing their account at length and suppressing some superfluous words that they duplicate among them, and I will not be deficient in conveying the substance and essence of what their letter contains and says.

Oviedo's statement about the suppression of superfluous words suggests that the Joint Report must have included testimony from each of the three survivors that was sometimes almost identical. His remarks about the three men's involvement in the report, as well as his desire to avoid reiterating repeated testimony, indicate that the Joint Report included the men's multiple testimonies on the loss of the Narváez expedition.

Oviedo's elimination of "superfluous words" can be interpreted to mean that his objective was to transform this duplicated testimony into one coherent narrative for his *Historia* and not to arbitrarily suppress information. The popular notion that Oviedo held an "anti-Indian" attitude, for example, presumably causing him to omit information on native customs given in his primary sources, cannot be sustained. Ramos (*Ximénez* 27n29) argues that it is a dismissable commonplace regarding the *Historia*, and the same may be said regarding his treatment of the Narváez expedition materials. In fact, Oviedo scrutinized Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación* for descriptions of native customs, as is evident in his incorporation of much new information into his chapter 7 (616, 617). As Ramos (*Ximénez* 56–62, 75) argued, Oviedo's tendency was to follow his source carefully as he extracted information from it, sometimes repeating information that he had already recorded from other sources.

2.B.6. *Temporal Boundaries of the Joint Report.* Oviedo's account reveals the temporal limits of the Joint Report. At the beginning of chapter 1, he reports, as we have noted, that Cabeza de Vaca testified that he had sent a letter on 15 February 1528 from Jagua to Spain (582a). Yet Oviedo did not include an account of the departure of the Narváez expedition from Spain in 1527; he incorporated this information only in chapter 7 (615ab), which

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indicates that he learned about it not from the Joint Report but from Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación.* Oviedo's vague reference to the loss of two ships at Trinidad and the storm in Cuba in late 1527, mentioned in conjunction with the February 1528 letter, are clarified by additions he made after reading the 1542 *relación.* The lack of any account of the beginning of the expedition in chapters 1–6, along with the subsequent inclusion of that information in chapter 7, tells us that the Joint Report offered no testimony regarding the first nine months of the Narváez expedition, that is, from 17 June 1527 to 22 February 1528.

The omission can be explained by Cabeza de Vaca's preparation and submission of his 15 February 1528 letter and the fact that there had been many witnesses in Cuba as to what had occurred on the Narváez expedition up to its departure from the island in the spring of 1528. Mentioning the February 1528 letter, Cabeza de Vaca must have summarized its contents at the beginning of his Joint Report testimony in order to remind the emperor that he had already reported—eight years earlier—on the Narváez expedition's progress up to its departure from Cuba for the Río de las Palmas.

We encounter a similar situation regarding the end of the expedition. Oviedo's (613a [chap. 6]) text seems to fade out as the four survivors arrive at the Río Petatlán and travel southward to Culiacán. Although we might suppose that the end point of the Joint Report would be the men's return to the capital of New Spain in July 1536, it may well be that they gave what they considered to be their final accounting upon arriving in the Spanish jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia, very likely at San Miguel de Culiacán in May 1536, as Herrera y Tordesillas (12:43 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]) claimed. In fact, Oviedo (614a [chap. 6]) narrated only indirectly the four survivors' arrival at Compostela and gave no account of the men's arrival in México-Tenochtitlán or their attempts to return to Spain. Although in the *relación* Cabeza de Vaca gives considerable information regarding his efforts to return to Castile and eventual arrival there, Oviedo took from it only the Havana reference; it evidently clarified for him the manner by which the Joint Report had come to the Royal Audiencia of Santo Domingo and corrected the earlier assumption he had made about it in his reading of the document.

The purpose of the Joint Report was therefore evidently to document the loss of the Narváez expedition and describe the lands encountered by the four survivors from their departure from Cuba in February 1528 through their arrival in the already-explored lands of northwestern Mexico in the spring of 1536. Once the arrival of the men was officially reported and certified, there was no need to document their subsequent activities. Herrera's claim that the men gave official testimony at San Miguel on 15 May 1536 has not been substantiated by any other source. He may have drawn this information

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from a document now lost, but it is also possible that he inferred it from Cabeza de Vaca's (f63v) statement that the men departed from San Miguel on that date. On the other hand, Oviedo's (614a [chap. 6]) account seems to imply that the men gave testimony in Compostela.

2.B.7. *The Respective Accounts of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes.* In order to determine how Oviedo transformed the information of the Joint Report as he appropriated it, we must scrutinize the text for linguistic markers, including person, tense, and voice, as well as Oviedo's explicit references to particular parts of the Joint Report as the sources of certain sections of his own account. These aspects of Oviedo's text provide our only clues to the composition of the three Castilians' collective report. As we demonstrate, these markers suggest that Oviedo constructed his account by following the individual testimonies of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes as they appeared in the Joint Report.

Davenport and Wells (114) were the first to speculate on the nature of the Joint Report: "Oviedo's paraphrase of the joint letter is so close that Bandelier and Baskett both treat his account as the text of the letter. This is incorrect, but his account follows the letter so closely that we can say, from its evidence, that the letter was the work of Andrés Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca, and more largely of the former than of the latter." Davenport (27:123) later gave a more precise statement of his view of the Oviedo account. As a historical source, and in comparison with Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and the Short Report, Davenport considered the most valuable portion of Oviedo's narrative to be his paraphrase of Andrés Dorantes's independent account of the journey of the Malhado survivors from the island in 1529 and their subsequent experiences until Cabeza de Vaca rejoined them at the "River of Nuts," in the "autumn of 1534." Actually, Cabeza de Vaca rejoined the others not in the autumn of 1534, but in the spring of 1533. Nevertheless, Dorantes's account extends to the autumn of 1534, when the men left the Mariames Indians and went on to the Avavares.

Davenport adjusted his assessment of the Oviedo text in this second opinion, limiting somewhat the boundaries and extent of Andrés Dorantes's involvement in the testimony. In light of Davenport and Wells's attribution of the Joint Report to Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes only, we must stress that Oviedo (582b, 614a, 615a) explicitly stated that all three men were involved in preparing the account he used.

Ironically, Davenport and Wells committed the same error of which they said Bandelier and Baskett were guilty. That is, although they nominally distinguished between the Joint Report and Oviedo's text, they proceeded to treat Oviedo's text as though it were for all practical purposes a complete

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transcription of the Joint Report. They failed to recognize that even though the portion of the Joint Report included by Oviedo may have closely corresponded to the source document, it is likely that Oviedo did not convey all of the testimony given—as he said he did not—because some of it was reiterative, duplicating statements already made by one or another witness. As we consider below, Alonso del Castillo's absence from Oviedo's text does not reflect his lack of involvement in the presentation of testimony in the Joint Report but rather Oviedo's effort to avoid repetition.

If Cabeza de Vaca had included in his *relación* even a single sentence regarding the preparation of the Joint Report, the determination of the latter's characteristics might be considerably easier. There are two important questions we must ask about the Joint Report. First, did only one of the men give the primary account, to which the others simply added information, or did all three men give complete independent accounts? Second, did the survivors of the Narváez expedition write their testimony in the first person, or was it recorded in the third person by an *escribano* (notary public) who took down the men's oral testimony? An *escribano*'s transcription of their oral testimony would have stated, for example, "Cabeza de Vaca says that . . ."

The most likely scenario is that each of the men gave oral testimony that was transcribed by a notary in third-person utterances, and that one of the three men narrated their common experience, which each then affirmed by his signature and/or by adding, at the end, variant details that one or another might have had. Each also would have narrated his separate experience individually. The structure of Oviedo's account suggests that Cabeza de Vaca provided the principal narration, then alternated with Andrés Dorantes, who narrated his experiences (592b, 593a–95a [chap. 3], 598b–602a [chap. 4]). Cabeza de Vaca then resumed the main narration of events subsequent to their travel to the Avavares Indians in 1534. This would correspond, in any case, to his duties as treasurer of the expedition. Curiously, Oviedo did not identify Alonso del Castillo even once as the source of any aspect of his account, from which we might infer—perhaps wrongly—that Castillo's testimony in the Joint Report document was minimal or that Oviedo found Castillo's report of his solitary experience of a year and a half's duration to be sufficiently similar to what Dorantes offered. It is likely that Dorantes spoke on his and Castillo's behalf regarding their shared experiences while separated from Cabeza de Vaca. In any case, Captain Castillo would have vouched for the accuracy of Cabeza de Vaca's and Andrés Dorantes's testimonies.

Analysis of the basic structure of Oviedo's narrative suggests that he followed Cabeza de Vaca's account of the Narváez expedition from the

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narration of its departure from Cuba in early 1528 through Cabeza de Vaca's trek down the coast with Lope de Oviedo in the spring of 1533. Once Oviedo had narrated the spring 1529 departure of Dorantes, Castillo, and the others from the island of Malhado, he became confused about Cabeza de Vaca's identity and mistook him for Andrés Dorantes; we will describe this occurrence below. After the false Andrés Dorantes (Cabeza de Vaca) meets the real Andrés Dorantes in the spring of 1533 Oviedo's narrative makes a clean break back to the spring of 1529 and begins with the second narration of Dorantes and Castillo's departure down the coast from Malhado, this time according to Dorantes's testimony.

From the point of the four survivors' permanent reunion in the late summer of 1534, the accounts of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes dovetail as the four men spent eight months among the Avavares Indians and then traveled farther south before turning to the north and west across northern Mexico and southwestern Texas and finally threading their way down the Pacific coastal side of Mexico to Nueva Galicia. Our only method of determining which testimony Oviedo used is to isolate the awkward locutions that occasionally reveal the origin of his information. From the point of reunion in the narration, this method has no utility because no such references are present. The method Oviedo used to identify his informants ("Cabeza de Vaca says that . . ." [Cabeza de Vaca dice que . . .]) was the only possible way of stating "open quote," "close quote" in the sixteenth century, since quotation marks did not come into use until the late eighteenth century, appearing, for example, in Muñoz's transcriptions of Indies documents preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.

Although we cannot be certain which account Oviedo followed from the point of the reunion of the four men, it appears that he again turned to Cabeza de Vaca's testimony in the Joint Report for the duration of the account, since it closely parallels the account we find in the *relación*. We now take a closer, chapter-by-chapter look at how Oviedo evidently worked with the Joint Report to write his own narrative, emphasizing first some difficulties of his account and then its contributions to a better understanding of Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación*.

2.B.8. *Oviedo's Articulation of the Two Accounts and Their Complementary Relationship to the* Relación. Near the beginning of his account, Oviedo (582a [chap. 1]) made clear references to Cabeza de Vaca's testimony: "[a]nd this Cabeza de Vaca went as the treasurer and official of Your Majesty, who says that from Jagua . . . he had written to Your Majesty." Referring again to Jagua, Oviedo (582b [chap. 1]) noted that it was "where this Cabeza de Vaca says he was." Although he provided no further identifying markers of his source

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for the Narváez expedition's overland travel, the building of the rafts, and the beginning of the sea journey, Oviedo (589a [chap. 2]) identified Cabeza de Vaca as the individual who commented on the quality of the pelts ("which, according to what the treasurer Cabeza de Vaca says, were excellent"). This occurred when the expeditionaries were attacked by Indians; Narváez was injured, and the expedition got the cloak of sable skins. Near the end of his chapter 2 (590a), Oviedo explicitly identified Cabeza de Vaca's testimony as his source: "[a]nd thus the treasurer Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who is the one who tells this, continued his journey."

Relying on Cabeza de Vaca's testimony from the departure from Cuba through the spring of 1529, Oviedo nevertheless committed an occasional error of ellipsis in recording events. The first occurs in his narration of the loss of the two Christians identified in Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f18r) as Doroteo Teodoro and a black slave. From the *relación* we learn that after the two Christians went away with the Indians an entire day passed before the Indians, carrying empty water vessels, returned without the two men and encouraged the Indians the Spaniards held as hostages to try to escape. Oviedo's (589a [chap. 2]) narration of this episode lacks temporal coherence, since it omits the return of the Indians with the empty vessels and without the Christians.

A similar phenomenon occurs subsequently when Oviedo recounts the separation of Cabeza de Vaca's raft from the one of Peñalosa and Téllez. According to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f20r), his raft and that of Peñalosa and Téllez traveled together for four days before being separated by a storm. The next day, Cabeza de Vaca's crew sailed on alone, and the following morning they arrived on the Texas coast. Oviedo's (590b [chap. 2]) account suggests that once the two rafts met they sailed together for only three hours until the evening of that first day. From there his narrative ricochets from a reference to a storm the previous night to the arrival of Cabeza de Vaca and his group on the Texas shore the following morning.

Such ellipses are minor in comparison to a subsequent defect in Oviedo's text. After describing the men's arrival on the Texas shore, Oviedo continued his narration through the departure of Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo and the other survivors down the Texas coast in the spring of 1529. The similarity of Oviedo's account to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* suggests that Oviedo continued to write from the testimony Cabeza de Vaca gave in the Joint Report. As Oviedo described Cabeza de Vaca's experience alone on the Texas coast, however, he suddenly interrupted his account with the first identification of Andrés Dorantes's testimony: "Andrés Dorantes said that he saw it snow and hail all in one day. . . . And he says that these people fear dying more than any other he has seen" (592b [chap. 3]).

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In the second part of this insertion, the "he" in "he says that these people" appears not to refer to Andrés Dorantes but rather again to Cabeza de Vaca, as is the case in a subsequent reference to crossing an inlet, "which he says he believes, from the signs of it[,] . . . is the one they call Espíritu Santo" (592b [chap. 3]). Although the individual who made the observations about "these people" and who traveled down the coast is referenced in Oviedo's text only as "este cavallero," the narration clearly corresponds to the role of merchant to the Indians that Cabeza de Vaca used to describe his own activity in the *relación.*

The individual in question could not be Andrés Dorantes, because Oviedo referred in the same passage to two Christians whom Castillo and Dorantes had left behind on the island; Oviedo described how the merchant returned to the island to convince one of the Christians who had been left there to flee with him down the coast: "[a]nd two times he returned those forty leagues in order to bring forth a Christian who had remained alive there of the two whom Castillo and Dorantes had left very weak when they left the island, because the other had died; and they took him the last time" (592b [chap. 3]). The phrase "they took him," which should have been "he [the merchant] took him," inexplicably shifts the grammatical person from singular to plural and reveals Oviedo's confusion.

At this point in the narration, which describes how the merchant and the Christian fled down the coast to a point where they learned from some Indians about the deaths of other Christians, the identity of the caballero who led his companion apparently seemed unclear to Oviedo. He appears to have made a critical error as he passed from Cabeza de Vaca's testimony, which narrated his journey down the coast in 1533, to that of Andrés Dorantes, which recounted events beginning at the island in 1529. In publishing the first complete translation of the Oviedo account, Davenport (27:234) recognized that Oviedo incorrectly attributed the role of merchant to Andrés Dorantes. The reader is first made aware of this transfer of identity by Oviedo's first-person intervention in the narration just as the merchant and his companion reach some Indians across the strait they believed to be that of Espíritu Santo:

> And they told them much bad news along with this to these **two Christians** (*I mean to this Dorantes and to the companion he had recovered*) and they put arrows to their hearts, and threatened to kill them, and out of fear of this, the other Christian went back, and left Dorantes, who was unable to detain him. And in the two or three days that he was there, he left **there** secretly, and encountered two Indians who took him to where Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo were.
>
> *Having arrived to where these* ***two Christians*** *and the others who will be mentioned, Andrés Dorantes waited* ***there*** *for an Indian of his*; and the first day

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> of April the previously mentioned Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo and Diego Dorantes and Pedro Valdivieso left from **there**; and the Asturian cleric and a black man were on an island. (592–93 [chap. 3], emphasis added)

The appearance of first-person verbs in Oviedo's text written from the Joint Report is rare; in this case, the voice was obviously Oviedo's as he attempted to identify the two expeditionaries. He misunderstood the accounts at this point and was led to believe that the merchant was Andrés Dorantes rather than Cabeza de Vaca, perhaps because of the insertion of Dorantes's comment on the weather on the Texas coast.

Once Oviedo had misidentified Cabeza de Vaca as Andrés Dorantes he had a larger narrative problem to resolve. "Andrés Dorantes the merchant" (actually Cabeza de Vaca) was now traveling down the coast in 1533 and was about to encounter the Andrés Dorantes who had left Galveston Bay in the spring of 1529; this occurs in the first portion of the citation transcribed above. The second paragraph of this citation, the beginning of which we have shown in italics, initiates Andrés Dorantes's testimony with the phrase "and the first day of April." The shift in narrative viewpoint, however, is obscured by Oviedo's rendering and his use of single nouns or pronouns to refer imprecisely to people, places, and times very distant from one another. It is useful to scrutinize this passage to untangle the confusion, a goal that can only be achieved with Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* as a guide.

Oviedo's first use of "two Christians" in the passage cited above clearly refers to the two who came down the coast in 1533 and encountered natives at the Bay of Espíritu Santo. Oviedo understood this pair of Christians to be Andrés Dorantes and the unnamed man from the island. This was Lope de Oviedo, according to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación.* When the unnamed man turned back, the supposed Andrés Dorantes continued on to the place where he encountered Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo, who are also referred to as "two Christians," as though they were the same pair as the first one. Oviedo's double use of "two Christians" to refer first to "Andrés Dorantes" (Cabeza de Vaca) and Lope de Oviedo and later to Andrés Dorantes and Alonso del Castillo thus creates confusion that is exacerbated by his reference to Andrés Dorantes first as "Dorantes" and later as "Andrés Dorantes," nearly suggesting that the two names referred to different people.

The vague use of the noun/adverb "there" also lends to the confusion. The first "there" is a place forty leagues south of the island of Malhado, the second is not identifiable, and the third is in the region of the island itself. The reference to the Indian is unexplainable. The dual identity that the name Andrés Dorantes assumes forms an illogical link between two different geographic locations separated by four years' time. The double

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use of "two Christians" and "there" functions as a grammatical means of passing from the point in Cabeza de Vaca's testimony where he narrated his arrival in 1533 at the region of the "River of Nuts" back to the point in the testimony of Andrés Dorantes pertaining to the moment in the spring of 1529 when he was on the island of Malhado—all in an effort to incorporate Andrés Dorantes's narrative, the beginning of which follows the text we have indicated in the second set of italics.

Once Oviedo surmounts the transition from Cabeza de Vaca's account to Andrés Dorantes's, his narration again becomes clear and direct. As Oviedo (593a–602b [chaps. 3–4]) picks up Andrés Dorantes's testimony, the narration turns back to the spring of 1529 at Malhado as Dorantes departs with Castillo and the others, and the account continues forward in time to the late summer of 1534 and the men's flight from the Mariames. Oviedo's use of Dorantes's testimony in chapters 3 and 4 is confirmed by five additional references that identify Dorantes as the source of the information: "Dorantes says that" (598b [chap. 4]); "And this Andrés Dorantes says" (599a [chap. 4]); "And thus testified this Andrés Dorantes" (599b [chap. 4]); "and this hidalgo Dorantes said" (600a [chap. 4]); "And this hidalgo Andrés Dorantes says" (601a [chap. 4]). Dorantes's description of the Mariames corroborates the one Cabeza de Vaca gave in his *relación*. As Oviedo (602a [chap. 4]) reached the point in the narration where the men decided to flee from the Mariames, he still presented Dorantes's narrative perspective. Thus we read about Andrés Dorantes and Estevanico's search for Cabeza de Vaca, rather than Cabeza de Vaca's discovery that Dorantes and Estevanico had arrived at the Indians where he was waiting for them, as told in the *relación* (f34v). Despite Oviedo's confused account of a certain portion of Dorantes's testimony, it is thanks to Oviedo that we have a second perspective on the years in question and the region that the survivors traversed.

In addition to finding Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* helpful in interpreting portions of Oviedo's text, Oviedo's account has been crucial in understanding the narrative complexity of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and in editing and translating his work. Narrating Dorantes and Castillo's trip down the coast, Cabeza de Vaca declares that he received his account from them after they were all reunited (in 1533) (f29v). He then goes on to relate the account they gave him. In contrast to the *relación*, where we must rely on Cabeza de Vaca's recollection of what Andrés Dorantes told him, Oviedo's text gives us Andrés Dorantes's own account. Even though it passed through Oviedo's pen, it brings us one step closer to an original, eyewitness account of the events in question. Whereas Oviedo provided Dorantes's account of his travel down the coast and his encounter with Figueroa (whose narration of the information Esquivel had given him is also related by Dorantes through

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Oviedo), Cabeza de Vaca significantly abbreviated Dorantes's account of the men's 1529 journey down the coast toward Pánuco.

One curious element in Oviedo's account pertaining to Dorantes's testimony is the revelation of a discovery before it can be fully understood. In narrating the men's journey down the coast in 1529, we read that "the Indians crossed the Christians from the other side of the river and recognized them, because they had seen the people of the governor's raft as well as those of the raft of Alonso Enríquez" (593b [chap. 3]). Oviedo had previously narrated the men's discovery of Alonso Enríquez's raft along the coast but had not mentioned the fate of the governor's raft and its crew. Narváez's arrival on the coast is not narrated until after the men encounter Figueroa, who had learned the governor's fate from Esquivel (594b [chap. 3]). Evidently this foreshadowing of the governor's end was present in Dorantes's account in the Joint Report, and Oviedo simply included it as he proceeded with Dorantes's narration. This information is missing from Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* because he offered only a brief summary of Dorantes and Castillo's march down the coast in the spring of 1529.

We must not forget that when Oviedo wrote chapters 1–6 of book 35 of his *Historia* in Santo Domingo he did not have the advantage of comparing Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación* to the Joint Report. Several features of Oviedo's text, in comparison to Cabeza de Vaca's, have served to respond to our questions about the Joint Report. These elements include Oviedo's use of Cabeza de Vaca's testimony at the beginning of his account, his error in interpolating Andrés Dorantes's isolated comment on the weather of the Texas coast in the middle of Cabeza de Vaca's testimony (which fully manifests itself with Oviedo's false identification of Cabeza de Vaca as Andrés Dorantes), the doubling back in time and place of the events narrated as Oviedo turned to Andrés Dorantes's account, the absence of any reference to the three Castilian survivors of the expedition once they were finally reunited for their overland journey, and the complete absence of any reference to Castillo's testimony.

We can be certain that Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes both gave extensive testimony in the Joint Report, and we know that Castillo would have had separate testimony to offer, since he spent more than a year and a half alone on the islands after Dorantes's departure from them to the mainland in 1530 and Estevanico's similar departure three months later (600a [chap. 4]). We may suppose that Oviedo did not cite Castillo's testimony because it reiterated information similar to that already given by the others. Since Oviedo never identifies Alonso del Castillo as the source of any information in his account, we may deduce that his testimony in the Joint Report was minimal and that he perhaps vouched for Cabeza

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de Vaca's and Dorantes's accounts as accurate. The overlap between Cabeza de Vaca's account and that of Andrés Dorantes for the period between 1529 and 1533 reveals that each of the men gave independent testimony about their respective, separate experiences and that each did not give a complete account of the Narváez expedition. In other words, the Joint Report must have contained independent accounts as well as the account of their common experience narrated by one man and augmented by details given by the others.

It appears that Oviedo, not the survivors themselves, put the accounts of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes together; this is suggested by Oviedo's editorial remark and his single intrusion into the account to clarify (actually obscure) the identity of the merchant-protagonist. Since the Joint Report testimonies were discrete accounts, Oviedo no doubt introduced the confusion about the identity of the protagonist when he interjected Dorantes's comment about the weather on the Texas coast. It is unlikely that Dorantes's and Cabeza de Vaca's testimony were fused in the Joint Report because, if this were so, then either the three witnesses themselves or the *escribano* taking down their oral testimony would have been responsible for attributing the name of Dorantes to two different protagonists. This type of error could only come from a removed third party working from a written report, not from the survivors of the expedition who narrated the events and affirmed that the Joint Report was accurate.

2.B.9. *A First-Person or Third-Person Narrative.* Although rare in the narration of events of the Narváez expedition, Oviedo's use of first-person interpolations is frequent in the interpretive commentaries he wrote to accompany his account. In these digressions (one of which we have already noted), Oviedo's presence is vivid and emphatic. He enters as a peripheral protagonist in the history of the expedition (e.g., his contact with Narváez at court in 1525) and offers exhortations to his readers (e.g., 596b [chap. 3]) and even to the deceased protagonists of the Narváez expedition (596a [chap. 3]). As we will see below (sec. 2.C.2), his critical commentary in chapter 7 is particularly pungent. Apart from these interludes, there is no first-person narration in Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition. Rather than identify himself as the narrator within the narrative, Oviedo (582b [proem], 608b [chap. 5]) invariably used the passive voice to announce the topics he would narrate subsequently as well as to refer back to accounts he had already given ("of the things that will here be told," "as was said in the first part").

A first-person voice appears on only four occasions, giving information that corresponds directly to the narration of the expedition: "(I mean to this

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Dorantes and to the companion)" (592b [chap. 3]); "because a woman had dreamed I know not what folly" (600a [chap. 4]); "and if they kill some, it is little . . . as I have said" (601b [chap. 4]); "(I mean with the Christians wherever they went)" (609b [chap. 6]). As in the first instance, which we have already noted to be related to the narrative trouble Oviedo experienced as he passed from Cabeza de Vaca's testimony to that of Andrés Dorantes, the last of these instances can also be identified as Oviedo's explanatory voice. On both occasions he speaks in his own voice to explain a reference; recognizing the intrusion, Amador de los Ríos set off these remarks with parentheses in the Real Academia edition.

The second and third occasions, cited above, on which Oviedo used first-person references are more difficult to classify. It is possible that the intervening first-person voice of the second reference was Oviedo, intentionally inserting himself in the narrative to say that he "did not know what dream the woman had dreamed" because it had not been described in the Joint Report. In the third reference, Oviedo could have accidentally changed his style, failing to put the reference to an earlier piece of information in the passive voice and writing "as I have said" instead of the usual "as has been said."

The near complete absence of first-person references in Oviedo's narrative implies that the Joint Report was made up of individual testimonies from which Oviedo wrote his account. Oviedo entered into the text to clarify a point only rarely and twice accidentally incorporated a first-person voice from the original testimony. Both the second and third references pertain to statements that Andrés Dorantes must have made in his testimony for the Joint Report, and thus the "I" in Oviedo's text on these occasions is Dorantes.

Having unraveled Oviedo's complex narrative of the section summarized above, determined the geographic and temporal scope of the Oviedo text, identified the sources of the testimonies that were present in the Joint Report, and pointed out two compressions that Oviedo seems to have introduced as he wrote from the Joint Report, we may turn to a direct comparison of Oviedo's text and the *relación* in an effort to determine the original contents of the Joint Report.

2.c. *The Joint Report as Source for Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca*

Oviedo's text offers a detailed picture of what occurred among the thirteen men who traveled down the Texas coast in the spring of 1529 through the three survivors' reunion with Cabeza de Vaca and the men's departure from the Mariames in 1534. Even for the year that the four survivors of the Narváez expedition were together among the Mariames, Oviedo continues to draw from Andrés Dorantes's testimony. After the four men flee from

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the Mariames, it is not possible to determine whose testimony Oviedo used, and it is likely that from that point on the Joint Report contained only one account, since all four survivors were traveling together. In such collective accounts, it was customary for one person to narrate the shared experience but for all participants to sign the report in order to authenticate its contents.

As already noted, the earliest version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* to which we have access is the published 1542 edition, which he evidently developed from the testimony he had given in the Joint Report. Although we cannot repeat Oviedo's comparison of the published version of the *relación* with the now-lost Joint Report, we can show that Oviedo probably excluded very little specific information from the pieces of the Joint Report that he used to write his *Historia* account and that Cabeza de Vaca considerably expanded his Joint Report testimony in writing the *relación*. Oviedo mentioned some of this new material in his chapter 7 but ignored other novelties, such as Cabeza de Vaca's hearsay account of the trickster figure Mala Cosa and the Culiacán area Indians' belief in a deity they called Aguar.

2.c.1. *The Use of Proper Names in the Joint Report.* One of the striking differences between Oviedo's account and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* is the absence of Indian group names in the former. The reader who accepts the commonplace that Oviedo suffered an anti-Indian bias might suppose that he systematically suppressed such information as given in the Joint Report. Yet it appears that the Joint Report itself contained no such names and that Cabeza de Vaca elaborated them exclusively in his *relación*. A consideration of the proper names of Spaniards in Oviedo's text shows that the absence of Indian names probably reflects their absence in the Joint Report. This examination of Indian and Spanish names in Oviedo's account and the *relación* offers one of the strongest proofs that Oviedo was not arbitrarily selective in writing his account but rather tended toward completeness, simply following his stated criterion of avoiding the unnecessary repetition of information (582b [bk. 35, proem]).

In general, Oviedo provided far fewer proper names (of individual Spaniards, individual Indians, and ethnic groups) than did Cabeza de Vaca. A comparison of Oviedo's use of Cabeza de Vaca's testimony versus that of Dorantes shows that the absence of names in Oviedo's text can be attributed to their absence in the testimonies of the Joint Report, and that Cabeza de Vaca gave far fewer personal names of Spaniards than did Andrés Dorantes. Throughout his Joint Report testimony, Cabeza de Vaca appears to have referred to the protagonists of the Narváez expedition according to their official positions or by their actions.

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In the portion of Oviedo's text that presents Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony, the following individuals go unnamed: the comptroller (Alonso Enríquez), the commissary (Juan Suárez), the inspector (Alonso [Diego] de Solís), the *escribano* (Jerónimo de Alaniz), the captain who explored the first river discovered by the expedition on its overland march (Valenzuela), the native lord carried on the expedition who was killed at Apalache (Don Pedro de Texcoco), the Spaniard killed on the march from Apalache to Aute (Avellaneda), the two Christians who left the expedition to acquire water and never returned (Doroteo Teodoro and a black slave), the individual who climbed the tree to survey the region around Malhado (Lope de Oviedo), three of the four men sent down the Texas coast in the fall of 1528 (Álvaro Fernández, Méndez, and Estudillo), and the five men who turned to cannibalism on the Texas coast (Sierra, Diego López, Corral, Palacios, and Gonzalo Ruiz). We owe the identification of all these individuals to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* account, not to his Joint Report testimony.

Cabeza de Vaca's testimony as recorded by Oviedo takes on another level of vagueness in the case of the two men (Jerónimo de Alaniz and Lope de Oviedo) who remained on the island when Dorantes, Castillo, and the others departed from the Malhado area in the spring of 1529. At the point of the departure of the other men, Cabeza de Vaca referred to the two who stayed as "two Christians" (592b [chap. 3]); he had evidently not revealed that one was the same man who had earlier surveyed the island or that the other was the *escribano* of the expedition. In other words, the "two Christians" of Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony are named in the *relación* as Lope de Oviedo and Jerónimo de Alaniz; only there are they identified as the individual who climbed the tree to survey the island of Malhado and the *escribano* of the expedition, respectively.

A slight variation in the lack of onomastic specificity of the portion of Oviedo's text drawn from Cabeza de Vaca's testimony in the Joint Report is found in the cases of Figueroa, Téllez, and Peñalosa. In Oviedo's (588a [chap. 2]) account, one of the five rafts was given "to the captain Téllez and to Peñalosa." On a second occasion (590b [chap. 2]), we find another reference to Téllez as a captain. Cabeza de Vaca evidently supplied the names of these men in the Joint Report and there identified only Téllez as a captain; in the *relación*, he attributed the rank of captain to Peñalosa as well on numerous occasions (f16r, f18r, f20r). The second reference to these men in the *relación* (f18r), where Téllez and Peñalosa are said by Cabeza de Vaca to have defended the surviving members of the expedition at the place where the cloak of sable skins was acquired, is absent from the Oviedo text, although the three attacks by the Indians are recorded (589a [chap. 2]). In the case of Captains Téllez and Peñalosa, Cabeza de Vaca seems to have

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identified these men more precisely in the Joint Report than he did later in the *relación.*

The case of Figueroa's identification is similar to that of Téllez and Peñalosa. In Oviedo's (591a [chap. 3]) text we learn that "an hidalgo named Figueroa and three other Christians" were sent down the coast in the spring of 1529. Evidently Figueroa's status as an hidalgo earned him mention by Cabeza de Vaca in his Joint Report testimony, although he does not later identify him as an hidalgo in the *relación* (f23v). On the contrary, Álvaro Fernández, a Portuguese mariner, carpenter, and able swimmer who had evidently orchestrated the building of the five rafts, according to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f15v, f23v), is not identified by name in Oviedo's account of Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony; in the *relación* (f23v), however, Fernández, Méndez, and Estudillo are named as the three Christians who went down the coast with Figueroa at the end of 1528.

In the *relación,* Cabeza de Vaca supplied the names of all the individuals mentioned above, and thus we might be inclined to think that Oviedo suppressed in his own account the names given in the Joint Report testimony. Yet Oviedo added in chapter 7 the names of the officials of the expedition as well as the five Spaniards who resorted to cannibalism, which he had learned from reading Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación.* This suggests that he considered this information important, but that it simply had not been available to him in the Joint Report. As we will see below, the appearance of many more proper names of Spaniards in the portion of Oviedo's text pertaining to Andrés Dorantes's testimony provides further evidence that Oviedo did not remove them from Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony but rather that they were absent from it.

In his Joint Report testimony, Dorantes must have made a point of mentioning Diego Dorantes and Pedro de Valdivieso, both of whom were identified by Oviedo (598b [chap. 4]) as Dorantes's cousins. Along with these men, Andrés Dorantes named Diego de Huelva among those who in 1529 traveled down the coast with him and Alonso del Castillo. In the 1542 *relación,* Cabeza de Vaca (f31v) identified "Diego Dorantes, and Valdivieso, and Diego de Huelva" as the three men whom the Indians told him had been killed for having attempted to move from one house to another. As we explain in our Part 5 commentary (chap. 6, sec. 7.E), Andrés Dorantes's account gave a more explicit version of the causes of these men's deaths.

Since Oviedo used Dorantes's testimony for the period between the spring of 1529 and 1533, it is impossible to know what sort of testimony, if any, Cabeza de Vaca gave regarding the fate of the men who departed from Malhado during this period. It is altogether likely that he gave no testimony but rather simply affirmed by his signature that he took Dorantes's account to

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be truthful and that he had no further information to modify or contradict it. Because he stated in the *relación* that he obtained his information about the events of this period from Dorantes, it is possible that he used his companion's Joint Report testimony to write his own version of those events in the *relación*. Even if Cabeza de Vaca had provided testimony on this period, it is likely that Oviedo chose to insert Andrés Dorantes's testimony for this section of his account because he found it one step closer to the events being narrated and therefore more detailed.

With the exceptions of his references to Figueroa, Téllez, and Peñalosa, Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación* generally supplied onomastic information that can be correlated to less specific references in Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony as recorded by Oviedo. Two names, however, that Oviedo recorded from Andrés Dorantes's Joint Report testimony clarify less specific references in the *relación* (f30v), where Cabeza de Vaca says only that a helmsman and a page were aboard Narváez's raft when it was blown out to sea and lost. In Oviedo's (594b [chap. 3]) account, we find that Andrés Dorantes identified these men as a pilot named Antón Pérez and his page named Campo. Although the detail itself is of little significance, it shows how Oviedo's narration supplies more detailed information to augment Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* for the portion of the text corresponding to Andrés Dorantes's testimony in the Joint Report, in the same manner that the *relación* clarifies less specific information in Oviedo's text corresponding to Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony.

The study of onomastic information in book 35 offers insight into Oviedo's criteria of reporting in the *Historia* and Cabeza de Vaca's in the 1542 *relación*. It shows that Oviedo used most of the specific information contained in the two men's Joint Report testimonies and that he did not arbitrarily suppress or edit out significant information from either witness. The many names recorded in Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, which comparison to Oviedo's chapters 1–6 and chapter 7 reveals to have been absent from Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report testimony, demonstrate that in writing the *relación* Cabeza de Vaca gave a much more specific account, no doubt attributable in part to his utilization of his colleagues' testimony from the Joint Report.

At the same time, the *relación* and Oviedo's account serve to clarify and interpret one another. One of the best examples is Oviedo's erroneous attribution of merchant status to Andrés Dorantes, examined above; we learn in the *relación* that it was Cabeza de Vaca who spent over four years as a merchant on the Texas coast. The opposite is true, however, for the portion of the narrative pertaining to Andrés Dorantes's and Alonso del Castillo's journey down the coast in the spring of 1529. For that portion of his narration, Cabeza de Vaca gives a confusing secondhand account that he attributes to

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Dorantes and Castillo. In Oviedo, we read Dorantes's account more directly and gain a more detailed and clearer understanding of events. Both accounts are also mutually reinforcing regarding the men's stay with the Mariames Indians and the region in which they lived, because the *relación* and Oviedo give us Cabeza de Vaca's and Andrés Dorantes's respective testimonies on the subject.

2.C.2. *Differences between Cabeza de Vaca's Joint Report Testimony and the* Relación. If we accept the conclusion that Oviedo's text is a fairly direct paraphrase of the pieces of the Joint Report that he selected and realize that we cannot know what was in the portions he deleted, we have only to determine what was clearly *not* included in the Joint Report but was rather elaborated later by Cabeza de Vaca in his 1542 *relación*. One method of determining Cabeza de Vaca's expansions from his (and perhaps also Andrés Dorantes's) testimony in the Joint Report is to examine Oviedo's chapter 7, prepared after consulting the published *relación* and speaking with Cabeza de Vaca in 1547 (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 8.B.1). Oviedo does not say that he had either a copy of the Joint Report or a draft of his own chapters 1–6 of book 35 of the *Historia* when he consulted the published *relación* and interviewed Cabeza de Vaca in Madrid, nor does he claim that he relied on his recollection of the work he had done on the Narváez expedition as the basis for his comparison. Demetrio Ramos (*Ximénez* 102–04) cited a letter that Oviedo sent to Pedro de La Gasca on 3 January 1550 in which he stated that he had left the manuscript of his *Historia* in a monastery in Spain when he departed for Santo Domingo in early 1549. If so, he might at least have had the six chapters of book 35 available for consultation when he read the published *relación* in Madrid in 1547. Whatever the situation, we may assume that the items Oviedo communicated in chapter 7 had not appeared in the Joint Report. If he found them significant in 1547, he would most likely have included them in his chapters 1–6 written some six years earlier had they been present in the Joint Report.

Oviedo made note of Cabeza de Vaca's additional information regarding the first year of the Narváez expedition, and his chapter 7 offers explicit proof that the Joint Report included testimony pertaining only to the period of the Narváez expedition encompassing the departure from Cuba for the *Florida* coast through the arrival of the four survivors to northwestern Mexico (1528–36). In chapter 7, Oviedo included information for both the earlier and later periods: a summary of the expedition's progress from Spain to Cuba (1527–28) (615ab; f3r–f5v), as well as Cabeza de Vaca's 1537 journey from New Spain to Lisbon (618b; f65r). Although he did not specifically mention Cabeza de Vaca's (f66v) epilogue in the *relación*, where the fate of

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the expedition's ships following the departure of the overland expedition is described, Oviedo obviously read it; it was there that he determined that the corpses found in the crates of Castile on the west coast of the Florida Peninsula were of Christians (615a).

Other items Oviedo noted to have been absent from the Joint Report that therefore must have been narrated for the first time in the 1542 *relación* are 1) the naming of Malhado (615a; f24r), which Oviedo rejected because he stated that the name had not appeared in the Joint Report; 2) the crossing of the second river on the Florida Peninsula and the drowning of a Spaniard named Velázquez (615b; f10r); 3) Sotomayor's murder of Pantoja (616b; f30v); 4) a description of the Indians' use of mesquite (617b; f45r); 5) a description of the piñon nuts and the method of hunting rabbits in Coahuila (618a; f49r); and 6) the lineage and birthplaces of the four survivors (618b; f66v–f67r). As we will see in the discussions of Santa Cruz's account and the Short Report, Oviedo remarked on one particular novelty in the *relación*, that is, the description of the lands of *Florida*, including the account of the opossum (615b–16a; f11v–f12r), which shows that both Santa Cruz's chronicle account and the Short Report were derived from some version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and therefore must have been written in Spain no earlier than 1538.

Perhaps Oviedo's most lengthy additions from his consultation of the printed *relación* are the many excerpts on the customs of the Indians of the Texas coast (616a–17b; f24r–f26v, f31v–f42r). On this point, he repeated in detail the abundance of information that Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* provided. He did not record, however, the majority of the Indian names. Of the two that he did record (616b), the 1851–55 edition renders one ("Capoque") in italics but interprets the other ("Han") as though it were the Spanish third-person verb form *han*. Examination of the *relación* (f26v, f44r) demonstrates the error and again reveals the complementary nature of the two accounts. Although it is possible that the Indian names were included in the Joint Report, their absence from the first six chapters of Oviedo's book 35 suggests that they had not been given there; like all the additional names of Spaniards that appear in the 1542 *relación*, these Indian names would have been difficult to collect and insert in some meaningful narrative form in Oviedo's newly added chapter 7.

On at least two occasions in chapter 7 (616a, 617b), Oviedo extracted information from the published *relación* (f23v–f24r, f47r) that duplicated information he had already included in earlier chapters (591a, 605a). The account of Spanish cannibalism on the Texas coast and the description of the village of blind Indians had obviously appeared in the Joint Report, since he had previously treated them. His reiteration of them in chapter 7 supports Demetrio Ramos's (*Ximénez* 39, 60–62, 176–77) hypothesis that

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such repetitions, also found in Oviedo's account of the conquest of Nueva Granada, can be explained by the variety of information with which he was working at the time and the speed with which he had to work. In this regard, it is important to remember that while Oviedo interviewed Cabeza de Vaca and consulted the published *relación* to write his chapter 7, he was also working at the time (1547–48) with the accounts of Nueva Granada in order to write the history of that conquest and probably many other materials as well.

The role of one of Oviedo's two interviews with Cabeza de Vaca is made manifest on two occasions in chapter 7. Oviedo (617b–18a) tells us that a reference to silver in the published *relación* (f47r, f49r) was a printing error and should have read "marcasite" (*margaxita*, modern *margajita*) instead. Oviedo (606a [chap. 5]) had mentioned the marcasite in his account from the Joint Report and must have confirmed that "silver" was an error by questioning Cabeza de Vaca on the subject. Cabeza de Vaca corrected the error, which appears twice in the 1542 edition (f47r, f49r), only in the second instance in the 1555 publication of the *relación* (V:f40r).

The second item in which Oviedo's interview with Cabeza de Vaca must have played a role is the reference to poisonous plants used by the Indians. The *relación* (f56v) gives no indication of the source of the information, but Oviedo (618b [chap. 7]) pointed out that, whereas he himself had seen and written about such plants (e.g., *Sumario* 101–02 [chap. 77]), Cabeza de Vaca had not seen them but rather based his account on hearsay ("esta relación habla de oydas"). Oviedo could only have ascertained the status of the information by questioning Cabeza de Vaca on the subject. In contrast to his chapters 1–6, where Oviedo speaks in the first person only twice in order to clarify the narrative, in chapter 7 he frequently gives first-person critical commentary on his observations regarding the published *relación* and the points at which he found it at variance with the Joint Report.

It is not possible to determine whether differences between Oviedo's account and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* not noted by Oviedo should be attributed to Oviedo's editing them out of the Joint Report testimony as he prepared chapters 1–6 or to Cabeza de Vaca's addition of them when he wrote his *relación.* Among the episodes that Oviedo, in chapter 7, did not identify as having been absent from the Joint Report but that he had not related in his chapters 1–6 are the following: 1) Cabeza de Vaca's refusal to take charge of the ships (f8r–v); 2) his temporary separation from the Avavares Indians (f36v); 3) his resuscitation of the seemingly dead Indian (f38r); 4) the Indians' tales about the trickster figure Mala Cosa (f39r); 5) the survivors' encounter with two women carrying maize flour in an area of northern Tamaulipas (where none was grown) (f48r); 6) Cabeza de Vaca's surgical removal of

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an arrowhead embedded in an Indian's chest (f49v); 7) the account of the scarification of an Indian woman (f52r); and 8) the dialogue with the Indians of Culiacán about their god, Aguar, and their subsequent Christian baptism (f62r, f62v). Oviedo's list of differences between the Joint Report and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was evidently not exhaustive. These episodes suggest the highly personal character of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, a topic to which we will return below (sec. 3.c).

The many additions Oviedo noted in his chapter 7, as well as the many he did not mention, indicate that Cabeza de Vaca's account in the Joint Report was far less detailed than is his *relación*. The section for which Andrés Dorantes's Joint Report testimony supplied the information for Oviedo's account is considerably more detailed than the corresponding portion of the *relación*; Dorantes's account, even at second hand, represents an important supplement to historical information regarding the Narváez expedition, as Davenport surmised. Thus, although Dorantes's testimony was probably available to Cabeza de Vaca, he seems not to have exploited it fully in writing the *relación*.

In constructing his own account of the Narváez expedition, Oviedo assembled the testimonies of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes, preserving the content of the pieces he used. His modest additions, which take the form of footnotelike references that draw parallels between information narrated in the Joint Report and his own knowledge of America and Europe, are intended to clarify the testimonies of the Narváez expedition survivors retold in his text. After discussing Oviedo's clarifying additions and the moralizing Christian interpretation he gives to his narration of the Narváez expedition, we will consider how and why Cabeza de Vaca amplified his testimony from the Joint Report as he wrote his *relación*.

2.D. *Oviedo's Historical Account of the Narváez Expedition*

Turning away from the discussion of Oviedo's account as a way of deciphering what the Joint Report must have been like, we consider Oviedo's text in its own right. In discussing Oviedo's writing of the account of the Narváez expedition in Santo Domingo in the early 1540s, we have only tangentially treated his firsthand knowledge of the Narváez expedition or lack thereof. With respect to Oviedo's receipt of the Joint Report, we have argued that his statement regarding the three surviving Spaniards' activities after they returned from *Florida* was based completely on information derived from the Joint Report and other, unknown circumstantial evidence. A brief discussion of Oviedo's whereabouts in relation to the Narváez account helps to clarify this assertion.

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Although Oviedo had spent considerable time in the Indies from 1514 onward, his location there made it impossible for him to have gained any firsthand knowledge of the Narváez expedition. Between late 1523 and early 1526, Oviedo was in Spain seeking privileges for himself and speaking out against the governor of Castilla del Oro, Pedrarias Dávila. During this period at court, Oviedo met Pánfilo de Narváez in Toledo, as he tells us in the proem to his account of Narváez's expedition (580b). Oviedo departed for Panama in the spring of 1526, however, and was in Central America until 1530.

During Oviedo's absence from Spain, the Narváez expedition departed, passing through the Caribbean and disappearing into *Florida* before the chronicler went to Española in 1530 on his way to Spain. Oviedo was in Spain until 1532, when he returned to settle in Santo Domingo. Between 1534 and 1536, he was again in Spain, and at that time he published the first part of his *Historia general y natural de las Indias*. As Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 7) noted, Oviedo was back in Santo Domingo for a long stay (between 1536 and 1546), and it was during this period that he received the copy of the Joint Report from which he wrote chapters 1–6 of book 35 of the *Historia*.

The chronology shows that when Oviedo departed for Panama in the spring of 1526 he probably knew nothing of Narváez's patent to conquer and settle *Florida*, granted on 11 December 1526 in Granada. Oviedo (580b [proem]) suggests, however, that he had been aware that Narváez was petitioning to go there, since he says he advised Narváez against leading another expedition when he met him at court in Toledo in 1525. As we demonstrate elsewhere (chap. 1, sec. 1), Narváez seems to have arrived in Spain from Cuba in mid-1525; thus, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:316a [bk. 33, chap. 12]) was no doubt present at court to hear the accusations that Narváez made against Hernán Cortés. Oviedo departed from Spain for Central America over a year before Narváez sailed for the Caribbean and *Florida* from Sanlúcar de Barrameda, and there is no evidence that Oviedo was in Cuba even once between the years 1536 and 1546. For these reasons the Joint Report, which evidently reached Oviedo in 1540 or later at Santo Domingo, must have served as his sole source of information on the activities of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition as he wrote his account in the 1540s.

Organizing his *Historia* according to geographic divisions, Oviedo dedicated book 35 to "the provinces of the Río Pánuco, the Río Hermoso, and the Río de las Palmas," located on the northwestern rim of the Gulf of Mexico. Oviedo placed his narration of the Narváez expedition after those of the conquests of New Spain and Nueva Galicia (books 33 and 34, respectively) and before his account of Ponce de León's attempts to occupy the Florida Peninsula (book 36) and Vázquez de Ayllón's settlement initiatives on the Atlantic coast of North America (book 37).

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Curiously, Oviedo chose to place De Soto's expedition to *Florida* in book 17, which considered the Spanish presence in Cuba, although he added a cross-reference back to this information in book 36 regarding Ponce de León's attempt to settle in *Florida* (*Historia* 3:623b [bk. 36, chap. 1]). Oviedo evidently placed the De Soto account in the section of his work devoted to Cuba, because in 1537 De Soto received not only the rights to *Florida* but also the governorship of Cuba. (The latter appointment was made for the purpose of facilitating De Soto's efforts in the quest for *Florida.*)

Oviedo assigned his entire book 35 to the Narváez expedition also for reasons of geographic location. He was obviously uncertain about where Narváez had actually gone with his expedition, since he knew that he had not reached the Río de las Palmas as planned. In his interpolations to the account of the Narváez expedition, Oviedo (586a [chap. 1], 595b, 596a [chap. 3]) criticized Narváez for never having been at the Río de las Palmas prior to attempting to lead an expedition there. Oviedo knew that Narváez had landed on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico somewhere between Pánuco and the Florida Peninsula, but he did not know where, apparently because so little was known about that coast until after the Narváez and De Soto expeditions.

Since Narváez's patent was for settlement at the Río de las Palmas, Oviedo put the account in a separate book, rather than in successive chapters to the Ponce de León expeditions to the Florida Peninsula. Had Oviedo known in 1540 that Narváez had actually landed on the west coast of the peninsula, he might have situated his account after Ponce de León's. Even though he did not include a cross-reference in book 36 on *Florida* back to the account of the Narváez expedition in book 35, as he had done with regard to the De Soto expedition, a reference in Oviedo's (*Historia* 1:571a [bk. 17, chap. 27]) account of the De Soto expedition shows that he associated the Narváez expedition specifically with the region of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Actually, the royal contract made with Narváez went to, but excluded the Florida Cape: "hasta el Cabo que dicen de la Florida exclusibe" (Vas Mingo 234).

In book 35, Oviedo converted the Narváez expedition into an example in his critique of the way the Spanish conquests were being carried out in America. In addition to framing the testimonies of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes found in the Joint Report, he added his own moralizing commentary, which included didactic passages from popular, classical, biblical, and sixteenth-century Spanish sources. Oviedo did not question the necessity of the conquests nor Spain's right to undertake them in America. Nevertheless, he held the strong conviction that they were being improperly executed, and the complete loss of the Narváez expedition was just one more example of those catastrophic outcomes. In the proem to book 35, he

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presented the incompetence of Pánfilo de Narváez and criticized him for returning to America after his disastrous experience with Cortés in New Spain. Throughout the narration of the expedition and Oviedo's commentaries on it, Narváez and his men become the illustration of the ways in which, in Oviedo's view, greed, naïveté, and, above all, the lack of religious piety and the fear of God led to disaster and came to characterize the entire Spanish enterprise in the Indies. To Oviedo, the Narváez expedition served as much to teach a lesson about the Spanish conquests in America as to convey information about the specific region involved.

Within Oviedo's moralizing outlook, we discover that it was he—not Cabeza de Vaca or one of his editors—who first referred to the Narváez expedition using the term *naufragios.* This brings us to another of Oviedo's criteria of narrative organization, but for the moment we will consider its semantic rather than structural value. As Oviedo (582ab [proem]) introduced his account, he observed that on Narváez's voyage "things of great pain and sadness occurred, and even miracles among those few who escaped with their lives, having suffered innumerable calamities [*naufragios*] and dangers." Here, as in all references to the Narváez expedition by this term, the meaning was not the literal one of "shipwrecks," for there was no shipwreck, unless one considers as such the destruction of the two moored vessels in a hurricane on the coast of Cuba in November 1527, the loss of a ship on the west coast of the Florida Peninsula in the spring of 1528, or the men's being thrown up on the Texas shore from the rafts in November of that year. The ships of the expedition were not wrecked but voluntarily abandoned by Narváez in the spring of 1528 when he made the decision to travel on foot in *Florida.*

Thus, the sense in which Oviedo first applied the term *naufragios* to the accounts of the Narváez expedition was not with the literal meaning of "shipwrecks" but rather the figurative one of "disasters" or "calamities." This is borne out by his earlier uses of the term in the original book 20 of the 1535 edition, reprinted as book 50 of the complete 1851–55 edition, which dealt with the "infortunios y naufragios" and the "calamidades y naufragios" that occurred "in the seas of the Indies and islands and mainland of the Ocean Sea" (Oviedo, *Historia* 4:462, 465b [bk. 50, proem]). Calamity, shipwreck, and misfortune were all synonymous, but not necessarily literal, terms. About his shipwreck tales, Oviedo (*Historia* 4:462a [bk. 50, proem]) explained that he presented them "so that men may know the great number of dangers that accompany those who sail [the seas]." He explained that each case he discussed was "miraculous and a thing for which those who might hear or read about such shipwrecks would give much praise to God" (Oviedo, *Historia* 4:465b [bk. 50, proem]). Even more so should those who

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experienced and found themselves in such straits, from whence came the common proverb that stated, "If you want to find out how to pray to God, learn how to sail" [Si querés saber orar, aprended á navegar]. Although he had organized that book 20 (numbered 50 in the full edition) around the theme of shipwreck and misfortune, again within his overall Christian moralizing purpose, it is evident that, for him, the Narváez expedition told another story.

2.D.1. *The Naturalist's Pursuits.* Apart from Oviedo's general morally didactic interpretation of events narrated, his great interest as a naturalist is evident even in this edifying tale of human calamity. His most pressing challenge in this regard was to describe newfound flora and fauna, always relating them, for purposes of illustration and/or identification, to species found in Europe. Among them are the following: the plant from which glass was made in Spain (593a [chap. 3]); the reason for cooking the leaves of the prickly pear plant overnight (603b [chap. 5]); the reference to the Spanish *saludador*, or curer (603b [chap. 5]); the mention of the *roscas* of Utrera (609b [chap. 6]); and an explanation of the Americanism *petaca*, meaning basket, in conjunction with the Indians' sleeping mats (609b [chap. 6]). On one occasion in chapters 1–6, Oviedo's lack of direct knowledge of the North American continent prompted him to cross-reference Cabeza de Vaca's description of the American bison to his own book 12, chapter 11, where he described a species of tapir with which he was familiar (see chap. 6, sec. 14.A).

2.D.2. *A Religious Interpretation.* Oviedo was the first to claim that miracles had been worked among the four survivors of the Narváez expedition. This is not to say that God as ultimate arbiter is not invoked in Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*; in his preface to the 1555 edition of the *Relación y comentarios* Cabeza de Vaca declared that he wrote his *relación* so that other men could "be sure and certain that the powerful hand of God (which embraces everything) would guide and help them in any part of the world" (Serrano y Sanz 1:147 [proem]). As we will see, the reason Cabeza de Vaca gave in 1555 for writing the *relación* was quite different from the ones he had given between 1538 and 1540, and the moralizing dimension of Oviedo's text far exceeds anything we find in the *relación*.

Following the practice common since the Castilian conquest of southern Spain, when narratives about Castilians at war with Muslims referred to the former as Christians and the latter as "infidels," both Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo commonly referred to the Narváez expeditionaries as Christians rather than by terms of national or regional origin. As Oviedo (613a [chap. 6])

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explained and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* demonstrated, not everyone on the Narváez expedition, or, more generally, not everyone who came to Spanish America under the banner of Castile, was a Spaniard. In Oviedo's account, however, the label of Christian is underscored by references to the expeditionaries as sinners (601b, 602b [chap. 4]) and pilgrims (612b, 613a, 613b [chap. 6]) on a pilgrimage (608 [chap. 6 subtitle]), thus effecting a moralistic and religious interpretation of the men and events described. In contrast, Cabeza de Vaca would not use the word "pilgrimage" to characterize his journey through *Florida* until the 1555 edition (Serrano y Sanz 1:147 [proem]), and even then he placed less emphasis on this interpretation than Oviedo had.

A full consideration of the religious elements of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in comparison with those employed by Oviedo is beyond the scope of the present discussion. We would note, however, that Cabeza de Vaca's belated framing of his *relación* as the account of a "peregrination" shows that, at the time he wrote it, he had no religious or hagiographic model in mind. Proponents of such a view (e.g., Pupo-Walker, Barrera) have suggested that Cabeza de Vaca's (f36v) description of a tree that he found ablaze and from which he acquired embers to start his own fire served as an invented "burning bush" story of biblical resonance, and that his reference to Christ's suffering in his description of the collection of wood (f40v) signified his self-portrayal as a Christ figure. Oviedo did not include either account, but this is hardly a basis on which to claim that Cabeza de Vaca invented the incidents because he wished to cast himself in the role of a religious hermit or Christian martyr or that he thereby intended his work to follow the model of literary hagiography. His references to Christian tradition were the common coin of expression in his day; despite claims to the contrary, no one has offered sufficient evidence or a convincing demonstration to the effect that Cabeza de Vaca wrote his account according to a hagiographic literary model (see below, sec. 3.c).

In the Joint Report, it is likely that only limited religious rhetoric was employed. For example, the following declaration appears in both Oviedo and Cabeza de Vaca, which leads us to attribute it to the Joint Report. Oviedo (602ab [chap. 4]) related it as follows: "and thus Jesus Christ guided them and bestowed His infinite mercy upon them, opening roads for them where there were none in the land, and God moved the hearts of such savage and indomitable men to humble themselves before them and obey them, as will be told below." Cabeza de Vaca (f35v–f36r) made a similar remark in the *relación*:

> Later the people offered us many prickly pears, because they already had news of us and about how we were curing and about the wonders that our Lord was

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> working through us, which although there should be no others, were truly great, opening roads for us through a land so deserted, bringing us people where many times there were none, and liberating us from so many dangers and not permitting us to be killed, and sustaining us through so much hunger, and inspiring these people to treat us well, as we will describe later.

Oviedo (602a [chap. 4]), however, gave a more generally religious and moralistic interpretation to the entire account, suggesting that the men's quest to find their countrymen was taken up out of service to God and the emperor, rather than to escape the cruel treatment of the Indians.

There is a much stronger sense in Oviedo's text that divine miracles were worked for and through the men, that the Indians saw them as supernatural beings, and that they were on a journey of greater symbolic than practical value. Parts 6 (chap. 7, sec. 12) and 7 (chap. 8, sec. 12) of our commentary contrast the treatment by Cabeza de Vaca and Oviedo of certain incidents of potential religious interpretation, but the character of Oviedo's overall interpretation underscores the providential design. Oviedo (604b–05a [chap. 5], 611b [chap. 6]) interpreted the statement made in the Joint Report to the effect that the natives thought the Spaniards had come down from the sky ("hombres venidos del cielo") as an indication that the natives took them to be "as something holy and divine, or as men come down from heaven." His explanation of what "gente venida del cielo" meant inaugurates a long tradition of interpretations of the Cabeza de Vaca experience and continues the one that began with Columbus regarding Europeans' interpretations of the Indians' perceptions about them (see chap. 8, sec. 12.A).

Having at hand the account of the four men's most remarkable journey and survival, Oviedo found no explanation plausible that did not have reference to the miraculous. In his view (604a [chap. 5]), divine benevolence, as well as the solicitude of the natives who "went to hunt [food] expressly for the Spaniards," made it possible for the four men to travel in ten months' time what they could not have done in eight years without this help. When Oviedo (604a [chap. 5]) concluded that their survival had been a great miracle "that no one could believe how it had been except for those who had seen it," he revealed precisely why he was so sure that they had been taken to be divine (602ab [chap. 4]). Only divine intervention, "opening roads where they did not exist" and "moving the hearts of savage and indomitable men," could explain the safe homecoming of the lost men.

2.E. *The Lost* Relación *of Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes (1537)*

By the time Oviedo was at work drafting his account of the Narváez expedition from the Joint Report in the early 1540s, unbeknownst to him, Cabeza

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de Vaca had finished his own personal account that would be published in 1542 and that Oviedo would come to know in 1547. When on 2 December 1540 Cabeza de Vaca departed from Cádiz en route to South America to assume the governorship of the province of Río de la Plata, the *relación* that would be published in Zamora in 1542 was already completed. Although the published account of 1542 is the earliest known version of Cabeza de Vaca's famous *relación*, we cannot assume that there were no intermediate phases of composition between the Joint Report, the outline from which he obviously worked, and the Zamora version of the work we publish here.

To understand this intermediate period of activity of collaborative solicitation by Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes in 1537 and the joint petition that it likely produced, we need to consider Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes's plans to return to Spain together and the many (erroneous) reports that declare that they did so. These authors—the viceroy Mendoza, Oviedo, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas—point to a joint appearance at court in 1537 that probably never occurred. In doing so, however, they, along with the Gentleman of Elvas, suggest the existence of a lost *relación* of 1537 that represented the joint interests of Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes.

We have already cited the viceroy Mendoza's letter to the empress of 11 February 1537 that confirmed that the three men had completed the Joint Report in advance (probably well in advance) of that date inasmuch as the viceroy made reference to a report that they had given him and that he said he had already sent to Spain. In the present context, the import of the letter is that it reveals that Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes (but not Alonso del Castillo Maldonado) planned to solicit from the emperor compensation for their services in the form of future commissions, and that Mendoza endorsed their petition, considering them worthy of imperial favor.

In this regard, Krieger ("Nuevo estudio" 17) developed a scenario in which the survivors of the Narváez expedition prepared the Joint Report between July and October 1536, and Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes later prepared a separate report for Mendoza. Krieger argues that the report sent by Mendoza could not have been the same one Oviedo used because this second account was prepared by Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes only and contained a map that Mendoza had asked them to prepare. Krieger's argument is unconvincing, however, since it is based on Fray Antonio Tello's *Crónica miscelánea de la sancta provincia de Xalisco* (1650–53), which includes an account of the Narváez expedition survivors' stay in México-Tenochtitlán (Tello 309 [bk. 2, chap. 74]; Coopwood 261; see chap. 9, sec. 2). Mendoza himself, however, neither excluded Castillo from the preparation of the report he says the survivors gave him nor made any mention of a map (CDI 14:235). Still, the

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significance of Mendoza's remarks is their revelation of Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes's plan to make a joint solicitation to the emperor.

As we saw above, Oviedo (614ab [chap. 6]) was of the impression that the three Castilian survivors had gone to Spain together in 1539 when he wrote his original account of the Narváez expedition; he only implicitly corrected the error after he read Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in 1547 and observed that "in the other one [*relación*], with which this chapter [7] deals, it says that Cabeza de Vaca stopped at Havana and that he arrived in Lisbon on 9 August 1537" (618b [chap. 7]). Oviedo's remark shows that his previous inference that the three Spaniards had gone to Spain together in 1539 had been made only on the basis of circumstantial evidence.

Likewise, the claims of Davenport and Wells (112n3) and Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 7) that Dorantes must have gone to Spain in 1539 are based only on circumstances: the fact that Cabeza de Vaca had gone to Spain in 1537 and the presumption that Oviedo received the Joint Report in 1539. Unfortunately, these scholars offer no evidence to substantiate the proposed voyage by Andrés Dorantes to Spain in 1539 other than Oviedo's reference to that date; thus they fall prey to selectively accepting Oviedo's claim that the Joint Report was sent from Havana to Santo Domingo in 1539 while disregarding his ignorance about the person who had dispatched it. Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 7) supported his argument in favor of Dorantes's 1539 trip to Spain by underscoring Oviedo's continuous presence in Santo Domingo during the period in question. Yet it is clear that Oviedo's residence in Santo Domingo from 1536 to 1546 did not mean he was privy to the comings and goings of all the ships and expeditionaries to the Indies.

Alonso de Santa Cruz's account of the Narváez expedition with regard to Cabeza de Vaca's and Andrés Dorantes's activities between 1536 and 1539 is equally problematic. The royal cosmographer (Santa Cruz 3:479, 486 [pt. 5, chap. 41]) explicitly stated twice in his account that both Andrés Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca appeared before the emperor in 1537. Herrera y Tordesillas (12:44 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]) also said that Andrés Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Spain in 1537. Contradicting these accounts, the Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:48 [chap. 2]), who was at court during Cabeza de Vaca's visit in 1537, declared that only Cabeza de Vaca came to court, but that he had made a pact with Dorantes, who had remained in New Spain, to keep secret certain information about the things they had seen in North America until they could acquire a royal contract to conquer *Florida*.

Likewise, in the 1542 *relación* Cabeza de Vaca (f64r) stated that only he and Andrés Dorantes had decided to return to Spain; he reveals that of the three ships that departed from Veracruz, the one on which Dorantes

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was traveling, as well as the third one, did not arrive in Cuba in May 1537 and that after waiting for a month for the other two to arrive, Cabeza de Vaca's ship went on. Only much later did he learn that the other two ships had turned back to New Spain. Andrés Dorantes's failure to return with Cabeza de Vaca is further substantiated by the previously cited letter of 8 November 1537 from the officials of the Casa de la Contratación to the emperor (CDI 42:530), informing him of Álvar Núñez's planned visit to the court to give an account of the Narváez expedition. No mention is made of Andrés Dorantes.

Although Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, the letter from the officials of the Casa de la Contratación, and the Gentleman of Elvas's account do not eliminate the possibility that Andrés Dorantes might have arrived in Spain after 8 November 1537 but in time to appear with Cabeza de Vaca at court, another letter written by the viceroy Mendoza to the emperor on 10 December 1537 allows us to confirm that Dorantes did not do so. Mendoza's letter (CDI 2:206) further documents Andrés Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca's plans to return to Spain and explains how he, the viceroy, was interested in exploring the lands the men had traversed; he mentioned that he had purchased Estevanico from Andrés Dorantes before the two men left for Veracruz in early 1537. When Mendoza learned that the ship on which Andrés Dorantes had departed had returned to Veracruz, he said he wrote to him there and convinced him to come back to México-Tenochtitlán. When in December 1537 Mendoza wrote this letter, he was hoping to send an expedition to northern Mexico and beyond, under Dorantes's command. Dorantes evidently returned to the capital of New Spain to consider Mendoza's offer.

The separation of Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca in April 1537 must have produced ambivalent feelings in both of them. Cabeza de Vaca's ignorance of Dorantes's whereabouts as he traveled to Spain between April and August 1537 suggests that he would have been expecting to find Dorantes in Spain later that year. At the same time, Dorantes must have been somewhat reticent about taking out an expedition for Mendoza since he had agreed to pursue the *Florida* quest with Cabeza de Vaca.

Despite the evidence presented by Cabeza de Vaca, Mendoza, and the Gentleman of Elvas that Dorantes did not accompany the former to Spain, how might we explain the claims of Santa Cruz and Herrera that both Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes returned to Spain in 1537? The answer lies in the particular report and petition that the two men planned to present together at court, and it is the potential existence of such a petition that interests us here. Santa Cruz gives the impression of having written his version of the Narváez expedition from the account that he says Cabeza de Vaca delivered to the emperor.

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The reader surmises that the *relación* to which Santa Cruz referred was the one Cabeza de Vaca brought to court in 1537, since that is the framing date for the chapter, and Santa Cruz (3:479, 480 [pt. 5, chap. 41]) stated that it was Cabeza de Vaca who brought the *relación* from which the royal cosmographer had taken his own account, referring to "the said Cabeza de Vaca (who brought this *relación*)." Santa Cruz's erroneous statement that Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes both appeared suggests that he himself had not been present at court on the occasion of Cabeza de Vaca's visit and that he later drew his account from one or another of the possible accounts of Cabeza de Vaca. Like Oviedo, who deduced on the basis of the date he received the Joint Report and on what it or its covering letter of transmission might have indicated about all three men's plans to present themselves at court, Santa Cruz drew a false conclusion from the evidence at hand (the now-lost 1537 written report) without being able to consult its author(s).

This chain of erroneous assumptions multiplied over time. That is, if Antonio Ardoino was correct in stating in his *Examen apologético de la histórica narración de los Naufragios, peregrinaciones i milagros de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Baca* of the early 1730s that Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas had prepared his account (in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century) from the *relación* stored in the Royal Archives in Simancas, then it is possible that the materials Santa Cruz used passed from his hands eventually to the Royal Archives, where Herrera would have consulted them at the end of the sixteenth century. It is more likely that Herrera received Santa Cruz's papers when he obtained by a royal decree of 24 September 1597 (CDIE 8:557–59) the archival materials from which Juan López de Velasco, official cosmographer and chronicler of the Indies, had worked in the 1560s and 1570s (see chap. 13, sec. 7).

Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (12:44 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]) asserted that Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes not only embarked together at Veracruz but also "arrived in Castile the following year of 1537." He makes no claim, however, about the court appearance of either one of them. Repeating Herrera's account, Andrés González de Barcia stated twice, as noted by Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 7), that Dorantes went to Spain with Cabeza de Vaca (Barcia, *Ensayo* 20a [años 1536, 1537]).

It becomes apparent from the foregoing discussion that the *relación* that Cabeza de Vaca took to court in late 1537 was not the one that was later published in 1542. Santa Cruz's twice-stated claim that Dorantes went to Spain with Cabeza de Vaca could not have come from the 1542 *relación* (f64r), which explicitly stated that Cabeza de Vaca went back to Spain alone, unless Santa Cruz (and later Herrera) overlooked that single utterance in hurried readings of the accounts. Nevertheless, the fact that various authors stated

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repeatedly that Dorantes accompanied Cabeza de Vaca to Spain suggests that the account Cabeza de Vaca presented to the emperor in 1537 was a joint petition that, with or without the presence of Dorantes and considering the possibility of his belated arrival at court, represented the interests of both of them. Thus, on the basis of the joint petition brought to the Castilian court by Cabeza de Vaca in 1537, Santa Cruz in the sixteenth century, Herrera y Tordesillas in the seventeenth, and Barcia in the eighteenth all assumed—incorrectly—that Cabeza de Vaca and his copetitioner, Andrés Dorantes, had appeared together.

We know today that Cabeza de Vaca appeared before the emperor at court in Valladolid at the end of 1537. Contrary to the oft-repeated assertion of Bishop (170–71) that Cabeza de Vaca arrived at the court at Monzón or elsewhere between 9 August and the end of November, our discovery that the Casa de la Contratación in Seville notified the emperor on 8 November 1537 that Cabeza de Vaca would be going to court to give a report on *Florida* (CDI 42:530) corrects the now common error. Since the emperor was in Valladolid from sometime in November to approximately Christmas Eve (Santa Cruz 3:467 [pt. 5, chap. 39]), Cabeza de Vaca must have reported to him there sometime before Christmas. It was there that he would have met De Soto and his men, most notably the Gentleman of Elvas, whose report of the meeting turns out to be the most reliable source of information regarding Cabeza de Vaca's solo appearance at court.

The fact that Santa Cruz (3:479–86 [pt. 5, chap. 41]) reported Cabeza de Vaca's account of the *Florida* expedition a few pages after he narrated the emperor's visit to Valladolid at the end of 1537 (3:466–67 [pt. 5, chap. 40]) is further circumstantial evidence that the *Florida* survivor visited the court at this time, just prior to the emperor's departure for Barcelona. Yet Santa Cruz's account of the Narváez expedition suggests something more. The petition and report that Cabeza de Vaca presented to the emperor on his own and Dorantes's behalf on this occasion was apparently the one referred to by the Gentleman of Elvas and known to Alonso de Santa Cruz. It was perhaps on the basis of that now-lost joint petition that Santa Cruz and subsequent writers such as Herrera claimed that Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes returned to Spain together in 1537.

2.F. *Alonso de Santa Cruz and the* Relaciones *of 1537 and 1542*

Santa Cruz's chronicle of Charles V's reign has never before been considered by scholars with respect to the Narváez expedition. Along with Oviedo's book 35, discussed above, and the Short Report, to be studied below, we consider Santa Cruz's part 5, chapter 41 to be one of the three significant

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secondary accounts of the Narváez expedition written before the second publication of the *relación* in 1555. Its relevance owes in part to the fact that Santa Cruz was involved in Indies affairs, as he was the first cosmographer of the Casa de la Contratación. According to Juan de Mata Carriazo (xliv, lxxxiv, cvi), Santa Cruz was named to the position of royal cosmographer on 7 July 1536, and by 11 November 1551 he had extended his *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* to cover the period from 1500 to 1550. Like Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition and the Short Report, the *Crónica* of Santa Cruz lay in manuscript form for nearly four hundred years and was published for the first time in 1920–25.

Santa Cruz's abbreviated account of the Narváez expedition in his *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* suggests that the source he used to write his version of the events was very similar in language and content to the version we read in the 1542 edition, but that unlike the 1542 edition it took into account Andrés Dorantes's plan to accompany Cabeza de Vaca to Spain to claim *Florida*. In contrast to the Short Report, it is a considerably abbreviated version of the full narrative, whereas the Short Report is a fairly complete account of a portion of the narration (namely, Cabeza de Vaca's experience and observations up to and through the years he spent at Malhado from 1528 to 1533).

Given the account's content and location in Santa Cruz's work, it is clear that he wrote it sometime between the end of 1537 and 1551. Santa Cruz gives the impression of placing before his reader the account that Cabeza de Vaca presented to the emperor in 1537 by saying in his opening statement that Cabeza de Vaca "brought this account" and his closing statement that "from there [the Azores] they went to the court of His Majesty, where they presented the aforementioned *relación*" (3:480, 486 [pt. 5, chap. 41]). The high degree of similarity between Santa Cruz's account and the 1542 published *relación*, however, complicates the notion that Santa Cruz worked from a 1537 manuscript account.

A close examination of Santa Cruz's part 5, chapter 41 reveals that it is identical, sentence for sentence, and often word for word, to the version of the Narváez expedition Cabeza de Vaca presents in the 1542 published *relación*. Although Santa Cruz (3:479, 486 [pt. 5, chap. 41]) twice stated that both Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca visited the Castilian court in 1537, he clearly identified Cabeza de Vaca as the individual who presented the *relación* at court, as his chapter title ("De la relación que dió un Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de lo que había sucedido en el viaje que había hecho Pánfilo de Narváez en la provincia de la Florida, donde había ido por Gobernador") reveals. His occasional remarks make clear that Cabeza de Vaca's is the perspective of the account from which he wrote his own version of the

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Narváez expedition in the *Crónica del emperador Carlos V*: Cabeza de Vaca's raft came to rest on the island of Malhado in November 1528; he was too ill to go on, and he stayed on the island nearly six years and became a merchant. Most tellingly, Santa Cruz narrates how and when Cabeza de Vaca came to know about the outcome of the comptroller's raft (3:483, 484 [pt. 5, chap. 41]).

Given the time and place of his writing, it would have been possible for Santa Cruz to have used as his source the published 1542 edition, just as Gómara (*Historia general* 66–69 [chap. 46]) seems to have done. Certain textual peculiarities, such as his naming of the commissary as Juan Gutiérrez (instead of Suárez) and describing the Indians' houses of the Río Petatlán area as "of mats of bed" [de esteras de cama], reveal that he used the 1542 publication or a manuscript version that conveyed those errors (Santa Cruz 3:480, 485 [pt. 5, chap. 41]). Of interest here is the fact that he presented his account of the Narváez expedition as though it were the account brought to court by Cabeza de Vaca in 1537.

Until Cabeza de Vaca's lost *relación* of 1537 is relocated, its differences from the 1542 published *relación* cannot be known fully. However, we can make the following inferences. Like the 1542 *relación*, the lost 1537 petition would have been conceived as a communication to the emperor. Unlike the 1542 account, it represented the advocacy of both Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes. In the absence of the 1537 account, it is not possible to ascertain the degree to which it or the 1542 published *relación* served as the source for Santa Cruz's account. Before turning to the authorial perspective and intended recipient of the 1542 edition, we take up the fundamental issue of its place of composition.

3. THE PUBLISHED *RELACIÓN* OF CABEZA DE VACA (1538–42)

3.A. *Writing the* Relación *(1538–40)*

The *relación* of 1542 contains several repeated indications that it was composed after Cabeza de Vaca's return to Castile. The first is his dedicatory epistle to the emperor (f2r): "[t]his I did so that if at some time our Lord God should wish to bring me to the place where I am now, I would be able to bear witness to my will and serve Your Majesty." The second in succession is his description of a certain type of bovine animal that appears in his summary account of the customs of the native peoples, mostly the Mariames and other migratory hunters and gatherers who lived on the prickly pear harvest cycle and who occasionally took advantage of large game not far from the coastal areas of southeastern Texas (f33r).

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In telling about the flora and fauna of the area and in addition to deer, Cabeza de Vaca (f34r) described the bison: "[c]ows sometimes range as far as here, and three times I have seen and eaten of them. And it seems to me that they are about the size of those of Spain." In this first sentence, "here" refers to the areas of southeastern Texas where he saw them, recalling their difference from those of Spain. He continues a sentence or two later (f34r), but now his geographic orientation has changed, and his point of reference is that of being back in Spain: "[s]ome are brown and others black, and in my opinion they have better meat and more of it than those from here. . . . These cows come from the north forward through the land to the coast of *Florida* and they extend over the land for more than four hundred leagues."

Wagner's ("Álvar Núñez" 12) opinion that this report was an interpolation made after the arrival in Spain of reports of the Coronado expedition, the party responsible being "some enterprising bookseller who wished to take advantage of the public interest in the happenings in that distant country," is not convincing, as shown in our Part 5 commentary (chap. 6, sec. 14.A). This leaves the possibility that Cabeza de Vaca's reference to "the cows from here" could signify ones he had seen in New Spain, and that he wrote his *relación* there. However, the cows of Mexico would have been imported from Spain, and further evidence from the *relación* shows that Cabeza de Vaca was in fact referring to the cattle of Castile.

Three other references confirm Cabeza de Vaca's composition of his 1542 published account in Spain. Upon narrating his first attempt to return home from New Spain near the end of September 1536, he remarked, "After we rested in Mexico for two months, I attempted to come to these kingdoms" (f63v). After concluding the account of his own experiences and affixing his signature to it, he added as an epilogue the account of what befell the ships that returned from the Florida Peninsula to Cuba in the summer of 1528 (f65v): "[a]nd since I have made an account of all that is mentioned above about my journey and arrival and departure from the land until returning to these kingdoms, I want as well to make a record and account of what the ships and the people who remained in them did." In both instances, "these kingdoms" refers to the three kingdoms of Spain: Castile, Aragon, and Navarre. Finally, Cabeza de Vaca (f65v) tells about other survivors of the voyage to *Florida* who returned on the ships to Cuba in 1528, noting that "we found many of them in New Spain and others here in Castile."

The *relación* of Cabeza de Vaca that came to be published in 1542 was clearly different from the one he presented at court in Valladolid in November or December 1537. The difference is fundamental on two counts. First, the 1542 account represents only the interests of Cabeza de Vaca, not those of Dorantes also. Second, it includes no reference whatsoever to any lingering

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quest for *Florida*, Cabeza de Vaca's hopes for which had been dashed when he learned, upon arriving at court, about De Soto's appointment to lead a major expedition there. As we have shown, both Cabeza de Vaca and Antonio de Mendoza provided evidence about the collective plan of the two survivors in 1537, and the accounts of Santa Cruz and Herrera likewise demonstrate some evidence of a joint interest between Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes.

The 1542 *relación* has a different character. Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes's collaborative project is entirely absent except for a brief reference to their earlier plan to return to Spain together; there is no trace of the solicitation they had made for the rights to conquer and settle *Florida* (in the 1537 petition this would have been the top priority). Given Cabeza de Vaca's (f64r) brief reference to Dorantes's failed attempt to travel to Spain and his own complete silence on the substance of their former plans, it is obvious that the 1542 *relación* represents a different and later moment in Cabeza de Vaca's thinking about his next bid for a royal commission.

When Cabeza de Vaca arrived at court at Valladolid at the end of 1537, he must have been stunned to hear about Hernando de Soto's contract to conquer and settle the lands that extended from the Río de las Palmas to the Florida Cape. The *capitulaciones* had been signed many months earlier, on 20 April 1537, only ten days after Cabeza de Vaca departed from Veracruz (f64r). He arrived on the Iberian Peninsula four months later; the bad weather that had kept him in New Spain over the winter of 1536–37 cost him the grant of *Florida*.

With respect to Río de la Plata, it too was a topic of conversation at court, but two more years would pass before it presented itself as an opportunity for Cabeza de Vaca, who would solicit the governorship of that province in early 1540. At the present time, the news concerned the death of the *adelantado* Don Pedro de Mendoza, who had led an extraordinarily large expedition to Río de la Plata in 1535 but was returning to Spain to seek additional help when he died in the Azores in July 1537. His lieutenant governor, Juan de Ayolas, was pursuing reports of gold in the Gran Chaco, and his *procurador*, Alonso Cabrera, appeared at court to seek reinforcements as well as authorization to make Domingo Martínez de Irala lieutenant governor of the province in Ayolas's absence.

Thus, the period between the end of 1537 and the end of 1539 or early 1540 represents a hiatus in Cabeza de Vaca's life. Apart from the management of his domestic and economic affairs in Jerez de la Frontera, the other obvious employments of his time and energies would have been the composition of his famous *relación* and, as we deduce from his subsequent position, the pursuit of another royal appointment in the Indies. The fact that he had accepted and then declined, according to the Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton,

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Knight, and Moore 1:48 [chap. 2]), De Soto's offer to accompany him to *Florida* because the latter would not purchase a ship Cabeza de Vaca had bought reveals that he did not wish to go to the Indies again as someone else's subordinate but rather in possession of his own governorship.

The reasons for seeking such a royal commission were many, and Cabeza de Vaca's desire in this regard would have been common. According to Lockhart and Schwartz (103), ambitious conquerors regularly sought powerful royal appointments to bolster their effectiveness against rivals. Holding a royal post significantly added to the influence of persons who would otherwise be operating merely as private citizens engaged in the ad hoc pursuit of royal reward and favor. While the highest officials had significant salaries, these were regarded as a short-term asset. The long-term benefits sought by every governor, viceroy, or Audiencia judge came through ties with powerful local settlers and investment in rural land and agriculture, urban real estate, and commercial endeavors. Furthermore, each governor arrived in his new jurisdiction with merchandise to sell, bought with credit gained with the appointment (Lockhart and Schwartz 70, 104).

From the end of 1537 to 1539, some of Cabeza de Vaca's efforts would have been devoted to casting a report of his *Florida* experience sufficiently impressive to persuade the emperor to grant him a royal commission for conquest. He needed to construct a petition of considerable scope that would demonstrate his personal integrity and professional skills, not only of soldiering but also of managing people and, in particular, exercising moral leadership regarding the proper treatment of the Indians so that, once pacified, they could serve the economic needs of Spanish settlement. In this regard, his overt criticism of Pánfilo de Narváez and his implicit condemnation of the governorship of Nuño de Guzmán are relevant. When Cabeza de Vaca wrote the 1542 *relación* in the late 1530s or early 1540, Narváez was long lost at sea and Guzmán was imprisoned, first in New Spain and then in Castile. Cabeza de Vaca's numerous criticisms of the judgment of the former and his observations about the devastation wreaked on Nueva Galicia by the latter underscore his own self-portrayal as a worthy, responsible, and experienced leader in whom the emperor could put his trust.

3.B. *The Emperor as Destinataire*

We turn now to the features of the *relación* that best reveal its author's attempts at self-advocacy. The first is his direction of his *relación* to the emperor Charles V. In addition to the dedication (f1v–f2v), Cabeza de Vaca addressed himself to the emperor on no less than seven occasions throughout the account. The reader confronts this directness immediately: "[o]n the

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seventeenth day of the month of June 1527, Governor Pánfilo de Narváez, with the authority and mandate of Your Majesty, departed from the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda" (f3r). In naming the officers of the fleet, Cabeza de Vaca (f3r) referred to Alonso de Solís as "factor of Your Majesty." After describing the hurricane that befell them in Cuba, Cabeza de Vaca declared that he prepared a *probanza* documenting it, adding, "the testimony of which I sent to Your Majesty" (f4v). Once landed on the west coast of the Florida Peninsula, Pánfilo de Narváez took possession of the land, and Cabeza de Vaca described it as follows: "[t]he next day the governor raised the standard on Your Majesty's behalf and took possession of the land in Your royal name and presented his orders and was obeyed as governor just as Your Majesty commanded" (f6r).

In the dispute between Narváez and himself regarding the wisdom of leaving the ships and heading inland into *Florida*, Cabeza de Vaca (f8r), opposing the action, declared, "I, having seen his resolution, requested on behalf of Your Majesty that he not leave the ships without their being in port and secure, and thus I asked that my request be certified by the notary we had there with us." Again, as many men contemplated desertion as the expedition foundered without food or hope on the Florida Panhandle, Cabeza de Vaca (f14v) drew his principal intended reader into the events: "[b]ut since among them there were many hidalgos and men of good breeding, they refused to let this happen without informing the governor and the officials of Your Majesty. And since we discredited their intentions and placed before them the occasion on which they were . . . removing themselves from the service of Your Majesty, they agreed to remain." At this juncture, the men decided to build the rafts to sail along the coast.

The remaining instances of direct address occur, not coincidentally, after the four men have reentered Spanish-explored territory. In northwestern Mexico, as they passed through lands visited by their countrymen, Cabeza de Vaca (f57v) remarked on the fear and respect with which the natives treated them and observed that "all these peoples, to be drawn to become Christians and to obedience to the Imperial Majesty, must be given good treatment, and . . . this is the path most certain and no other." Although the author refers to "the Imperial Majesty" rather than "Your Majesty," it is obvious that this sentiment is directed to the sovereign. In Culiacán, once reunited with their countrymen, the four survivors are asked by Melchior Díaz, the chief civil officer of the province, to resettle the native peoples who had fled their homes so "that in doing so we would perform a very great service to God our Lord and Your Majesty . . . and order them on behalf of God and Your Majesty to come and settle the plain and work the land" (f61r).

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Finally, recalling how he and his companions rested at San Miguel de Culiacán in May 1536 and received reports from both Indians and Spaniards verifying the success of their resettlement efforts, Cabeza de Vaca (f63r) turned again to the emperor and concluded: "[m]ay God our Lord in his infinite mercy grant, in all the days of Your Majesty and under your authority and dominion, that these people come and be truly and with complete devotion subject to the true Lord who created and redeemed them. And we hold it for certain that it will be so, and that Your Majesty will be the one who is to put this into effect." Not merely the named destinataire, the emperor is in fact the silent interlocutor whose collaborative role in the expedition is implied. The expedition was sent forth in the emperor's name; Cabeza de Vaca officially informed him about the hurricane; Narváez took possession of the land in the emperor's name. On behalf of the emperor, Cabeza de Vaca beseeched Narváez not to abandon the ships; it was the emperor whom the men were deserting; it was for the emperor's sake that the natives of Culiacán were resettled; it was by the authority of the emperor that these native peoples were to be brought to Christian obedience.

Cabeza de Vaca's address to the sovereign at specific points in the narrative is strategic; when the emperor is mentioned, it is with respect to official policy and practice or to the imperial mission. The long hiatus during which his name is not evoked proves this point. The emperor is not mentioned from the time the men embarked on their rafts from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico until just prior to their resettlement of the natives of Culiacán in Sinaloa. During this time the four survivors were outside the boundaries of the emperor's dominions, beyond the limits of the Castilian world of exploration and colonization. Thus the imperial reader could be a spectator of—but not a collaborator in—the narrative display of native Amerindian life and customs and the men's sufferings and deliverance that Cabeza de Vaca prepared for him.

Direct address and its suppression are not the only ways the emperor is implicated as destinataire. One of the features that earmarks Cabeza de Vaca's narration as designed for the emperor is its references to other people. The author always refers to his regular expeditionary colleagues by name, but, after naming the royal officials of the expedition (the other treasury officers and the head of the ecclesiastical delegation), he tends to refer to those individuals by their titles rather than by their names. In like manner, he refers to the chief civil and military officer of Culiacán and military captains and judicial officials by name (Melchior Díaz, Diego de Alcaraz, Lázaro de Cebreros), but there is no need to name for the emperor his recently appointed, inaugural viceroy of New Spain or the powerful conqueror to whom he had granted the title of marquis (Antonio de Mendoza and Hernán

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Cortés, respectively). Cabeza de Vaca's reference by name to the royally appointed governor of Nueva Galicia, Nuño de Guzmán (f61r, f63v), might seem to vitiate this argument, were it not for the fact that by the time Cabeza de Vaca wrote his *relación* Guzmán had already been removed from office and imprisoned. Since this occurred just a few months after Cabeza de Vaca and his companions passed through Compostela, specifying the referent avoids confusing the governor with his immediate successors, Diego Pérez de la Torre (1537–38), Cristóbal de Oñate (1538), and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (1538, 1539–45).

3.c. *Episodes of Self-Advocacy*

The best way to foreground Cabeza de Vaca's efforts at personal advocacy is to compare his account with Oviedo's, subtracting the material common to both as originating in the Joint Report. The episodes of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative that remain would thus constitute new material that he incorporated into the 1542 *relación.* By comparing these episodes and descriptions to those that Oviedo chose to elaborate in his chapter 7, we discover the novelties of Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación* that Oviedo refrained from repeating. These, we argue, constitute the material that Cabeza de Vaca pointedly introduced to emphasize his own role as the protagonist of these events. Recalling that Oviedo (615a [chap. 7]) expressed his preference for the collective report of the three men over this "segunda relación" written by only one of them, we can infer that he had little interest in material that failed to reveal more about the three men's common experience or the nature of the lands and customs of the peoples they visited. Thus we adopt Oviedo's silence as our guide to Cabeza de Vaca's "embellishments"; such narrative configurations are precisely the ones we wish to identify in order to assess the highly inflected and personal character of Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación.*

In the *relación* Cabeza de Vaca gave himself an additional title and position that he had not in fact held, that of *alguacil mayor*, that is, chief constable or law-enforcement officer of the expedition (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 6). As was customary, the *adelantado* of the expedition, in this case Pánfilo de Narváez (not Cabeza de Vaca), had been granted the title of *alguacil mayor* of the lands he would rule, and, again according to the usual arrangement, the privilege would fall to his heirs in perpetuity (Vas Mingo 235). Traditionally, there were two usages of the title of *alguacil mayor*; one applied to the Audiencia of the province or viceroyalty, the other, to the municipality (Parry, *The Audiencia* 40, 142, 162). Could Cabeza de Vaca, who had received a title as *regidor*, that is, councilor of the first municipality to be founded in *Florida*, possibly have been referring to the post of municipal constable,

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rather than that of chief constable of the Audiencia that would constitute the highest court of the new land? Given that he claimed this post at the outset of his *relación*, stating that he went on the expedition as *alguacil mayor* as well as treasurer and naming the other royal treasury officials of the expedition in the same breath (f3r), it is clear that he had in mind the broader jurisdictional office, rather than the local one. The fact that one of his earliest readers in the 1540s, Alonso de Santa Cruz, did not mention the title suggests that he, as royal cosmographer, probably knew that Cabeza de Vaca's claim was false and chose to suppress it in his account.

The inaccuracy of Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 claim is proven not only by the royal contract signed in 1526 with Narváez but also by Oviedo's reading of the Joint Report. Cabeza de Vaca had not presented himself as *alguacil mayor* when he gave his testimony upon the men's return in 1536. As Oviedo (582a [chap. 1]) opened his own account, obviously reading from the Joint Report, he introduced Cabeza de Vaca by stating "and this Cabeza de Vaca went [on the expedition] as treasurer and official of His Majesty." He made no mention whatsoever of the other important office, and he must have found Cabeza de Vaca's claim to it highly unusual when he read the published *relación* in 1547. Oviedo remained silent on this extraordinary claim in his chapter 7, discretely avoiding embarrassing the caballero from Jerez de la Frontera and maintaining the customary decorum enjoyed by the gentleman's social class. Perhaps Cabeza de Vaca's self-promotion was one of the reasons Oviedo (615a [chap. 7]) delicately but decisively stated that, in some fashion, he found the account of the three men preferable and clearer than that written by the one.

Among other significant, self-oriented gestures made in the 1542 *relación*, we note that we never learn from Cabeza de Vaca that the three men prepared—or that he submitted on their collective behalf in Cuba—any form of a Joint Report destined for the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. While careful to cite a *probanza* that he had had sent to Spain in late 1527 or early 1528 regarding the loss of ships and men in Cuba due to the hurricane of late 1527 (f4v), he refrained utterly from mentioning the most important official report of all, for which our sole source is Oviedo. This omission gives the impression that Cabeza de Vaca's is the only account of the voyage, and just as he thus gives prominence to his role as author, the content of his narration gives prominence to his role as protagonist.

The first of these major narrative events is his refusal to take charge of the ships when, on 1 May 1528, Pánfilo de Narváez informed the principals of the expedition that he desired to enter inland from the west coast of the Florida Peninsula where they had landed (f7r). Cabeza de Vaca took the position of opposing the plan (f7v) and claimed that Narváez therefore asked him to

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take charge of the ships, which he refused to do (f8r–v). The reason he gave for his refusal was to avoid giving "occasion that it be said, as I had opposed the overland expedition, that I remained out of fear, for which my honor would be under attack, and that I preferred risking my life to placing my honor in jeopardy" (f8v). With this episode, Cabeza de Vaca presents himself as placing honor above personal safety; it is the self-portrait of a loyal, brave, and honor-bound subject of the emperor.

With regard to the most sensational dimension of the four survivors' experience, Cabeza de Vaca asserted that the healing and cures began on the island of Malhado (see chap. 6, sec. 27). Oviedo omitted any reference to such activity there, and he objected to Cabeza de Vaca's imposition of the name on the island, which he said was not found in the Joint Report (615a [chap. 7]): "in the first account they did not give it a name, and it is not his [Cabeza de Vaca's] to give."

The third event narrated by Cabeza de Vaca that sets him apart from the others occurs subsequent to his escape from Malhado and reunion with Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico. Here he narrates a remarkable personal episode in which he is temporarily separated from the Avavares Indians and his companions. During this peregrination in the wilderness, "it pleased God" that he miraculously found a tree ablaze that kept him warm and alive during that first freezing night. For five days he kept the fire alive as he carried it in search of his companions. When one night the fire fell on the grasses with which he had covered himself, he barely had time to escape unharmed (f36v–f37r). Whether its author intended that this narrative episode call to readers' minds the story of the burning bush in the Bible or to interpret his escape as miraculous, the strength of his own endurance and heroic fortitude is foregrounded even more vividly in this tale of survival for several days in the wilderness. He underscores this interpretation of personal bravery and resourcefulness by noting that his newly found companions had already given him up for dead.

The most striking episode foregrounding Cabeza de Vaca's deeds of miraculous curing occurs shortly afterward. When the Susolas found him at the prickly pear harvest grounds, they beseeched him to accompany them to where they had set up their homes. Dorantes and Estevanico went with him, and they found the man with "his eyes rolled back in his head, and without any pulse, and with all the signs of death; so it seemed to me, and Dorantes said the same" (f38r). Later, Cabeza de Vaca reported that the Indians had told him that "that one who had been dead and whom I had cured in their presence had arisen revived and walked about and eaten and spoken with them, and that as many as I had cured had become well and were without fever and very happy" (f38r). Without mentioning the

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name of Lazarus, Cabeza de Vaca presented a case that echoed the account of the most remarkable healing episode attributed to Jesus of Nazareth in the gospel.

Another biblical allusion frequently cited is his reference to the sufferings of Jesus Christ when he recalled the hardships of carrying loads of wood for the Indians (f40v). It is again a figure of heroic fortitude that Cabeza de Vaca paints, as in the episode of the "burning bush." Nevertheless, the current interpretation that says he likened himself to Christ goes too far; his remark was surely intended to serve as an analogy for unbelievable human suffering, but not for any self-comparison with the divine. Inasmuch as these narrative incidents heighten the profile of Cabeza de Vaca as Christian protagonist, it is within the limits of these specific episodes—but only within them and not with respect to the *relación* as a whole—that the author may be said to have echoed the literary themes of hagiographic narrative.

Another episode unremarked by Oviedo is the tale of the trickster figure Mala Cosa that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were told by the Indians of the Rio Grande area and Tamaulipas (f39r–v; see chap. 6, sec. 27). Given the bodily dismemberments and healings performed by Mala Cosa and his transformations and magical appearances that Cabeza de Vaca describes, his attempts to assure the people not to fear Mala Cosa but to believe instead in the deity about which he told them echoed the classic debate between Christians and pagans and reenacted the battle between the Christian missionary against the native shaman:

> And in the best manner that we could, we gave them to understand that, if they believed in God our Lord and were Christians like us, they would not be afraid of him, nor would he dare to come and do those things to them, and they could be assured that as long as we were in the land, he would not dare to appear in it. With this they were very pleased, and they lost a great deal of the fear they had. (f39v)

A similar account in Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación* on which Oviedo maintained silence came at the time of the resettlement of the Indians of the province of Culiacán in northwestern Mexico (Sinaloa). In the *relación*, Cabeza de Vaca told how he and his companions baptized the children of the most important lords (f62v), an event that occurred after the reading of the *requerimiento* to them (f61v–f62r), which gave the Indians the choice of submitting to the foreigners' will or risking war and death. This was followed by an exchange in which the natives described the object of their adoration as "a man who was in the sky" named Aguar, whom "they believed . . . had created the whole world and all the things in it" (f62r). Cabeza de Vaca (f62r) noted, "We told them that the one to whom they referred we called God."

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Oviedo left out the incident and, not surprisingly, any reference to this native name of a deity.

A major example of the additional episode of a self-aggrandizing character is Cabeza de Vaca's account of his surgical removal of an arrowhead embedded in an Indian's chest, in a settlement in Coahuila (f49v). Oviedo maintained complete silence on this particular event, despite his general acclamation regarding the "miraglos" performed by the little band. Cabeza de Vaca, in contrast, considered this episode very significant, and, in one of the very few cases of substantive textual emendation in the 1555 edition (V:f40v), he added full lines to his description of the event to underscore the success he had in its performance. We will describe this emendation below in our discussion of the differences between the 1542 and 1555 editions (sec. 6.A).

In his narration of the reunion with other Europeans somewhere along the Río Petatlán (Río Sinaloa) in the spring of 1536, Cabeza de Vaca significantly altered the account as given in the Joint Report. On that occasion, the arrival of the four men to the province of Nueva Galicia was legally certified; in Oviedo's (612b [chap. 6]) account from the Joint Report, the Spanish horsemen asked the four travelers to certify "the manner in which they came." Cabeza de Vaca transformed the certification scene. In his account (f59r), it pertained to him alone, on the occasion of his and Estevanico's original encounter with the Spanish soldiers. Furthermore, he asked *them* to certify *his* arrival. In contrast to the Joint Report account, Cabeza de Vaca here claimed it was the horsemen, not he, who had to vouch for this remarkable occurrence.

Finally, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* goes much further than Oviedo (and therefore the Joint Report) in claiming serious conflict with the Spanish slave hunters whom the men encountered in Sinaloa. According to Cabeza de Vaca, he and his companions had a serious altercation with Diego de Alcaraz and his men, who sought to enslave the great throng of Indians who accompanied the Cabeza de Vaca party. It is here that Cabeza de Vaca cast the great speech, allegedly given by the Indians who accompanied him and his companions to those who were serving the Spanish settlers, about the differences between the four barefoot men and the cruel mounted horsemen (f59v–f60r). Summing up this incident, Cabeza de Vaca (f59v) remarked that in their agitation they inadvertently left behind the emerald arrowheads that had been given to Dorantes at Corazones (f55r).

The gift of the emeralds had apparently not appeared in the Joint Report, because Oviedo (618a) noted in his chapter 7, written with the *relación* in hand, that Dorantes had been given emeralds made into arrowheads, and that, inquiring about where they had come from, the Indians replied that

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their origin was the sierras of the north, obtained there in exchange for plumes and parrot feathers. In the 1555 edition (V:f44v) (see f55r), Cabeza de Vaca would alter the incident, making himself, not Dorantes, the recipient of the gift in order to highlight still further his prominence in the narrative.

Here we might point out that although Oviedo (613a [chap. 6]) did not mention the four men's dispute with the slave-hunting Spaniards or its consequences, he made a bold contrast between the conduct of the "four pilgrims" and the other Spaniards whom he acknowledged to be slave hunters. Reflecting on how they facilitated the resettlement of the peoples of Sinaloa in the Spanish province of Culiacán who had fled, Oviedo (612b [chap. 6]) remarked that while the Spaniards who were already in that land went about enslaving and attacking people, these "pilgrims" healed the sick and performed miracles.

In short, all these episodes, narrated by Cabeza de Vaca in his *relación* but absent from the Joint Report and ignored in Oviedo's commentary on the published *relación*, highlight the protagonism of Cabeza de Vaca as well as the good works that he says he and his companions performed and the good judgment that he implies they exercised. On the question of good judgment, Cabeza de Vaca emphasized two sensitive points. One was his assertion of having taken a responsible position regarding the ships in *Florida*, of which Narváez's dismissal was probably intended to be seen by the reader as catalyst and harbinger of the expedition's doom. The other was the four men's acquisition of information about the promise of northern wealth that resulted from their pursuit of the course to the South Sea. Cabeza de Vaca (f55r) defended the appropriateness of this decision with his claim that he and his companions gained valuable intelligence about the many people and great houses of the north. Such had evidently also been the men's claim in the Joint Report, because Oviedo (610b) also records it. In this way, the decision was justified retrospectively, but Cabeza de Vaca took it one step further in his narration, justifying it before the fact as well by introducing into the *relación* a key episode that did not appear in the Joint Report and upon which Oviedo made no remark upon reading the *relación*. This was the supposed encounter by Cabeza de Vaca (f48r) and his three companions with two Indian women traveling along a river in Tamaulipas and carrying maize flour. The men at this point were out of maize country and would not enter it again until they arrived in Chihuahua. At this juncture in the narrative, however, this element provides a major (and needed) justification for the change in route that took them almost all the way to the west coast of Mexico.

Whereas Oviedo (614a [chap. 6]) revealed that the Joint Report's final entries (and his own) concerned the men's resettlement of the lands of

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Sinaloa and their certification of the fact that they had seen neither idolatry nor human sacrifice over the lands they traversed all the way to Compostela (see f63r), Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* continued. As we know, he went on to narrate the men's reception in Compostela and México-Tenochtitlán, his attempt and ultimate success in leaving for Spain, his harrowing voyage home in a ship carrying gold and silver and threatened by French pirates, as well as a summation of what happened to the ships that had returned to Cuba in 1528/29 and the supposed prophecy by the Muslim woman of Hornachos regarding the outcome of the Narváez voyage (f63v–f67r). This last portion set the narrative at a distance from the events themselves and moved significantly away from the Joint Report that served as the basis for Cabeza de Vaca's substantial project.

3.D. *Cabeza de Vaca's Working Method*

As to how Cabeza de Vaca went about writing the *relación* that was published in 1542, we can surmise from its comparison with the first six chapters of Oviedo's book 35 that he, like Oviedo, worked from the Joint Report to frame and orient his own narration. A particular passage in Oviedo's first chapter allows us a glimpse at how Cabeza de Vaca expanded his testimony from the Joint Report in creating his *relación.* The relevant passage from Oviedo (585ab [chap. 1]) concerns the description of Apalache:

> La tierra, por donde passaron estos españoles, es llana é arenales tiessos, é de muchos pinares, aunque ralos é apartados unos pinos de otros. Hay muchas lagunas é muy muchos venados por toda la tierra, por las muchas arboledas é arboles caydos á causa de las grandes tormentas é huracanes, que muy á menudo en aquella region ocurren, é assi vieron muchos árboles rajados de alto á baxo de los rayos que caen.

In Oviedo's text, this passage follows his narration of the expedition's arrival at the native settlement of Apalache. In Cabeza de Vaca's *relación,* we find that this information, which was evidently a solid, block description in the Joint Report as indicated by Oviedo's use of it, has been divided into two parts with the narration of the men's arrival to Apalache intervening. The first part of Cabeza de Vaca's (f10v) description of Apalache goes as follows:

> [N]os llevaron por tierra muy trabajosa de andar y maravillosa de ver, porque en ella ay muy grandes montes, y los árboles a maravilla altos, y son tantos los que están caídos en el suelo que nos embaraçavan el camino, de suerte que no podíamos passar sin rodear mucho y con muy gran trabajo. De los que no estavan caídos, muchos estavan hendidos desde arriba hasta abaxo de

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> rayos que en aquella tierra caen donde siempre ay muy grandes tormentas y tempestades.

Following this description, Cabeza de Vaca narrated the expedition's arrival at Apalache: Narváez sent in nine horsemen and fifty foot soldiers, and the inspector Alonso (Diego) de Solís and Cabeza de Vaca led the attack. Finding only women and children at first, the Narváez expeditionaries were subsequently attacked by the warriors, who ambushed them and then fled after being defeated. After telling how the expeditionaries took over the stores of maize and deer hides (f11r), Cabeza de Vaca (f11v) continued the description of the area as given in the Joint Report:

> La tierra por la mayor parte desde donde desembarcamos hasta este pueblo y tierra de Apalachen es llana, el suelo de arena y tiesto y firme. Por toda ella ay muy grandes árboles y montes claros donde ay nogales, y laureles y otros que se llaman liquidámbares, çedros, savinas y enzinas y pinos y robles, [y] palmitos baxos de la manera de los de Castilla. Por toda ella ay muchas lagunas grandes y pequeñas, algunas muy trabajosas de passar, parte por la mucha hondura, parte por tantos árboles como por ellas están caídos. El suelo dellas es arena, y las que en la comarca de Apalachen hallamos son muy mayores que las de hasta allí. Ay en esta provincia muchos maizales. Y las casas están esparzidas por el campo de la manera que están las de los Gelves. Los animales que en ella vimos son venados de tres maneras, conejos y liebres, ossos y leones, y otras salvaginas, entre los quales vimos un animal que trae los hijos en una bolsa que en la barriga tiene, y todo el tiempo que son pequeños, los traen allí hasta que saben buscar de comer, y si acaso están fuera buscando de comer y acude gente, la madre no huye hasta que los ha recogido en su bolsa. Por allí la tierra es muy fría. Tiene muy buenos pastos para ganados. Ay aves de muchas maneras: ánsares en gran quantidad, patos, ánades, patos reales, dorales y garçotas y garças, [y] perdizes. Vimos muchos halcones, neblís, gavilanes, esmerejones y otras muchas aves.

Here, Cabeza de Vaca elaborated in detail the lesser information offered in the Joint Report regarding the terrain (*llana*), the soil (*arena*), the waters (*lagunas*), and the fauna (*venados*). To this he added a new and detailed list of flora and fauna, including the curious mention about "an animal that carries its young in a pouch in its belly, and all the while the offspring are small, they carry them there until they know how to forage for food, and if by chance they are searching for food and human beings come upon them, the mother does not flee until she has gathered them up in her pouch" (f11v).

Cabeza de Vaca developed this second lengthy description well beyond the information given in the Joint Report, including especially his description of the opossum. On consulting Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación* and always

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eager for new or additional information about the flora and fauna of the Indies, Oviedo (615b–16a [chap. 7]) transcribed Cabeza de Vaca's passage about Apalache and made a cross-reference to his own description, found in part 1 of the *Historia* (1:416ab [bk. 12, chap. 27]), of a species of opossum called *churcha* by the Cueva Indians of Castilla del Oro:

> Dice más en esta su relaçión impressa, quando habla en la provinçia de Apalache é sus confines: que hallaron grandes árboles é montes, nogales, laureles é árboles de liquidámbar, çedros, sabinas, ençinas, pinos, robles, palmitos baxos, como los del Andaluçía, mahiçales, casas desparçidas, como en los Xelves, venados, é un animal que trae los hijos en la bolsa; é destos más he visto yo, y en la primera parte destas historias, en el libro XII, capítulo XXVII, se diçe qué animales son estos, queste cavallero quiere deçir son los que la lengua de Cueva se llaman *churchas.* Diçe assimesmo que hay muchas aves assi como ánsares, ánades, patos reales, dorales, garçotas, perdiçes, palomas, alcones, neblies, gavilanes, esmerejones, papagayos de diverssas maneras.

Showing Oviedo's successive use of the Joint Report and then Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación,* this single example reveals how Cabeza de Vaca recalled and reflected upon his testimony in the Joint Report and then went on to elaborate it more fully and supplement it in his *relación.*

Tracing Cabeza de Vaca's writing from the Joint Report to the *relación* leaves the Short Report out of consideration altogether. Just as Oviedo copied out the passage cited above from Cabeza de Vaca's "relación impressa," so too did the author of the Short Report. As we demonstrate below, the Short Report is a paraphrase of the already written *relación,* and its structure with regard to the passages cited above confirms it. In this instance, the filial relationship is clear. Rather than containing only one, somewhat condensed description of the lands of *Florida* following the expedition's arrival in Apalache as we find in Oviedo's chapter 1 (585ab), augmented in his chapter 7 (615b–16b) by Cabeza de Vaca's additional information, the author of the Short Report (AGI, Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f1r–f4r; Muñoz Collection, A/105, f9r–f14r; CDI 14:269–79; Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 25–30) worked directly and exclusively from the published *relación* of Cabeza de Vaca or a manuscript version like the one from which it was typeset.

First, the author of the Short Report gives a one-sentence condensation of the description of the split and fallen trees ("Todo este camino que anduvieron era áspero, por los muchos montes y árboles caidos por tierra de rayos, que embarazaban el camino; estaban hendidos de arriba á bajo"), followed by another single sentence describing the men's arrival in Apalache ("Allegados á Palachen, hallaron mucho maiz y mujeres y muchachos"), and

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finally a more lengthy paraphrase of the passage on the houses, land, trees, land animals, and birds of *Florida*:

> Es tierra llana, el suelo de arena tiesto donde ay nogales, laureles, cedros, salvias, encinas, pinos, robles, palmitos vaxos como en Castilla, lagunas hondas, las casas esparcidas por el campo à manera de caseríos de Vizcaya; ay muchos animales, como benados, conejos, liebres, osos, leones, entre los quales vieron un animal que trae los hijos en una bolsa que tiene en la varriga hasta que saben buscar de comer, i si están fuera i acude gente, la madre recoje sus hijos en su bolsa i luego huye; tiene buenos pastos para ganados i aves, como ansares, garzotas, garzas, perdices, halcones, neblis, gavilanes, esmerejones. (AGI, Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f1v; Muñoz Collection, A/105, f10r; CDI 14:272; Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 26)

This passage is obviously copied straight from the *relación*, where all these items appear in the same order and greater detail (f11v). There is only one difference: the writer of the Short Report performed a cultural translation, replacing the reference to the houses of the Gelves, the Mediterranean island of Djerba (Jerba) located off the southeastern coast of Tunisia, as one that readers with no maritime experience might not know. The author of the Short Report substituted a more familiar, Iberian culture reference to Vizcaya (Biscay). This small modification notwithstanding, it is evident that the writer of the Short Report simply summarized the main features of the longer *relación*. We consider the identification of Djerba, which Covarrubias (635a) associated with the legendary land of lotus eaters, the fruit of which caused men (the sailors of Odysseus in Homer) to forget their love of the homeland, in greater detail elsewhere (chap. 4, sec. 10.B).

Although the evidence found in Oviedo, the *relación*, and the Short Report suggests that Cabeza de Vaca advanced his writing from the Joint Report testimony to the *relación* and that the Short Report is a summary of a portion of the *relación*, other evidence proves that this is necessarily the case. We will demonstrate this point after contemplating the publication of the work that was the Short Report's source, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* of 1542.

3.E. *The 1542 Publication in Zamora*

The earliest recorded commentator on this edition was, as we know, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés. After consulting the 1542 Zamora imprint at court in 1547, he declared that everything he had written in his own prior account (chapters 1–6 of book 35 of the *Historia*) had been gathered together by this gentleman (Cabeza de Vaca) and now circulated in print. Obviously

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delighted to have another source for his own history, Oviedo (614a [chap. 7]) recalled that he urged Cabeza de Vaca to show the printed *relación* to him. Having studied it, he declared that he could vouch for its author's credibility, both because of his eyewitness participation in the events narrated and because his account was corroborated by the Joint Report, which Oviedo, in a masterly understatement, said he still regarded in certain ways as "very good," meaning that he preferred the collective account over this one written by only one of the three hidalgos.

For other information about the *relación*'s publication, we turn to its frontispiece (not, properly speaking, a title page since the place and date of publication are lacking) and the colophon. The frontispiece is decorated by a woodcut of the imperial arms of Charles V (f1r; fig. 8). Although Cabeza de Vaca could have commissioned the use of his family's coat of arms (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 2.C) for the cover design, as was often done (Thomas, *Periods of Typography* 19), the use of the imperial coat of arms is appropriate for two reasons; first, because the account's topic was the Narváez expedition undertaken in the emperor's service and its author was one of the expedition's royal officials, and, second, because the account's recipient was to be the emperor himself (see above, sec. 3.B).

At the end of the volume (f67r; fig. 9), the colophon identifies the place and date of publication, as well as the book's publisher and printers:

> The present treatise was printed in the magnificent, noble, and very ancient city of Zamora, by the honorable gentlemen Augustín de Paz and Juan Picardo, associates and printers of books, residents of the said city. At the cost and expenditure of the virtuous gentleman Juan Pedro Musetti, book merchant, resident of Medina del Campo. It was finished on the sixth day of the month of October in the year after the birth of our Savior Jesus Christ, fifteen hundred and forty-two.

The team of Zamora printers Augustín de Paz and Juan Picardo and the Medina del Campo *librero* Juan Pablo Musetti place the publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in prestigious company; we have discovered that these same three bookmen were responsible for the publication of Florián de Ocampo's editions of the *Crónica general de España* of Alfonso X, which appeared in Zamora in 1541 and 1543, the years surrounding the Cabeza de Vaca publication.

We learn from Florián de Ocampo's introductory epistle to Luis de Stúñiga y Ávila in the 1541 edition of the *Crónica general* that Paz and Picardo were enterprising printers who went to the imperial chronicler Ocampo seeking some worthy project to undertake "for the utility and glory of these kingdoms to which we were born" (Ocampo, *Las quatro partes* f1v). Picardo

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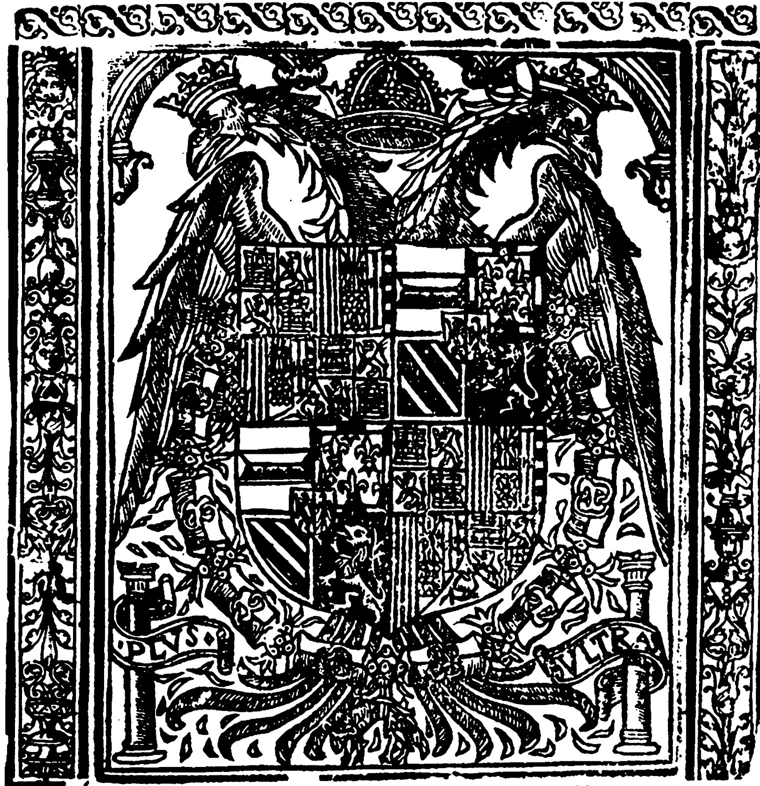

La relacion que dio Aluar nu-
ñez cabeça de vaca de lo acaescido enlas Indias
enla armada donde yua por gouernador Pã
philo de narbaez, desde el año de veynte
y siete hasta el año d treynta y seys
que boluio a Seuilla con tres
de su compañia.:.

Figure 8. Frontispiece of the 1542 Zamora edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* (f1r). Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

alone was the printer responsible two years later for producing the lavish 1543 edition of Ocampo's *Crónica general,* and its underwriter was the same book merchant, Juan Pablo Musetti of Medina del Campo, who financed Cabeza de Vaca's much more modest *relación.* (Juan de Espinosa had financed and marketed the 1541 Ocampo edition of the *Crónica general.*)

Musetti's Americanist interests, evidenced by his publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación,* are also served by his publication of the 1543 edition of the *Crónica general.* This particular edition contains a chapter devoted to a

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Fue impresso el presente tra-
tado enla magnifica, noble, y antiquissima çiudad
de Zamora: por los honrrados varones Augu-
stin de paz y Juan picardo compañeros im-
pressores de libros vezinos dela dicha çiu
dad. A costa y espensas del virtuoso va
ron Juan pedro musetti mercader
de libros vezino de Medina del
campo. Acabose en seys dias
del mes de Octubre. Año
del nasçimiento d̃ nr̃o sal
uador Jesu Cristo de
mil y quinientos y
quarenta y dos
Años.

Figure 9. Colophon of the 1542 Zamora edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* (f67r). Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

westward voyage of the Carthaginians, presumed to have been taken around 392 B.C., that resulted in the discovery of a paradisiacal island, graced by woods, forests, meadows, sierras, and wonderful freshwater rivers; Ocampo (*Los quatro libros* f154r–v [bk. 3, chap. 19]) speculated that this could possibly have been the island of Santo Domingo (Española), Cuba, or perhaps some shore of continental America.

The fact that Paz and Picardo used for the 1542 publication of Cabeza de Vaca's work the very same woodcut of the imperial coat of arms they had used the previous year for the 1541 publication of Alfonso X's *Crónica general de España* enhances the dignity of the Cabeza de Vaca publication (fig. 10). Unlike Ocampo's folio-size volume, in which the woodcut is enclosed within ornate renaissance border pieces, the cut in Cabeza de Vaca's quarto-size book is surrounded by three very modest woodcut borders, the base lacking a border piece in order to accommodate the lengthy title that appears underneath it. The descriptive title's mistaken assertion that Cabeza de Vaca returned in 1536 to Seville with the three members of his company points to the absence of the author's supervision of the printing (see above, sec. 2.E). As we will discuss below, this error has been one of the factors leading twentieth-century commentators, beginning with Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 9–10), to the erroneous conclusion that the edition was pirated.

The prominence of the Ocampo publications is confirmed by the fact that the 1541 and 1543 editions appeared, respectively, with royal endorsement ("Con previlegio imperial") and at the emperor's command ("por mandado

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¶ Las quatro partes enteras dela Cronica de España que mando componer el Sereniſſimo rey don Alonſo llamado el ſabio. Donde ſe contienen los aconteſcimientos y hazañas mayores y mas ſeñaladas que ſuçedieron en España: deſde ſu primera poblaçion haſta caſi los tiempos del dicho ſeñor rey.

¶ Viſta y emendada mucha parte de ſu impreſion por el maeſtro Florian Docápo: Coroniſta del emperador rey nr̃o ſeñor.

¶ Con preuilegio imperial.

Figure 10. Title page of Florián de Ocampo's edition of the *Crónica general de España* of Alfonso X (Zamora, 1541). Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

de Su Magestad Çesárea"). This official recognition of the works produced by the Paz/Picardo team and the entrepreneurial *librero* Musetti suggests that these men would be unlikely candidates for the pursuit of clandestine publishing activity and makes almost entirely implausible their publication of a pirated Cabeza de Vaca edition in 1542.

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It is clear that this *editio princeps* of the *relación* has to date been more the object of speculation than serious study; it has long been considered, erroneously, to be a preliminary version of the "definitive" 1555 text. This common but incorrect assumption can be attributed to two factors. The first is that the initial post-1555 editions of the work, published by Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga in the 1730s with Antonio Ardoino's *Examen apologético de la histórica narración de los Naufragios, peregrinaciones i milagros de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Baca* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga) and collected in Barcia's 1749 publication of *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales, I*, reproduced the 1555 text; only afterward did Barcia learn of the existence of the 1542 edition (see below, chap. 14, sec. 2.C). When in 1906 Manuel Serrano y Sanz published his important, two-volume edition of the *Relación y comentarios*, he too understood the 1555 Valladolid edition of the *Relación y comentarios* to be the first one, the second being that of Barcia, which omitted the royal printing license and both proems and became the source for the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles edition, overseen by Enrique de Vedia, of 1852 (Serrano y Sanz 1:xxviii–xxix). This edition, in turn, has served to spawn dozens of popular editions. The 1555 Valladolid edition has been known, in short, as the canonical version of the work.

The other significant factor eclipsing the importance of the 1542 edition has been Wagner's ("Álvar Núñez" 9–10) influential but unsubstantiated argument of the 1920s. He postulated that, since Cabeza de Vaca had been absent from Spain when the *relación* was published, the Zamora edition of 1542 was the result of editorial piracy (see chap. 6, sec. 14.A). It is true that while the *relación* was being printed in Zamora in the late summer and early autumn of 1542, Cabeza de Vaca was governing the province of Río de la Plata from Asunción on the Paraguay River in the Chaco Central (Serrano y Sanz 1:248 [chap. 39]). This does not, however, disqualify him from having authorized the publication of his *relación* any more than does its being printed at the expense of the book merchant of Medina del Campo, Juan Pedro Musetti (f67r). In fact, as we discovered and note elsewhere (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 2.A.6), a branch of the Cabeza de Vaca clan was established and prominent in Zamora, and Cabeza de Vaca may well have relied on the good offices of some relative there to see his work through the press. Additionally, Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 9–10) evidently confused Zamora with Zaragosa when he asserted that the *relación* was published in the kingdom of Aragon, "where the printers in the 16th century seem to have enjoyed a monopoly of pirating books." Since Zamora is a "magnificent, noble, and very ancient city" of Castile, the issue of external pirating is a bogus one.

Wagner implicitly raised, however, the important question about appropriate royal authorization for the Castilian publication. Here, several factors

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regarding printing and publication in Spain during the reign of Charles V must be clarified. The most significant is that the state licensing of printing, the evidence of which we see in the royal license to print in the 1555 edition of the *Relación y comentarios*, did not come into effect until 1554, twelve years *after* the original publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*. Although by a royal decree of 8 July 1502 Ferdinand and Isabel had claimed the right to examine all works to be printed or sold in their kingdoms, it was not effectively enforced. Historians today generally date the first attempt to systematically monitor the printing of books in Castile to be the royal edict of the emperor Charles and Prince Philip of 1554 or the pragmatic issued by the Infanta Juana, Philip's sister, on 8 September 1558 (Lea 3:483; Elliott, *Imperial Spain* 222). All three decrees are reproduced in the *Novíssima recopilación de las leyes de España* (Spain, *Novíssima recopilación* 95–97 [bk. 8, tit. 16, laws 1–3]).

With respect to state control of printing books specifically devoted to the Indies, "express royal license" in conjunction with examination by the Council of the Indies was not instituted until fourteen years after the 1542 publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, that is, in 1556, the first year of Philip II's reign. In short, at the time that Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was published in Zamora in the kingdom of Castile, there were few state controls on publication and little systematic enforcement. The crown's common participation in book publishing was its ad hoc approval or support for certain publications, of which Florián de Ocampo's 1541 and 1543 editions of the *Crónica general* offer relevant examples.

Given this situation, there were no rigorously enforced state controls in effect when the first edition of the *relación* appeared. Prior to 1554 and according to the Isabeline ordinance, the tasks of approving books for publication and sale were delegated by the crown in some jurisdictions to judges, that is, members of the Audiencias (the highest provincial administrative body and judicial court), and, in others, to bishops, as in the case of Zamora. Although the Isabeline law that remained in effect in the early 1540s required that printers and book merchants in Zamora seek prior approval for the printing or sale of books from the bishop of Salamanca and that violation of the law was to result in the public burning of books and heavy fines to the offenders (Spain, *Novíssima recopilación* 95), the law was probably seldom enforced.

The bureaucratization of the process came into being only in 1554, when the emperor and Prince Philip decreed that the state, in the persons of the president and members of the royal Council of Castile, was to become the licensing body (Spain, *Novíssima recopilación* 96 [bk. 8, tit. 16, law 2]). By this means, according to Lea (3:483), prior approval and subsequent judgment

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became separate responsibilities, thus sparing the Inquisition the potential embarrassment of approving a book for publication in advance and finding it necessary to censor it afterward. Besides, the state was more fully equipped for administering licensing offices and setting prices. It was for this simple reason — neither because of extra-Castilian publication, as Wagner claimed, nor clandestine and illegal dealings, as many have speculated — that Cabeza de Vaca's *La relación que dio Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* . . . appeared unadorned of royal license or valuation statement (*tasa*) in 1542.

Even though Zamora was secondary to other centers in the book industry at the time (Thomas, *Periods of Typography* 9), the sponsorship of Cabeza de Vaca's publication by the apparently prosperous bibliophile and entrepreneur Juan Pablo Musetti places it in the important book center of Medina del Campo. Musetti was a member of a new category of practitioners in the book industry: those booksellers who were distinct from printers and sold books printed for them in other cities (Thomas, *Periods of Typography* 11). This new field was developed in Spain precisely in Musetti's city of Medina del Campo, which was the site of Castile's celebrated annual book fair. Thus, more significant than the publication of Cabeza de Vaca's book in Zamora was its targeting for the central book market of Medina del Campo. Moreover, Medina del Campo's location in northern Castile did not make it remote from Indies affairs. On the contrary, according to Elliott (*Imperial Spain* 185), there was "constant traffic and interchange between the three great commercial centres of Burgos, Medina del Campo, and Seville" as prosperous northern Castile of the early sixteenth century played an important role in trade with the Indies. These circumstances of publication thus place the *relación* at the center of a vigorous book trade in easy communication with the Indies interests of Andalusia.

Although Wagner's mistaken assertion of clandestine publication in Aragon has been dismissed, we may nevertheless ask if Musetti was operating on his own when he published Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*. Oviedo provides the best answer here; his testimony corroborates the notion that Cabeza de Vaca personally authorized the 1542 edition and that it was not published by another party without his knowledge or consent. Recalling how he had asked its author to show the work to him, Oviedo (614a, 615a [chap. 7]) remarked twice that Cabeza de Vaca "had had the *relación* printed." He evidently had made it clear to Oviedo that the printing was his own doing.

Wagner's ("Álvar Núñez" 9) further suggestion that some account of the journey might have been printed at the time Cabeza de Vaca went to court to see the emperor in late 1537 can be ruled out on two counts. The first is that Wagner's only argument for such a printing is "the excitement that ensued" after the return of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition. He

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gives too much weight to this single factor among the many that prevailed to foment general high hopes about the wealth yet to be found in the Indies; among them we can cite as a much more important example the fabulous ransom paid by the Inca prince Atahualpa in Peru, which had arrived in Seville in 1534.

Second, according to the 4 March 1545 inventory made of his personal goods at Asunción just prior to his 8 March departure for Spain (he had been arrested in Asunción on 25 April 1544) ("Testimonio como entregan los bienes del gobernador que estavan secuestrados para que se traigan a los oficiales de Sevilla," AGI, Justicia 1131, pieza 6a, f383r–f386r; Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 218), Cabeza de Vaca had taken with him to Río de la Plata only a manuscript version of his *relación.* Apart from household items and his personal wardrobe, he carried with him a book of the genealogy of the Vera line, that is, his father's ancestors, and a manuscript of his *relación* about *Florida* ("un quaderno de genealogía de linaje de los de vera y un libro de mano de la relación de la florida") (AGI, Justicia 1131, pieza 6a, f383v; Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 219). Had there existed a printed version of his *relación* prior to his departure for Río de la Plata in December 1540, he would most likely have taken a copy with him. It seems clear that Cabeza de Vaca saw his work in print for the first time upon his arrival back in Spain in 1545, even though he had authorized its publication before his 1540 departure for Río de la Plata.

In sum, the printing of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in 1542 seems to have been the direct result of his and his supporters' efforts to do a printing that could be distributed to an influential and elite reading audience capable of favorably affecting his fortunes with respect to his career in the Indies. From the perspective of the bookseller Juan Pablo Musetti, it was an opportunity to exploit both professional and lay interest in the Indies with a remarkable account that described vast areas no European had ever seen. Once printed, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* became known among influential readers who devoted their energies or their leisure to studying the affairs of the Indies (see chap. 13, secs. 4 and 5). A good example of this circle of learned interest is Gian Battista Ramusio's Italian translation of the 1542 *relación* (not the 1555), which was published in Venice in 1556 in his *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono le navigationi al Mondo Nuovo, alli antichi incognito* (f310r–f330v).

4. THE SHORT REPORT AND ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ (C. 1542)

The published 1542 *relación* or a manuscript version of it was the basis for the enigmatic account that we have called the Short Report. Located in

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the Archivo General de Indias (Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3), this seven-page account was freshly transcribed by Juan Bautista Muñoz at the end of the eighteenth century (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f9r–f14r). Published transcriptions are those of 1870 (CDI 14:269–79) and 1986 (Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 25–30). Whereas assumptions that Oviedo's text is a simple transcription of the Joint Report result largely from indifference regarding the original document and the chronicler's account, the identity and authorship of this often-cited secondary account are considerably more problematic. Almost invariably, it has been erroneously identified as an account of the Narváez expedition written by Cabeza de Vaca at some point prior to his writing of the *relación*.

As we will demonstrate, the Short Report, which is preceded in the *Colección de documentos inéditos* by the instructions to the (unnamed) factor of the Narváez expedition, was not written by Cabeza de Vaca. Instead, it is a partial, secondhand transcription taken either from the 1542 published edition or a manuscript version of it. We have discovered new clues as to its identification that come from very old sources. On transcribing this account in the early 1780s, Juan Bautista Muñoz, who had been appointed royal cosmographer in 1770, noted that it seemed to be in the hand of Charles V's royal cosmographer, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and, indeed, the manuscript from which Muñoz worked, now located in the Archivo General de Indias, bears the notation "de Santa Cruz, de los papeles de Sevilla." We will confirm that Alonso de Santa Cruz was the author of this post-1542 account. Given, as we have seen above (secs. 2.E–F), that Santa Cruz included in his chronicle of the reign of Charles V an account of Narváez's expedition based on a manuscript version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* nearly identical to the 1542 published version or perhaps on the published version itself, it is not surprising that we find this text also to be the work of Santa Cruz, here as royal cosmographer rather than chronicler, taking note of fresh information about the lands of *Florida* and their exploration.

4.A. *Prior Speculations about the Short Report's Authorship*

Situating the Short Report among the other accounts of the Narváez expedition has presented some difficulty. When it was first published in the *Colección de documentos inéditos* (CDI 14:269–79) in 1870, the AGI manuscript that was its source (Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3) itself facilitated its misattribution. The title that heads the document states: "Relación de Cabeza de Vaca, thesorero que fue en la conquista" (f1r), and the docketing used to inventory the document in the Archivo General de Indias explicitly attributes the account to Cabeza de Vaca. It reads: "Relación del viaje de Pánfilo de

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Narváez escrito por Cabeza de Vaca, tesorero que fue en la conquista de las Indias. Salió de Sanlúcar de Barrameda el 7 [*sic*] de junio de 1527. La conquista que llevaba señalada fue desde el Río de las Palmas hasta la punta de la Florida. Año de 1527." When Muñoz (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f9r) transcribed the account, he made the title the first sentence of the narration, and this has been used as the descriptive entry in the 1954 catalog of the Muñoz Collection (Real Academia de la Historia 1:375 [entry 660]): "Relación de Caveza de Baca, Thesorero que fué en la Conquista."

Although in 1886 Shea (286) mentioned this brief account and prudently declined to comment on its authorship, it is nonetheless easy to see why Adolph Bandelier (*Hemenway* 26) was the first to affirm that it was an original document written by Cabeza de Vaca. In 1905 Bandelier further proposed that the document might have been the report that Cabeza de Vaca, on his own behalf, gave to Antonio de Mendoza, that is, that there were "some indications favoring the supposition" that this was the report mentioned by Mendoza in his 11 February 1537 letter to the emperor (Bandelier, *Journey* viii–ix). Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 7) says only that the Short Report is a *relación* "apparently of Cabeza de Vaca," and Adorno ("The Negotiation" 193n2), relying on Wagner, repeated the error about Cabeza de Vaca's authorship that we now correct.

Barrera López ("Problemas textuales" 22–23) speculated that the text could be an account that Cabeza de Vaca submitted to the Council of the Indies after he returned to Spain in 1537. Most recently, Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 66–68) repeated Bandelier's idea that the Short Report was the document given to Mendoza and as such formed the basis for Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*. Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 68) asserted that the account is "the fragment that remains today of the *relación* that Cabeza de Vaca submitted to the viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza."

While the above assertions are temporarily plausible because they assume the Short Report to be one of several possible post-1536 accounts of events that occurred years earlier, other hypotheses can be rejected out of hand because they are chronologically impossible. Carpani (57–58, 68–69n6), for example, claimed that the Short Report was actually the 15 February 1528 letter, mentioned in Oviedo's (582a [chap. 1]) account, that Cabeza de Vaca sent to the emperor from Cuba. We discussed and rejected that hypothesis above (sec. 2.A.1).

Referring to Carpani's assertion, Barrera (*Álvar Núñez* 68n9; see also Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 23) presented an alternative suggestion to the one mentioned above. She named Jerónimo de Alaniz, the *escribano* of the Narváez expedition, as the possible author of this account because of its abrupt termination at Galveston Bay, where the notary died in 1528.

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Barrera López's hypothesis that Cabeza de Vaca may have recovered the notary's records after his death near Galveston Bay is highly unlikely, given the treacherous sea journey that the men endured in crossing the Gulf of Mexico on the five rafts. Furthermore, the Short Report chronicles events that took place at Galveston Bay not merely through 1528 but through the year 1533. As a result, neither Alaniz in 1528 (Barrera López's suggestion) nor Cabeza de Vaca in that same year (Carpani's) could have written this brief report.

The Short Report itself offers abundant evidence to rule out the possibility that it was an early version, circa 1528 or circa 1536–37, of what would become the 1542 *relación*. As we have already suggested and will develop below, its content reveals that it was a later summary of a portion of the longer *relación*. The title and docketing on the AGI manuscript that have led readers astray was clearly the work not of the author of the Short Report but rather of another hand.

Winship (601) was the first to recognize that this brief account was "apparently an early copy of a fragment of the *Naufragios* [*relación*]," and Davenport (27:123) also recognized this possibility. The latter seems, however, to have then retreated to what later became the more commonly accepted notion "that *Relación* [the Short Report] is Cabeza de Vaca's part of one of these official reports which he subsequently used as a framework for the published narrative." Davenport concluded, "At least, it may be said that *Relación* [the Short Report] and *Naufrágios* [Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*] are very closely related; *Relación* being either a condensation of *Naufrágios* or *Naufrágios* an expansion of *Relación*; and it is significant that *Relación* ends at exactly the same point in the narrative as does that portion of Oviedo's account of which Cabeza de Vaca is the narrator." More significant than where the Short Report ends, in our view, are the features that reveal its derivation from the 1542 *relación* either in print or in manuscript.

4.B. *The Character of the Short Report*

The Short Report is written in the third person, refers to Cabeza de Vaca in the third person, and even misnames Cabeza de Vaca on one occasion as "Vaca de Castro" (AGI, Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f2v; Muñoz Collection, A/105, f12r; CDI 14:275; Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 28). Had Cabeza de Vaca written the account himself, it would be in the first person, as is his *relación*, and the other errors would have been avoided. Could the third-person format be due to the fact that a notary public took down the oral testimony of the protagonist, such as was suggested by Barrera López? Scholars unfamiliar with notarial conventions often assume that any third-person account could

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be the work of a notary who refers to the protagonist in the third person. For example, the second anonymous *relación* of the conquest of Nueva Galicia is attributed by some scholars (Carrera Stampa 33; Razo Zaragoza 272) to Pedro de Guzmán, yet Guzmán is one of the many (in this case, secondary) protagonists of the war who is referred to exclusively in the third person in that very account (Carrera Stampa 176).

Third-person narration is characteristic of notarial documentation, but only within a limited and clearly identifiable format. This format is absent from the Short Report. Had the author of this account been some post-1536 notary taking down the oral testimony of one of the four survivors after their return, the account would have been set up in the standard fashion in which the notary would have written, for example, "Cabeza de Vaca declares that he went to the Indies in the year . . ." In the *escribano*'s work of recording and authenticating events and testimony, he always retains the reference to the testimonial situation and never edits out his own mediation to produce direct statements such as "Cabeza de Vaca went to the Indies in the year . . ." Oviedo scrupulously reproduced the notarial format of the Joint Report document from which he was working. Thus he retained the notarial style when he took testimony from the Joint Report, framing his account with such statements as "Cabeza de Vaca also says" or "Dorantes says."

Moreover, the mistaken reference to Cabeza de Vaca as "Vaca de Castro" that appears in the original AGI manuscript (Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f2v) and is repeated in Muñoz's transcription (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f12r) as well as in the published transcriptions (CDI 14:275; Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 28) suggests that the person who wrote the Short Report was far removed from Cabeza de Vaca. The royal treasurer of the Narváez expedition would not have absentmindedly substituted for his own name that of a Spanish governor of Peru in the 1540s.

Cabeza de Vaca's mistaken identity is not the only defect of the Short Report. In it we read that the expedition left on 7 June 1527 with seven hundred men, rather than on 17 June 1527 with six hundred men. The Short Report includes the name of the island on the Texas coast where the men landed on the rafts, but it has been deciphered as "Malfondo" rather than Malhado. The word is illegible in the AGI manuscript (Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f3r), and Muñoz's transcription (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f13r) looks more like Malhado than Malfondo; subsequent transcriptions have chosen the latter option (CDI 14:277; Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 28). In addition, there is confusion regarding the rafts the men built in *Florida* and sailed across the Gulf of Mexico. The term *bergantín* is twice used in place of *barca* to refer to the rafts the men built on the coast of *Florida* (AGI, Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f2r; Muñoz Collection, A/105,

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f10v, f11r; CDI 14:273; Barrera López, "Problemas textuales" 27). The Short Report further states that four rafts were built, each carrying only forty men, thus contradicting Cabeza de Vaca's tally of five rafts being constructed and carrying nearly fifty men apiece. At odds with the account given by Cabeza de Vaca and his fellows in the Joint Report testimony as reported in Oviedo, as well as that of the 1542 *relación*, these errors once again point to authorship by a removed third party.

The individual who paraphrased the *relación* somewhat carelessly with respect to dates and numbers almost certainly worked from the 1542 version of the *relación*, as we demonstrated above in the analysis of the passage describing the flora and fauna of *Florida* (sec. 3.D). This conclusion is further supported by two details that appear in the Short Report that correspond to similar items in the 1542 *relación* but that are absent from the 1555 edition, thus ruling out the later edition as its source. The first of these is a reference to the Indian who departed with the four men who were sent down the Texas coast at the end of 1528. In the 1542 *relación* (f23v) we learn that the Indian was from an island called Avia ("[l]levavan consigo un indio que era de la isla de Avia"). In the 1555 edition (f19v), in contrast, "de Avia" disappears, and the Indian is said only to have been from the island ("[l]levavan consigo un indio que era de la isla"). The author of the Short Report obviously paraphrased the sentence from the 1542 version, writing, according to Muñoz's transcription (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f12v) of this now-illegible section of the AGI manuscript: "[l]levaron un indio de la isla que se llamaba Avia."

In using the name of Avia to refer to the island, the anonymous author was clearly paraphrasing the 1542 rather than the 1555 version of the text. Thus we can suggest the early date of this account and dismiss Barrera López's ("Problemas textuales" 29) suggestion, based on her consultation of the 1555 edition to decipher the Short Report, that Avia was the name of the Indian rather than the island from which he came. The Short Report sentence is ambiguous only in the absence of the 1542 text, which Barrera López apparently did not consult.

The second indication that the Short Report derives from the 1542 *relación* concerns a reference to the episode that occurred on the Texas coast when five expeditionaries turned to cannibalism in order to survive. The 1542 edition renders the reference as "en Xamho" (f23v). The 1555 edition (f19v) presents it as "en rancho." The Short Report follows the early edition. The AGI manuscript (Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f3r) clearly states "en Xanho." The fact that Muñoz's (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f12v) transcription of the phrase is a clear "en Xambo" confirms that this form had been used in the Short Report and that it had been based on the 1542 edition or its manuscript

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version. The CDI (14:276) transcription ("en Xancho") of the AGI Patronato 20 manuscript is off the mark, and Barrera López's ("Problemas textuales" 29) rendering, "en rancho," misreads the AGI manuscript of the Short Report, substituting the 1555 edition reading.

In sum, the apparently anonymous author of the Short Report made a number of errors: misidentifying Cabeza de Vaca as Vaca de Castro, calling the makeshift rafts by the name of a specific type of craft of European manufacture, and erring on basic data about the expedition. All these instances suggest a writer at a distant remove from Cabeza de Vaca. The latter would not have named the island off the Texas coast in a preliminary report to Mendoza and then have excluded it from the official report presented to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Oviedo stated specifically that the island Cabeza de Vaca called Malhado was not named in the Joint Report. Neither would Cabeza de Vaca have mistaken the name nor changed it from one account to another. Furthermore, the faithful copying of lengthy lists of flora and fauna first presented by Cabeza de Vaca in the 1542 *relación* confirms that the Short Report is a partial but imperfect paraphrase of it derived from either a manuscript or its printed version. What, then, was this copyist-reader interested in?

4.C. *Alonso de Santa Cruz as Author of the Short Report*

We can affirm that the Short Report was written by someone very interested in the particulars of the Narváez expedition from the time of its arrival in *Florida* to that of the survivors' arrival on the Texas coast, and especially the flora and fauna and the customs of the people encountered. In other words, this writer was concerned with the expedition and the information that Cabeza de Vaca had provided in his *relación* about going overland from Tampa Bay to Apalachee Bay (f8v–f16r), then by sea from Apalachee Bay (Cabeza de Vaca's "Bay of Horses") to Galveston Bay (f16r–f20v), and finally, in some detail, the men's experiences on the Texas coastal island of "Malfondo" (Malhado) (f27r–f28r), followed by Cabeza de Vaca's departure down the coast (f28r), bringing the narrative to the spring of 1533.

The reporter's focus on Cabeza de Vaca clearly emerges in the last section of the transcription in which, following the *relación* (f27r–f28r), he reiterates Cabeza de Vaca's adventures as a merchant "for nearly six years" and then narrates his escape with Lope de Oviedo down the coast in the direction of Pánuco. On the duration of Cabeza de Vaca's stay at Malhado, the writer follows the *relación*'s calculations: the time spent by Cabeza de Vaca in the Galveston Bay area had been about four and a half years, rather than six (see chap. 6, sec. 8.B). As in the case of the flora and fauna of *Florida*,

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this copyist's description (AGI, Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f4r) of Cabeza de Vaca's trade goods corresponds literally to the list the author had given in the 1542 *relación* (f27v).

Clearly, the person who copied out this account was interested in the uniqueness of Cabeza de Vaca's long experience on Malhado, and, by following the account up to Cabeza de Vaca's departure down the coast, he brought the narrative to the spring of 1533, which constitutes a logical internal conclusion within the 1542 account. More significant than the fact that this represented the end of Cabeza de Vaca's testimony in the Joint Report, as Davenport (27:123) suggested, is the fact that here occurred a natural break in the narrative of the *relación* (f28r); Cabeza de Vaca's flight from Malhado soon led to the reunion with the other three survivors and, a year after that, to their trans-Mexico journey back to Spanish civilization.

The remaining piece of information necessary to prove that the Short Report is a partial copy of the 1542 *relación*—and to give the probable identity of its author—is provided by the AGI manuscript itself. As observed above, a notation in the upper-left-hand corner of the first leaf of the document states: "De Santa Cruz, de los papeles de Sevilla" (AGI, Patronato 20, no. 5, ramo 3, f1r). At the end of his eighteenth-century transcription of the manuscript, Muñoz (Muñoz Collection, A/105, f14r) noted that the original document seemed to be written in the hand of the royal cosmographer, Alonso de Santa Cruz: "[e]s relación de letra al parecer del cosmógr[af]o Santa Cruz."

The relationship between the notation on the document and Muñoz's comment may be interpreted in various ways. First, it is possible that Muñoz communicated his reading of the notation through his remark; that is, the mention of Santa Cruz was present on the manuscript that he transcribed. If the notation were not present or if he simply ignored it, his remark signifies his independent identification of the author of the paleographic text. Less likely, though possible, is that upon identifying the manuscript's author, Muñoz himself introduced the notation "De Santa Cruz, de los papeles de Sevilla."

Ironically, as we have seen, the notations at the head of the AGI manuscript of the Short Report have both provided the source of the account and misled readers. Scholars have ignored the observation, "De Santa Cruz, de los papeles de Sevilla," and taken the other one too literally. The elliptical "Relación de Cabeza de Vaca, thesorero que fue en la conquista" can just as well be read as "an account about Cabeza de Vaca" as it can be read "an account written or prepared by Cabeza de Vaca," which the cover and inventory descriptions erroneously claim.

In conclusion, the Short Report cannot be Cabeza de Vaca's earliest personal account of his *Florida* experience written in New Spain and given

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to Mendoza in 1536 and/or to the emperor in 1537. It is, instead, a condensed paraphrase of a major portion of the 1542 *relación*, done by the same individual (Alonso de Santa Cruz) who also wrote an account of the Narváez expedition, either from Cabeza de Vaca's published 1542 *relación* or from a nearly identical manuscript version of it, and then included it in his history of the reign of Charles V. Our discovery of the account of the Narváez expedition in Santa Cruz's *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* gives meaning to the notation "De Santa Cruz" on the AGI Patronato 20 manuscript, and it corroborates Muñoz's observation that the Short Report document seems to have been penned by the first royal cosmographer of the Casa de la Contratación.

5. SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIPS OF THE WRITINGS ON THE NARVÁEZ EXPEDITION

To summarize the relationships among the accounts we have considered here, we present them in the order of their writing. First, there were the documents prepared on the expedition and its aftermath. These consist of Cabeza de Vaca's letters to the emperor of 28 November 1527 and 15 February 1528, one of which evidently included the *probanza* Cabeza de Vaca had had prepared, and the certification of the four survivors' arrival in Nueva Galicia in the spring of 1536. All are lost. Beginning after the expedition, we cite the following accounts in the order of their composition:

1. The Joint Report was prepared by the three Castilians between the end of July 1536 and the beginning of February 1537, and it was sent by Antonio de Mendoza to Spain and to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo by Cabeza de Vaca; it is now lost.
2. Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes prepared a *relación* in 1536–37, and Cabeza de Vaca presented it as a petition on their behalf to the emperor at the end of 1537 in Valladolid; it too is lost.
3. On the basis of these two accounts, Cabeza de Vaca wrote, sometime between the beginning of 1538 and late 1540, the *relación* that would be published in 1542 at Zamora.
4. Oviedo, with no knowledge of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and with the Joint Report in hand, wrote in the early 1540s his book 35, chapters 1–6 of the *Historia general y natural de las Indias.*
5. Sometime before 1551, Alonso de Santa Cruz wrote his account of the Narváez expedition in his *Crónica del emperador Carlos V*, using as his source a manuscript account very similar in language and content to Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación* and/or the published 1542 text.

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6. Sometime around or after 1542, Santa Cruz prepared the Short Report from Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación* or its manuscript source.
7. In 1547, Oviedo met Cabeza de Vaca and read his published *relación.* At the end of that year and certainly by mid-January 1548, Oviedo read Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación* and wrote chapter 7 of book 35 of his *Historia.*
8. In 1555, Cabeza de Vaca published in Valladolid his *Relación y comentarios,* which we take up in the following section.

6. THE *RELACIÓN Y COMENTARIOS* (1555)

The 1555 edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* begins a new and more public phase in the life of the text. With respect to its composition we discuss two areas of interest: its intrinsic similarity to and difference from the 1542 edition (sec. 6.A) and its extrinsic relationship to its companion work, Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* (sec. 6.F). In order to grasp the meaning of the 1555 publication of the *relación,* we must examine in detail the *Comentarios,* its sources, and its scope (secs. 6.B, 6.C, and 6.E). In order to understand the *Comentarios* and better assess its relationship to the *relación,* we must elucidate the issues that antedated and stimulated the *Comentarios*'s creation. For this reason, we take up the debate surrounding Cabeza de Vaca's governorship of Río de la Plata (sec. 6.D). Retracing these steps places us in a better position to comprehend the significance of the 1555 work in its entirety, about which the licensing officer in the royal council remarked, "[B]ecause the one book and the other were on the same subject, . . . it was advisable that the two should be put into one volume" (V:fiv). We consider below the *Comentarios* in order to place in relational perspective the 1555 edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* of the Narváez expedition to *Florida.*

We must consider Cabeza de Vaca's republication of the 1542 *relación* as part of a larger project of memorializing his public life of service to his king. While we argue that Cabeza de Vaca's governorship of Río de la Plata and subsequent defense of his record led directly to the composition of Pero Hernández's *Comentarios,* its publication alongside the previously published *relación* of 1542 recasts both works as the memoir of a caballero's life. This was an old tradition, starting in ancient times with Xenophon's *Anabasis* (379–71 B.C.) and Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico* (51 B.C.) and *De bello civili* (49–47 B.C.) (Billson 271), and it flourished in the sixteenth-century Castilian world, not least among military men.

By Cabeza de Vaca's day, the commentary was seen as an independent genre, having no chronological limits other than the author's lifetime, taking the liberty of adding or omitting events as desired, and ostensibly seeking

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only to inform, not to explain or persuade (Cochrane 20). Even the old soldier Bernal Díaz del Castillo (660b [chap. 212]) defended his memorializing in the *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (c. 1550–84) by declaring that he was following the example of Julius Caesar; he implied that he earned the right to do so by having fought in more battles than the ancient Roman general, and that he, like Caesar, took up the pen to narrate his own military deeds after judging the works of historians to be inadequate to the task. Bernal Díaz's remarks reveal that he was probably acquainted indirectly with Julius Caesar's *Commentaries* on the conquest of Gaul, because in the Guatemala manuscript he frames his statement with "the writers say," given in the Sáenz transcription as "his chronicles say about him" (Castillo 660a, 660b [chap. 212]). The works Bernal Díaz had in mind might have included, for example, Pero de Mejía's *Historia imperial y cesárea* (1545), Antonio de Guevara's *Marco Aurelio con el Reloj de Príncipes* (1529), or his *Una década de Césares* (1566), although an inventory of books ordered in 1576 by a book merchant of New Spain, Alonso Losa, lists eighteen copies of Caesar's *Commentaries* in Latin and another eight in Castilian, possibly from Pedro García de Oliván's 1570 translation, according to Leonard ("Book Trade" 26).

In any case, Bernal Díaz exemplifies, according to Jaime González Rodríguez (63), the assimilation of a long Romanization that resulted from a lengthy medieval process of fusion of Christian and Greco-Roman values. Bernal Díaz's notions about fame, fortune (*la fortuna*), the ideal of the valiant soldier and loyal adviser (allusions to Homer), the notion that death with honor was superior to life with shame or defeat, and, above all, the tranquil acceptance of an idea of empire as the prize to conquerors—without the slightest shade of self-criticism—reveal, according to González Rodríguez (63), the sixteenth-century layman's version of *romanitas*. Bernal Díaz's example and his forthrightness about his polemical purpose—to correct what others had written (Castillo 1:33–36 [chap. 18], 158–67 [chap. 83], 270–72 [chap. 125])—reveal one of the unstated criteria of the 1555 publication of the *Relación y comentarios*, that is, the apologetic dimension of the memorialist's task.

Cabeza de Vaca's juxtaposition of his own *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* on his governorship attempts to resolve the central narrative problem of the memoir, which is persuasion. The characteristics of the subject positions taken by Cabeza de Vaca and Pero Hernández are well described in Marcus Billson's (271) definition of the memoir's form and the features that transcend its ancient origins and early modern practice:

> [T]he memorialist must convey the actual world of men and events so that it is empirically recognizable, while imparting to this world his own

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> personal meaning and values. His subjective vision must convince the reader of his veracity and sound judgment. The form, or model, of the memoir consists of three rhetorical stances—the eyewitness, the participant, and the *histor*—employed by the memoir-writer to evoke the historicity of his past and to argue for the truth of his vision of history. The memorialist assumes a particular rhetorical stance to suit the special narrative purpose of the moment.

In the 1555 Cabeza de Vaca publication, the memoir exists, as elsewhere (Billson 276), as an apology that, understood from the author's point of view, projects a desired image before the future. Through his own voice and that of Pero Hernández (we discuss below [secs. 6.C–E] why Cabeza de Vaca could not be the author of his own work in this second case), the subject position is simultaneously that of eyewitness, participant, and *histor*, adopting the stance of objective investigators and sorters of facts and yet, as eyewitnesses, endowing the narrative with an aura of authenticity (Billson 272). The historicizing rhetorical stance (*histor*) of both Cabeza de Vaca and Hernández allows them to see their participation as ended and hence to create rhetorically the illusion that they are evaluating it objectively. Billson (276) concludes, "The memorialist evaluates his action among men, which he feels to be visible before and accountable to the audience of posterity. In his memoir, the memorialist watches himself perform, and there always exists the clear delineation of his own role and the jealous safeguarding of interests and perogatives [*sic*], attendant upon the self-consciousness of being observed." Bernal Díaz, again, acknowledges the self-consciousness that the more discrete Cabeza de Vaca and Pero Hernández do not express. As we turn now to the features of the 1555 edition of the *relación* and the differences contrasting it with the 1542 text, we will witness a few modifications that attest to this memorializing dimension as Cabeza de Vaca's protagonism of events is more fully developed in the pass from the 1542 edition to that of 1555 than it had been in the transition from the Joint Report testimony to the *relación*. We examine first the differences between the 1542 and 1555 editions and then go on to address the related issues that gave a new context—and ultimately lent new meaning—to the famous account first published in 1542.

6.A. *The 1555 Valladolid Edition of the* Relación *and Its Differences from the 1542 Zamora Edition*

The title page of the 1555 edition tells us that this is a more elaborate and more complex publication than its predecessor of 1542. The title page is once again dominated by a variation of the imperial coat of arms of

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Charles V, and the new title is printed in the elaborate combination of red and black type: *La relación y comentarios del governador Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, de lo acaescido en las dos jornadas que hizo a las Indias* [The account and commentaries of the governor Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, of what occurred on the two journeys he made to the Indies]. Notations regarding royal approval ("Con privilegio") and official pricing bear witness to the newly executed decrees regarding state-controlled, commercial publication. Curiously, although Cabeza de Vaca's former title of governor (in reference to the province of Río de la Plata) appears prominently on the title page, that position had been permanently revoked three years earlier, in 1552 (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 9.B). Contrary to the consequences of his failed governorship, his proud use of the title here suggests that the publication of his book was the culminating, triumphant gesture of a lifetime spent in royal service.

The relationship of the 1555 edition to that of 1542 has long confused scholars. As mentioned earlier, many have taken the 1542 publication to be preliminary to the "definitive" version of 1555, citing the latter as more correct and polished and as the one personally sanctioned by Cabeza de Vaca. Such opinions assume that the 1555 edition corrects a flawed 1542 publication. We take the position that the 1555 edition reconceptualizes the original account, articulating it with Hernández's companion narrative and in relation to the events of Cabeza de Vaca's life in the intervening years.

First of all, unlike the 1542 edition, the 1555 edition of the *relación* and accompanying *Comentarios* bears all the apparatus of the type of royally approved, commercial printing that came into being with the royal edict of 1554 that made the Council of Castile the licensing body for the printing of all books (see above, sec. 3.E). Thus, only in the 1555 edition (V:f1v) do we find that Cabeza de Vaca made formal application to the council for the "license and authorization to print and sell" his book for "ten or twelve years" and that the merit of this petition was "examined by the members of our Council." The title page bears the royal approval, "By royal authorization. Valuated by the lords of the Council [of Castile] at eighty-five *maravedís*" (V:f1r). Immediately following is the full text (V:flv) of the royal decree granting Cabeza de Vaca or whomever holds his power of attorney the exclusive right to have the work printed and sold for a period of ten years. Both works were to be printed in a single volume, to be prefaced by this royal decree and the notice of the official valuation assigned by the Council of Castile (see the appendix in vol. 1).

Although the 1555 edition bears evidence of the new policy about state licensing, it predated royal efforts to control the publication of works pertaining to the Indies. Cabeza de Vaca participated in a burst of publishing on the Indies that occurred in the early 1550s and included the repeated

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publication of Francisco López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (1552, 1553, 1554, 1555) and Pedro de Cieza de León's *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú* (1553, 1554, 1555), as well as Agustín de Zárate's *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (1555) and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's sensational *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias* (1552) (see JCBL 63b–82b).

Evidently, this activity caused the state some alarm. Signed into law by the Infanta Juana on 21 September 1556 (Torre Revello xii–xiii), a new royal decree ordered that no book "dealing with matters pertaining to these our Indies" be permitted to be printed without royal license, because it was appropriate that no such books be printed or sold without first being seen and examined by the Council of the Indies. The decree furthermore ordered that all books found in circulation without "our express license" be confiscated, and that in the future, no printer or bookseller be allowed to print or sell any book that had not been seen and examined by the council and expressly licensed by the monarch. Under these laws, copies of Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 edition picked up for examination by civil authorities presumably would be confiscated; if copies of the 1555 publication were examined, they would pass inspection.

Still, the justice and law enforcement officers of Castile to whom the decree was issued apparently ignored the order. On 14 August 1560, virtually the same decree was reissued under the signature of the king. Issued once again to the law enforcement officials of Castile, the decree began, as had its predecessor of 1556, by lamenting: "some persons have produced, and every day continue to produce, books that deal with matters regarding the Indies, and they have done so and do so without our authorization" (Torre Revello xiii–xiv). This note of royal frustration reveals the steadiness of publishing activity on the Indies. Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación y comentarios* formed part of that activity and was in circulation during those years when the crown deemed that works on the Indies required special vigilance. Cabeza de Vaca had petitioned for and received the appropriate authorization of the Council of Castile to have his book printed, and his work came out one year in advance of the additionally mandated inspection and approval by the Council of the Indies.

Apart from royal authorization and pricing, there are several other significant changes from the 1542 edition to the 1555. This is not a question of stylistic improvement but rather a shift in orientation to a broader audience. Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 73) argued that the Valladolid edition is a "reelaboration, stylistically more advanced" than the Zamora edition, with grammatical corrections and syntactic refinements.

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Scrupulously examined, the textual variants between the two editions contradict such claims, as our examination of the variants and presentation of the substantive changes indicate. The modifications in the 1555 edition are not linguistic and stylistic but substantive. That is, in the same language and style that he previously used, Cabeza de Vaca elaborates incidents of his own protagonism and adds or subtracts occasional details on Indian custom and belief. (See the critical apparatus to the transcription and its translated equivalents accompanying the translation; the former reveals the lack of linguistic or stylistic variation, the latter the addition of supplementary content.)

In our view, it is the purpose of the work that changes from the 1542 to the 1555 edition. This change is evident on two fronts, internal and external to the text of the *relación*. Internally, the additions or enhancements of Cabeza de Vaca's protagonism highlight the personal qualities of leadership and capacity, recognized by his Indian interlocutors in the narrative, that he seeks to underscore. Externally, the *relación*'s juxtaposition with the *Comentarios* and Cabeza de Vaca's proem to the Infante Don Carlos reveal Cabeza de Vaca's attempt to reach a broader and more diverse audience and to defend and enhance his public reputation. Unlike the 1542 publication, which had been directed to the emperor and aimed at a mostly professional, Indies-oriented audience accustomed to reading long, unbroken reports, the new edition and its companion *Comentarios*, and most especially its proem, were geared to engage a wider range of readers. The principal work was now billed as a remarkable tale of calamities (*naufragios*). Along with the accompanying narrative, it provided the armchair traveler of the sixteenth century with news from the northern and southern reaches of Spain's American empire, embracing at one extreme the territories beyond the northern boundaries of the former Aztec empire of Mexico and, at the other, the lands to the south of the Incas' imperial Tawantinsuyu.

In this new publication, readers would be entertained and edified. As Cabeza de Vaca remarked to the young prince Don Carlos in his proem to Hernández's *Comentarios* (Serrano y Sanz 1:148), he put the two accounts together so that the variety of matters treated in one and the other, as well as the variety of their author's deeds, might bring the prince pleasure. He added, "It is certainly true that there is nothing that more delights readers than the variety of deeds and times and reversals of fortune, which, although at the time they are experienced are not pleasant, become agreeable when we recall them in memory and read about them" (Serrano y Sanz 1:148 [proem]). Although directed to the prince, Cabeza de Vaca clearly had in mind the boy's grandfather, Cabeza de Vaca's ultimate benefactor, the emperor Charles V, as well as readers beyond the inner sanctum of the royal

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court. The work was published in Valladolid by the prominent printer and bookseller Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, who was active in the period 1545–67 (JCBL 82a, 336a). The proem, set in elegant modern Roman type, in contrast to the bulky Gothic script of the two texts it separates, celebrates the life Cabeza de Vaca claimed to have enjoyed at the Castilian court and extols the (unfulfilled) promise of the kingdoms of the Indies. (Because we find the proem to speak more directly to Cabeza de Vaca's biography than to specific matters regarding the 1555 publication, we examine it elsewhere [see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 9.C].)

The passage of thirteen years between the 1542 and the 1555 editions is a signal factor in accounting for differences between them. Occasioned by this lengthening temporal perspective, the textual modifications emphasize Cabeza de Vaca's personal protagonism and highlight his role over that of his fellows, add detail and vividness to certain anecdotes, and enhance—subtly but surely—the interpretation of the men's interactions with the natives living across southwestern Texas and northern Mexico as miraculous. In other words, as time separated Cabeza de Vaca from the events of those days long gone, he further enhanced his prominence in them. We have already seen above (sec. 3.C) how Cabeza de Vaca included in the 1542 edition personal events that do not appear in Oviedo and presumably had not formed part of the Joint Report. Several emendations in the body of the 1555 text further accentuate this thematic trend, and, as we will argue, they were done by Cabeza de Vaca himself. Before considering them, we turn to two modifications that dramatically changed the character of the original *relación.* One is the use of the new title, "Naufragios," and the other is the segmentation of the unbroken *relación* into thirty-eight discrete, numbered chapters with descriptive titles. Although we cannot be certain that these particular changes were the work of the author, it is likely that he was responsible for them, given his presumed systematic review of the entire text itself.

Although the word "Naufragios" did not appear on the title page of the new edition, it was included in the running head on each page of the *relación* and in the heading of its table of contents: "Tabla de los capítulos contenidos en la presente relación y Naufragios del governador Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca" (V:f55r). "Naufragios" has almost always been translated into English as "shipwrecks." Nevertheless, the sense as intended in the 1550s would have been its broader meaning of "calamity" or "hardship" (see above, sec. 2.D). As we discussed earlier, there had been no shipwreck in the literal sense of the word; the expedition's ships had been abandoned, not wrecked, on the *Florida* coast at Narváez's command. Confirmation of our interpretation of the title as "Calamities" appears not only in Oviedo's locutions but also in Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza's *Sumaria relación*

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de las cosas de la Nueva España (1604). Dorantes de Carranza (265) too provided the broader reading of the term upon describing his father Andrés Dorantes's experience as "naufragando por la mar y por la tierra," that is, "coming to grief on sea and on land." Imposed in the printing apparatus that accompanied Cabeza de Vaca's 1555 edition but not used in the work's title itself, the colorful "Naufragios" added a literary and figurative description of the work to which it referred. "Naufragios" served to crystallize the notion of dramatic conflict and calamity that was missing from the generically descriptive term *relación.*

Was the use of this new title the author's suggestion? Keeping in mind his interest, registered in the proem to the *Comentarios,* in reaching the elite public audience, it is possible that he suggested the change. The idea may have occurred to him in conversations with Oviedo in 1547, because the latter (582ab [proem]) had already written his account of the Narváez expedition and had used the term "naufragios" to describe it.

The next significant and pervasive modification moved the account fully beyond the realm of reports written for a superior. This was the reformulation of the entire work into chapters. In making this change, the character of the text was permanently altered. The tradition in which Cabeza de Vaca had written and published the 1542 *relación* was an established one, evidenced by hundreds of official, semi-official, or private letters and reports written to the monarch since the earliest days in the Indies by individuals seeking to place before him their requests, complaints, or services. Even those that were printed, such as Hernán Cortés's *relaciones* of the conquest of Mexico in the 1520s, tended to be presented unbroken. In Cortés's case, the title "cartas de relación" is a later embellishment (Delgado Gómez 37); Cortés himself referred to them simply as "relaciones." Simplicity of presentation was the standard. Whereas the original publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* bore much graphic similarity to Cortés's published *relaciones,* the new 1555 presentation set it apart as a book of interest for broader consumption. In this respect, we may properly speak not only of two *editions* of Cabeza de Vaca's narration but also of two *conceptions* of his work.

There can be no doubt that the division into chapters reconceptualized Cabeza de Vaca's "breve relación" of 1542. The chapter divisions have several consequences. First, the narration becomes more apparently episodic. Accordingly, the reader can peruse the account divided into thirty-eight segments and pick it up and put it down at will. The convention of chapter division transforms the report written from a subaltern to a superior into an object of contemplation; the *relación* has gone from being an object of study by the emperor or his ministers at their work to an object of edification and entertainment for crowned heads and other elites at their leisure.

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As a second consequence of the organization by chapter, the work now creates the illusion of being a more distanced, more impartial account of events while still retaining its firsthand character. This dual presentation of being both a personal account and authoritative and impartial is owed to the fact that in the body of the text the chapter headings are written in the first person, while in the table of contents immediately following the *relación* they are written in the third person (V:f55r–f56r; see the appendix in vol. 1). The third-person table of contents suggests that this account is a history of the expedition and its four survivors written by a third party, but the titles as set into the text underscore the fact that it is a personal narration. As the account is thereby elevated from personal report to history of the expedition, its author has moved from simple reporter, duty-bound to present information and intelligence to his superior, to the authoritative historian of the Narváez expedition. Cabeza de Vaca's account, called the "segunda relación" by Oviedo, has moved into a higher register.

The original writing and printing of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* were acts of personal advocacy before the emperor; the 1555 publication is an act of public advocacy designed to confirm the restoration of the *adelantado*'s good name and assure his place in history. Was Cabeza de Vaca himself responsible for this reformulation? It is almost certain that his was the editorial hand responsible for the emendations in general and the original textual divisions in particular, but not for their reiteration in the table of contents. To the careful reader, it is evident that Cabeza de Vaca (or someone who knew the text equally intimately) provided the intercapitular titles.

The table of contents titles, however, contain substantive errors that Cabeza de Vaca never would have made. The table of contents title of chapter 15, for example, claims that the Narváez expeditionaries had incorporated a municipality (*villa*) on the island of Malhado ("Of what happened to them in the *villa* of Malhado"; V:f55r). This could not have been farther from the truth, since the expeditionaries spent the winter of 1528–29 there in the most desperate of straits. Likewise, the table of contents title to chapter 38 claims that the chapter tells "what else happened to those who went to the Indies, and how they all perished" (V:f56r). Yet despite recounting the prophecy of doom offered by the Muslim woman from Hornachos, Cabeza de Vaca here tells a story of survival, not loss, detailing how it was that the part of the expedition that had remained with the ships (some one hundred men) searched for the overland expeditionaries for over a year before successfully sailing on to New Spain (f66v).

With respect to local textual emendations, there are several significant modifications that reveal that Cabeza de Vaca himself made them. One or two could be considered the work of any friendly editorial hand interested

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in emphasizing the idea that the four men were taken by the Indians to be divine; such, for example, is the suppression of the natives' explanation about the origin of things unknown as coming "from the sky" (f55v; V:f45r), which is usually interpreted to mean "coming from heaven" (see chap. 8, sec. 12). Another example is the addition of a remark enhancing the natives' view of the men, stating that they thought they would die if they did not offer everything they had to the four men "because the sun so commanded" them (f51r; V:f41v). Other modifications, however, make it plain that only Cabeza de Vaca could have been the interested party making changes. Most of the additions would have been considered by an outsider to be too local to merit inserting, and they are too precise in some instances and too self-promoting in others to have been authored by anyone else.

For example, after the men had been reunited but before they were able to escape together, Cabeza de Vaca tells how he was required to stay for six months as a slave to one of the Mariames Indians with whom Dorantes was staying. In the 1555 edition, Cabeza de Vaca adds the detail that the Indian, his wife and son, and one other person were all blind in one eye (V:f24v, at f29v). Likewise, to the description of the Mariames Indians of the mainland coastal region of Texas he adds in the 1555 edition (V:f26v, at f32r) the detail that these people killed their own children and those of other groups, and that "[t]heir marriages last only as long as they are content, and they dissolve their marriages over the slightest things."

Somewhat later, in the section describing the men's journey through present-day Coahuila, Cabeza de Vaca modified his 1542 account of their welcome by the people of the settlement "along the bank of a very beautiful river" (the Río Nadadores or a tributary) just west of the Sierra de la Gloria. There, he said, they were given "many little bags of silver" (f49r). In the 1555 edition, he changed "plata" to "margaxita": "they gave us many little bags of marcasite" (V:f40r). The correction to marcasite (i.e., crystallized iron pyrites that glitter) would only have been made by Cabeza de Vaca himself.

Oviedo implicitly confirmed that this was the case. Upon reading Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 volume, Oviedo (617b–18a [chap. 7]) remarked that "plata" was a printer's error, and he stated that it should read "margarita." He apparently had in mind "margaxita" (*margajita*), which he had read in the Joint Report, but in the published version of his *Historia* the word is given as "margarita" (margarite or pearl). Although both Cabeza de Vaca's and Oviedo's accounts suffered printer's errors, their attempts to make corrections are mutually reinforcing and reveal that the source of both was the Joint Report. Although somewhat earlier in Cabeza de Vaca's narration the Indians of northern Tamaulipas were cited as having given the four men "beads and red ocher and some little bags of silver" (f47r; V:f38v) that possibly could also have

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been marcasite, neither he nor Oviedo indicated that the account was in error, although it is difficult to assign Oviedo's comment specifically to one or the other mention of silver in the 1542 edition.

A subsequent modification from the 1542 to the 1555 edition (f53v; V:f43v) also attempted to correct a typesetter's error. As Cabeza de Vaca narrated the men's stay at the confluence of the Rio Grande and Río Conchos, he said that the "people of the cows" who lived there told them what they would find if they traveled upstream to the north. The sense of the original utterance is that they would find nothing but a fruit that grew on particular trees and became edible only when it was crushed. The actual statement of 1542 reads "a fruit that grew on some trees, that they call Chacan, between some rocks" [que llaman Chacan entre unas piedras] (f53v). The reader can conjecture that the typesetter got the statement garbled and that the manuscript's "que la machacan" [that they crush] was set in type as "que llaman Chacan" [that they call Chacan].

Attempting to correct the resulting statement, "that they call Chacan, between some rocks," Cabeza de Vaca (V:f43v) in 1555 added the phrase "and that they crush" [y que la machucan] to produce "a fruit that they call Chacan, and that they crush between some rocks." To make space for the added words, he suppressed "unos árboles crían" [grew on some trees]. The result, however, was not perfect. Oviedo (609a [chap. 6]) called the fruit "masarrones," as it no doubt had been named in the Joint Report. Again it seems evident that only one intimately involved in the details of the journey and its novelties would have attempted to correct the typesetter's original error. Only the editorial hand of Cabeza de Vaca would have attempted to incorporate both a name for the fruit and the way of preparing it for consumption.

With respect to the emendations that promote Cabeza de Vaca's personal prominence, there are two instances: the first, when he performed a surgical operation; the second, when in the 1555 edition he (not Dorantes, as in the 1542 version) became the recipient of the precious green stones carved into arrowheads. When the men were in Coahuila at the same site along the beautiful river (the Nadadores) where they had been given the little bags of marcasite, Cabeza de Vaca reported having performed a surgical operation to remove an arrowhead from over a man's heart. To the account in the Zamora edition (f49v) he made three modifications in that of Valladolid (V:f40v). To his description of having taken two stitches to close the wound, he added the note that the Indian then bled a great deal, but that he stopped the bleeding with a piece of hide. Next, he declared that he removed the stitches not two days later (as originally stated) but the day immediately following the surgery. Third, he added that the wound from the incision

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that he had made "looked like nothing more than a crease in the palm of one's hand," thus indicating the great skill with which he had performed this operation.

Later, at the Sonoran Indian settlement of Corazones (the location is clarified on f56r, but the episode is narrated on f55r; see V:f45v and V:f44v, respectively), the gift to Dorantes of "emeralds made into arrowheads" becomes in the 1555 edition a gift to Cabeza de Vaca: "and to me they gave five emeralds made into arrowheads."

Shortly thereafter occurs one of the most curious suppressions in the 1555 edition, and it serves to emphasize the interpretation that the natives considered the four strangers to be divine. Cabeza de Vaca had explained in the 1542 edition (f55v) that these peoples (of Sonora and Sinaloa) held it for "certain that we came from the sky" and added that this was so "because all the things that they do not have or do not know the origin of, they say come from the sky." In the 1555 edition (V:f45r), he strategically omits the entire explanatory utterance. Although there are occasional suppressions or omissions of single words in the Valladolid edition, there is no other substantive change of this length. One can argue that the omission was a printer's error made by dropping two lines because the words "del cielo" that in the 1542 edition conclude the sentence deleted in the 1555 edition fall exactly two lines below the "del cielo" phrase that completes the previous utterance. The typesetter's eye may have slipped down two lines, causing him to omit the sentence in question. Nevertheless, the general tendency of the editorial hand at work in the 1555 edition to enhance the natives' view of the four men as supernatural suggests that the suppression in the 1555 edition of the mundane explanation on (f55v) of the 1542 text was deliberate.

The only probable instance of dropping words is found in the original 1542 edition (f56r), where Cabeza de Vaca explained, in reference to the area of Sonora and Sinaloa, that there were three kinds of deer; after describing only one of them, he moves on to mention that the people live in permanent houses: "[t]here are three kinds of deer: those of one type are the size of young bulls of Castile. Among all the people, the permanent houses are *buhíos*" (f56r). In the Valladolid edition, he attempts to make a correction, but instead of adding information about the wild game, he merely clarifies the sentence about the name the natives gave to their dwellings, changing the utterance, "[a]mong all the people, the permanent houses are *buhíos*" (f56r), to "[t]here are permanent houses that are called *buhíos*" (V:f46r).

In the instance regarding the origin of things unknown, he removes the sentence in its entirety, leaving no residual words; thus, it is clear that this is a purposeful editorial modification rather than an error in typesetting. In short, Cabeza de Vaca's suppression of the remark about how the peoples

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of Sonora and Sinaloa explained phenomena of unknown origins stands out. It is a significant alteration that enhances the notion that the natives attributed supernatural powers to the four strange men, and it contrasts his earlier, now-deleted explanation, which included no such connotation.

The last major emendation of the 1555 edition occurs after the men's encounter with the Spaniards of Nueva Galicia at the Río Petatlán. It pertains to the escort given to the four survivors to accompany them to the settlement of Culiacán, where they would meet Melchior Díaz, the chief military and civil official of the Culiacán province. Here Cabeza de Vaca made an effort that resulted not so much in new information as in added emphasis regarding the worthiness of the role that he and his fellows played in peaceful conquest in contrast to the violent and coercive conduct of their countrymen vis-à-vis the natives. Cabeza de Vaca rewrites two sentences, which in both versions explain that the *alcalde* Lázaro de Cebreros and his men led the survivors through deserted areas where they would have no contact with the natives nor see what the Spaniards were doing (that is, enslaving the Indians). Both versions also reflect on the irony of the situation in which the four men were being constrained and manipulated just when they thought they had achieved their freedom.

There are two significant modifications here. The first is one of the very few stylistic changes. Whereas the Zamora (f60v) edition interpolated the reflection on the men's fate in the midst of explaining the motives of Cebreros's escort, the Valladolid (V:f49r–v) version disentangles the two thoughts and presents the commentary on the event more clearly: "from which it is evident how much men's thoughts deceive them, for we went to them seeking liberty and when we thought we had it, it turned out to be so much to the contrary, because they had conspired to go and attack the Indians whom we had sent away reassured and in peace." The other modification to this account (f60v) consists of an additional utterance at the beginning of the emendation to coincide with the sentiment expressed at the end concerning the pacification of the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca (V:f49r) prefaced his redrafted sentences with this new strategic declaration: "[a]fter we had sent the Indians away in peace, and expressing to them our gratitude for the efforts they had made on our behalf . . ." This remark replaced a simple "[a]nd after we had sent them away" that began the 1542 utterance (f60v). This change adds a very slight but significant emphasis in which Cabeza de Vaca's (f55v) original statement "[a]nd in this manner we left the entire land" is modified to "[a]nd in this manner we left the entire land *in peace*" (V:f45v, emphasis added).

The theme of peaceful conquest and pacification of the natives, restoring them to productive service to the Europeans, was already a principal theme

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of the *relación* as published in 1542, as we have seen. Enhancing it, however modestly, the 1555 publication augments the same argument about Cabeza de Vaca's actions as governor of Río de la Plata as told by Pero Hernández in the *Comentarios*. There Hernández emphasized to great effect Cabeza de Vaca's good relations with, and good treatment of, the Guaraníes (Serrano y Sanz 1:171–72 [chap. 7], 176, 177 [chap. 8], 180, 181 [chap. 9], 183 [chap. 10], 188 [chap. 12], 190–91 [chap. 13], 196 [chap. 15]). Since relations between the Spanish conquistadors and the natives during Cabeza de Vaca's command in Río de la Plata were characterized more by war than peace, the accounts of peaceful resettlement of the natives of Culiacán (Sinaloa) in Mexico served as a significant counterpoint to the wars of conquest and resistance that took place in the Gran Chaco.

Apart from the changes that appear in the 1555 edition, its situation in the broader context of the *Comentarios* of Pero Hernández must also be taken into account. In other words, the intrinsic differences between the two editions of the work are accompanied by extrinsic differences in time, circumstances, and purpose that motivated their respective publications. We turn to these considerations in order to elucidate the deeper resonances of the republication of the *relación* in 1555.

6.B. *The Sources of the* Comentarios

The *Relación y comentarios* of 1555 must be set in the context of a number of earlier and related writings. The first is Pero Hernández's own long *relación*, written in Asunción and completed on 28 January 1545 during Cabeza de Vaca's imprisonment and two months prior to both men's departure for Spain. The second is the charges made against Cabeza de Vaca during and after his governorship as well as his defense against those charges. These documents consist of Cabeza de Vaca's own statement—the "Relación general" he wrote and submitted to the Council of the Indies on 7 December 1545 and the criminal charges that constituted his indictment of 20 February 1546 (misstated by Bishop as 20 January)—to which subsequent writings and testimony on Cabeza de Vaca's behalf responded. Third are the *probanzas*—the testimony of friendly witnesses—collected during the months of June through August 1546 to submit as evidence on his behalf before the Council of the Indies. All these writings preceded Pero Hernández's *Comentarios*, which we will examine as the final and public monument to Cabeza de Vaca's governorship of Río de la Plata. All but the criminal indictment of 20 February 1546 are published in Serrano y Sanz's 1906 *Relación de los Naufragios y comentarios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*; the criminal charges are published in Rodríguez Carrión (101–06).

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Pero Hernández's 1545 report to the emperor (Serrano y Sanz 2:307–58) surveyed Domingo de Irala's governorship from the time the *adelantado* Don Pedro de Mendoza left Río de la Plata to return to Spain and Mendoza's lieutenant governor, Juan de Ayolas, went exploring in the area of the Río Alto Paraguay (Serrano y Sanz 2:309–22). In his *relación*, Hernández stated that Irala was in charge of the province from 12 February 1537 to 11 March 1542 (Serrano y Sanz 2:311, 322); Irala had received the official title of lieutenant governor only on 19 June 1539, according to his own account (Serrano y Sanz 2:384). While Hernández gave a negative account of Irala's governance, he devoted most of his report to the government of Cabeza de Vaca and the social and political disturbances that followed in the wake of his incarceration (Serrano y Sanz 2:322–58). He narrated in detail the events of Cabeza de Vaca's imprisonment and the election of Irala as lieutenant governor that led to a state in which the Indians revolted and "everything was on the point of being lost" (Serrano y Sanz 2:337–43).

En route back to Spain as a prisoner, Cabeza de Vaca surreptitiously arranged at the island Terceira, where he arrived around 16 July (Serrano y Sanz 2:96), to travel to Spain apart from his captors. Traveling to Cádiz, according to testimony (qtd. in Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 217) given two years later on 7 September 1547 by Juan de Salazar, Cabeza de Vaca arrived in Spain in late August. By 2 September 1545 the Casa de la Contratación had already denied a request he had made to have the royal officials arrested, according to Smith's transcription cited by Bishop (275n9). Cabeza de Vaca was no doubt in Madrid by the end of the first week of September, as Pero Hernández, who had traveled with him, testified on affairs in Río de la Plata in Madrid on 7 September 1545 (qtd. in Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 219n94).

Hernández stated in the *Comentarios* (Serrano y Sanz 1:366–67) that Cabrera and Venegas arrived at court some eight to ten days before the governor and added that "at this time" the bishop of Cuenca (Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal), who was presiding over the Council of the Indies, suddenly died. Ramírez's death, however, actually occurred in 1547 (Schäfer, *El Consejo Real* 1:354). In any case, when back in Spain in September 1545, Cabeza de Vaca set to the preparation of his "Relación general" to submit to the Council of the Indies. This firsthand account (AGI, Justicia 1131, pieza 21a, f1184r–f1206v; Serrano y Sanz 2:1–98) reported his governance of Río de la Plata from the time of his departure from Cádiz on 2 December 1540 to the time of his return to Spain in 1545. Written in great detail, the report was divided into 145 brief sections or articles.

Meanwhile, Juan de Villalobos, the prosecuting attorney (*procurador fiscal*) of the Council of the Indies, was instructed to draw up a formal

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indictment of Cabeza de Vaca, and his list of thirty-four charges was dated at Madrid on 20 February 1546 (AGI, Justicia 1131, pieza 1a, f1r–f3r). Cabeza de Vaca responded formally to the charges in Madrid on the same date in the "Juramento e declaración de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Baca" (AGI, Justicia 1131, pieza 1a, f6r–f14r; Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 216; Bishop 278).

A few months later, Cabeza de Vaca was authorized to have evidence gathered on his own behalf. Although some scholars (Bishop 278; Pupo-Walker, *Naufragios* 39) have mistakenly asserted that Cabeza de Vaca was given three *years* to prepare his defense, the customary period granted for collecting testimony—which prevailed in this case—was about three *months.* The royal decrees clearly stated that the prince allowed Cabeza de Vaca a period of 120 days from 10 May 1546 to gather and present evidence for his defense (Serrano y Sanz 2:105, 154). According to Parry's (*The Audiencia* 3, 159) reading of the *Nueva Recopilación de Leyes de España*, first collected and published in 1567, the term commonly allowed for the presentation of evidence at that time was eighty days. Possibly in recognition of the difficulty of collecting evidence from returnees from abroad scattered about Castile, Cabeza de Vaca was given an additional five weeks to prepare the *interrogatorios* (the lists of questions that would serve as the basis for witnesses' testimony) and to have the testimony taken.

Serrano y Sanz (2:109–35) transcribed and published one of the *interrogatorios* prepared for Cabeza de Vaca's defense, but there were others, as is indicated by the "Relación sacada de la probanza hecha por parte del gobernador Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca en el pleito que trata con el licenciado Ágreda, fiscal de Su Magestad en el Real Consejo de Indias" (AGI, Justicia 1131, pieza 8a, f559r–f582v), which Gandía (*Historia de la conquista* 216) incorrectly attributed to the year 1546. As we discuss in detail elsewhere (vol. 1, "The Life," secs. 5.C–D), this "Relación sacada de la probanza" consisted of testimony gathered for Cabeza de Vaca's appeal after the Council of the Indies handed down its sentence in March 1551. As noted earlier, we can verify the dating of this *relación* by the date of Martín Ruiz de Ágreda's appointment as prosecutor (*procurador fiscal*) of the Council of the Indies. He assumed the post on 13 June 1551, succeeding Juan de Villalobos, who had died on 8 September 1550, and following three interim prosecutors who served in 1550–51 (Schäfer, *El Consejo Real* 1:366–67).

The 1546 *interrogatorio* of seventy-six items allows us to quickly identify the issues that Cabeza de Vaca deemed significant for his defense in the criminal suit filed against him by Villalobos on behalf of the Council of the Indies. Since the charges had already been filed at the time he and his counselors compiled the *interrogatorio*, it is more focused than his 1545

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"Relación general" on the issues central to his defense, which are of interest to us here.

To assess these various accounts and the subsequently published works, we must place them in the setting of the events that occasioned their appearance. The 1555 publication of the *Relación y comentarios* emerged not from a single phenomenon, such as the Narváez voyage or the governorship of Río de la Plata. It constituted instead the final moment in a long and complex process of interpreting events that had shaped their protagonists' lives. The documents become the source not for reconstructing an account of what might plausibly have happened in Río de la Plata but rather for understanding the ways in which Cabeza de Vaca, his friends, and his enemies attempted to persuade one another and the public about their respective roles in history. Although our principal concern continues to be the *relación* in its relationship to the *Comentarios*, Cabeza de Vaca's account of the expedition to *Florida* recedes provisionally into the background as we attempt to understand its deepening resonance within the developing body of writings concerning the Indies by examining its 1555 companion piece and the issues that gave rise to its creation.

6.c. *The Scope and Intentions of the* Comentarios

Although Cabeza de Vaca had already written an account of his governorship of Río de la Plata in 1545, the controversy surrounding it proved that he could not be his own most effective advocate in print. Pero Hernández, officially the secretary and notary (*escribano*) of the province of Río de la Plata but in effect Cabeza de Vaca's personal secretary, provided an appropriate alternative.

According to testimony he gave for Cabeza de Vaca's *probanza* in Madrid on 26 June 1546, Hernández was then thirty-four years old ("poco más o menos"), and he had accompanied the *adelantado* Pedro de Mendoza, who became the first governor of the province, to Río de la Plata in 1535 (Serrano y Sanz 2:245). This account corroborates Hernández's testimony (cited by Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 219) in Madrid on 7 September 1545, in which he had declared he was born in 1513, had gone to Río de la Plata with the armada of Pedro de Mendoza, and had known Cabeza de Vaca since 1542. The Madrid *probanza* of June 1546 (Serrano y Sanz 2:250) states that this meeting had occurred upon the latter's arrival to the province (probably to Asunción).

In the *Comentarios* (Serrano y Sanz 1:145–368) Hernández narrates Cabeza de Vaca's tenure in office, which ended in his imprisonment and included intestine conflict among the Castilians and wars against various Indian groups. He makes minimum references to Cabeza de Vaca's trial and concludes his

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account by narrating the bizarre deaths of Cabeza de Vaca's enemies, the royal officers Garci Venegas and Alonso Cabrera. Appended to Hernández's account is the brief *relación* of Hernando de Rivera's expedition to the Xarayes (Carcaraes) Indians at the end of 1543 by order of Cabeza de Vaca (Serrano y Sanz 1:368–78). It in turn ends with a tale of Amazon women and the promise of great wealth reported but not seen.

Thus the published account of Cabeza de Vaca's governorship of Río de la Plata ended where the first major expedition to the area began—with dreams of wealth that had inspired Pedro de Mendoza to seek that river and land in the first place. Since Oviedo (*Historia*, bk. 23) viewed the province of Río de la Plata as just one more theater of action where hardship, death, and destruction reigned over the folly of the pursuit of gold, he would not have approved of the Rivera epilogue, designed to tantalize once again with the promise of riches. As Oviedo (*Historia* 2:177b [bk. 23, chap. 4]) had described the consequences of the expeditions to Río de la Plata of Sebastian Cabot and Diego García de Moguer as they returned to Spain in 1529, he likewise might have characterized the Rivera expedition as leaving its participants "greedily desiring what they had not found and longing for what they had not seen" (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 8.A).

As is already evident, Pero Hernández's apparently modest title for his work, *Commentaries*, evokes the ancient Roman heroic military tradition and lends prestige to the account of Cabeza de Vaca as conqueror and governor of Río de la Plata. The historical "commentary" of ancient origin, made popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by humanists, can be defined generically by its authors' roles as eyewitnesses and participants, the nonfictional character of its narratives, and its confinement to the lifetime of the author (Billson 272; Cochrane 20). If "Xenophon and Caesar, as successful generals, wrote their memoirs to glorify the appropriateness of their actions as commanders of men" (Billson 272), and sixteenth-century humanist authors elaborated this tradition while less learned men popularized it, now including the conquest of the Indies, there can be no doubt that Pero Hernández's proud title was one more effort to enhance the historical and political reputation of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.

The 1555 *Comentarios* was an exercise in the recovery of political and social prestige and the last public action Cabeza de Vaca took to defend his past governorship and his good name. The episodes it narrates form part of a larger effort to defend and enhance his public reputation, which was jeopardized by the suit filed against him by the Council of the Indies and the controversy surrounding it. To understand more clearly the debate in which the *Comentarios* was engaged and to which it offered a polemical response,

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we must isolate, in some detail, the principal issues debated about Cabeza de Vaca's governance (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 8).

6.D. *Key Issues of Cabeza de Vaca's Governorship*

6.D.1. *Reform versus the Status Quo.* The greatest factor was political, and the political reality was that Cabeza de Vaca took over a command already being exercised by Juan de Ayolas's lieutenant governor, Domingo Martínez de Irala, in concert with royal officials who had been participants in or successors of the ill-fated Pedro de Mendoza expedition of 1535–37. These men were in pursuit of the fabled riches of South America, about which enough was known to make the quest an extremely serious one (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 8.A). Into this situation appeared a new military commander and governor, Cabeza de Vaca. From the outset, there was great rivalry between Irala and Cabeza de Vaca as well as among their men. Those who had come with Mendoza in 1535 considered that they had priority over the newcomers of the Cabeza de Vaca expedition, who did not arrive in Asunción until half a dozen years later, in 1542. In addition, the rule of status quo in the conduct of provincial affairs, both among the Spaniards themselves and with the Indians of the area, made the arrival of a new chief administrator more than a bothersome nuisance. This was a source of continual friction between the new governor and the men long established in Río de la Plata, about three hundred of whom populated Asunción (Serrano y Sanz 2:114).

6.D.2. *Ayolas's Death and Cabeza de Vaca's Authority.* The political situation only confounded the legal and juridical questions related to Cabeza de Vaca's right to the title of governor and captain general. The desire of Irala and his partisans to keep for themselves the governance of the province and access to its potential riches led to a situation, as Gandía (*Historia de la conquista* 107, 131) observed, in which Irala convinced his partisans that Cabeza de Vaca governed illegally. The account of Ulrich Schmidel (Domínguez 1–91, see 36) suggests that this was the case, and the testimony of Cabeza de Vaca's opponents in preparation for his trial underscores it. The entire matter hinged on the death of Juan de Ayolas. In the *interrogatorio* he prepared for his *probanzas*, Cabeza de Vaca brought up repeatedly the question of whether Ayolas's death was a matter of general knowledge prior to his own arrival in Río de la Plata. Given its importance in his lawsuit, its centrality to Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* is apparent.

According to the *capitulaciones* Cabeza de Vaca signed on 18 March 1540 (Vas Mingo 362–66), his title and rank depended on whether Ayolas was dead or alive. If Ayolas was dead, Cabeza de Vaca would assume the governance of

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Río de la Plata with the titles of governor, captain general, and *alguacil mayor* (chief law enforcement officer) of Río de la Plata and the titles of governor and *adelantado* (military commander) of any new lands he might discover, conquer, and settle (Vas Mingo 363–64). If Ayolas was alive (Vas Mingo 365), Cabeza de Vaca was to receive none of these privileges but would be compensated for the costs of his expedition and given a monopoly on the sale of provisions to the province for a six-year period, on the condition that he make at least four voyages, presumably to the Antilles or Spain, to replenish his store of goods for sale in Río de la Plata during that time. As part of this agreement for a trade monopoly, he would be exempt from the payment of import-export duty (*almojarifazgo*) for the six years of the contract (Vas Mingo 365). He would also be given control, subject to the authority of the governor of Río de la Plata, of the island of Santa Catalina for twelve years with the provision that he not remove any of its native inhabitants (Vas Mingo 365). If alive, Ayolas would become the new permanent governor, as previously designated by Pedro de Mendoza. Under these conditions, the emperor would instruct Ayolas to make Cabeza de Vaca his lieutenant governor and captain general "for the period that he [Ayolas] desires and sees that you [Cabeza de Vaca] do as you should" (Vas Mingo 364).

If, in a third scenario—the one that seems to have prevailed—it were not known at the time of Cabeza de Vaca's arrival whether Ayolas was living or dead, then "it is our grant and will that, in case of doubt, you assume the governance of the said province as his [Ayolas's] lieutenant governor, named by us, to use and exercise the title in his name, notwithstanding any other deputy that he might have left, even though this person might have been approved by us and elected by the Spanish settlements or the captains or their men" (Vas Mingo 365). This provision was to hold until such time as the fate of Ayolas was definitely known. If found alive, and after being officially informed of Cabeza de Vaca's arrival, Ayolas would have the right to name Cabeza de Vaca or whomever else he chose as his lieutenant governor (Vas Mingo 365).

The problem for Domingo de Irala was the provision that gave Cabeza de Vaca the right to command, "notwithstanding any other deputy that he [Ayolas] might have left, even though this person might have been approved by us and elected by the Spanish settlements or the captains or their men." In 1539, Alonso Cabrera had returned from Spain to Río de la Plata precisely with the royal authority to name a replacement for Ayolas (Oviedo, *Historia* 2:197–98 [bk. 23, chap. 14]). On 19 June 1539 in Asunción, according to his own testimony (Serrano y Sanz 2:384), Domingo Martínez de Irala was legally granted the position of lieutenant governor acting on Ayolas's behalf, and

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he received the obedience of the royally appointed inspector Cabrera and of all the captains and men assembled "in the same form and manner."

Thus, Cabeza de Vaca's arrival nullified Irala's appointment as surrogate governor in Ayolas's stead, but since Ayolas's fate was in doubt, Cabeza de Vaca was no more than Ayolas's surrogate either. As lieutenant governor, he would represent the governor in all Spanish settlements, preside over the local municipal councils, and hear cases appealed from the *alcaldes*, or first-instance judges (see Lockhart and Schwartz 105). Holding this office, he could be removed by his superior, as the *capitulaciones* stated; in this secondary rank, he did not enjoy the full powers or prestige of the higher office (see Haring 139–41).

As of 18 March 1542, Irala was forced to relinquish his legal authority over the province to Cabeza de Vaca. Nevertheless, Irala continued to engage in a tug of war over political power by refusing to acknowledge Ayolas's death. This becomes patently clear in the complaints and litigation that attended and followed Cabeza de Vaca's governorship. Apparently, Cabeza de Vaca first presented the decree that declared him governor, but Irala and his men refused to honor it. Then Cabeza de Vaca presented the provisional title, which they accepted. This is told by Pedro Dorantes in a 1542 letter to the emperor in which he declared that he and the other royal officials had refused to recognize the decree declaring Cabeza de Vaca governor and accepted instead the one by which Cabeza de Vaca was granted the title and position of Ayolas's lieutenant governor. This was the provision that applied in the case of doubt over whether Ayolas was living or dead. (Dorantes's letter is transcribed in part by Gandía [*Historia de la conquista* 107] from the collections of the National Library of Buenos Aires.)

Just prior to sending the imprisoned Cabeza de Vaca to Spain, Irala reaffirmed, in his letter to the emperor of 1 March 1545 (Serrano y Sanz 2:390–91), that this provisional title as lieutenant governor was the one the royal officials had accepted. Felipe de Cáceres's letter to the emperor of 7 March 1545 described the same result but added that, from the moment he had left Cádiz for Río de la Plata in 1540, Cabeza de Vaca had proudly insisted that he be called "your lordship" and entitled himself "governor, *adelantado*, and captain general"—all before the facts of Ayolas's fate were known. (This letter is quoted by Gandía [*Historia de la conquista* 131] and fully transcribed by Swigart [141–47].) There was evidently sufficient steam gathering on this issue for Martín de Orduña, claiming himself to be the heir of Juan de Ayolas, to sue Cabeza de Vaca for the privileges of dominion over Río de la Plata and the enjoyment of its resources. Bishop (281) found this suit in the Archivo General de Indias, Justicia 1130, and stated that it

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was brought on 6 February 1546 and "was still proliferating vigorously in the spring of 1547."

Although these accusations did not put in doubt the legality of Cabeza de Vaca's right to govern, they reveal that politically he overstepped the limits of his prerogatives by interpreting to his advantage the supposition of Ayolas's death. Not surprisingly, Cabeza de Vaca and his partisans gave the opposite version of events, declaring that the news of Ayolas's death was general knowledge before Cabeza de Vaca arrived in South America.

In the "Relación general" Cabeza de Vaca submitted to the Council of the Indies on 7 December 1545, he insisted that he had learned of the death of Ayolas in May 1541 while on the island of Santa Catalina. Cabeza de Vaca gave the following account (Serrano y Sanz 2:5–6 [secs. 6–8]): fleeing from bad treatment by the captains of Buenos Aires, eight or nine expeditionaries arrived in a small craft and told how Ayolas and all his men, bringing some loads of gold and silver borne by Chanes Indians on their return from an exploratory mission ordered by Pedro de Mendoza, were massacred by Payaguas Indians who lived on the Río Paraguay. The sole survivor was a Chanes Indian youth named Gonzalo. This had occurred because the captain (Domingo de Irala), whom Ayolas had left in the brigantines at the port of Candelaria, had abandoned the port; Irala, in this account, was thus responsible for the death and loss of Ayolas and his men. Cabeza de Vaca (Serrano y Sanz 2:19 [sec. 30]) also accused Irala of having permanently abandoned the port and settlement at Buenos Aires so that the emperor would not find out about Ayolas's death.

When did Irala actually learn of Ayolas's death? According to Pero Hernández's 1545 *relación* to the emperor (Serrano y Sanz 2:313), Irala received the first reports shortly after November 1539 from the Chanes survivor of the party carrying Ayolas's treasure. In Irala's own account, the date was early 1540 (Serrano y Sanz 2:385–86). The Chanes Indian's report was apparently the initial intelligence received about Ayolas's murder by Payaguas Indians while crossing the Río Paraguay. The confessions of several Payaguas Indians were taken to corroborate what the Chanes youth said. Afterward, Hernández said, Irala had the factor, Carlos de Guevara, open the last will and testament of Ayolas and distribute his estate (Serrano y Sanz 2:314). The issue as to when the news of Ayolas's death was conclusive and confirmed remained open. In his *probanzas* as in his earlier "Relación general," Cabeza de Vaca sought to persuade the council—this time with the corroborating testimony of other witnesses—that Ayolas's death had been common knowledge by the time of his arrival in 1541.

Thus three of the seventy-six questions prepared by Cabeza de Vaca for the *interrogatorio* in his defense pointedly asserted the knowledge of Ayolas's

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death. One suggested that Ayolas was presumed lost before Felipe de Cáceres and Antonio López went to court (in late 1539 or early 1540); a second, that Cabeza de Vaca learned about Ayolas's death from the Spaniards and Indians on the island of Santa Catalina in 1541; and a third, that upon his arrival at Asunción in March 1542, Cabeza de Vaca again inquired and was again informed that Ayolas was dead. At that time, he had Ayolas's death certified, because it was general knowledge among Spaniards and Indians in the area who had first learned about it that Ayolas had been killed by Payaguas Indians (Serrano y Sanz 2:110, 113, 114–15). Seven witnesses corroborated Cabeza de Vaca's assertions. Not surprisingly, Pero Hernández and Cabeza de Vaca's cousin Pedro Estopiñán Cabeza de Vaca gave the most compelling answers. Estopiñán gave a precise account of the eight men arriving from Buenos Aires to the island of Santa Catalina in 1541 with news of Ayolas's death, and Hernández declared that he had been the notary who took the *probanza* verifying Ayolas's death (Serrano y Sanz 2:139, 250).

As to when the *probanza* of Ayolas's death was taken, Hernández did not say; he may, however, have revealed the answer in his response to another question. There he let slip his understanding that it was eight or nine years from the time that Ayolas had left on his mission (in 1537) before it was definitively known ("hasta que se supo claramente") that he was dead (Serrano y Sanz 2:246). Although he had sought to corroborate Cabeza de Vaca's position about the early confirmation of Ayolas's death, Hernández here inadvertently suggests—just as Irala, Dorantes, and Cáceres had claimed—that Cabeza de Vaca could have assumed no more than the rank of lieutenant governor when he received the obeisance of the royal officials in Asunción in 1542 and that confirmation of Ayolas's death did not come until, or even after, the forced end of Cabeza de Vaca's tenure in office.

Like Cabeza de Vaca's "Relación general," however, the 1555 *Comentarios* presents Ayolas's death as having been known by the time of Cabeza de Vaca's arrival to Río de la Plata, that is, that he learned about it during his stay at the island of Santa Catalina and understood it to be well confirmed by the time he arrived in Asunción (Serrano y Sanz 1:165 [chap. 4], 190 [chap. 13]). In this way, Hernández's work becomes a final apology for its protagonist, seeking to lay to rest once and for all any doubt about the provisional nature of Cabeza de Vaca's governorship.

Hernández devoted his chapter 4 to the account of Ayolas's death and referred to it again in chapters 12 and 13 before narrating the formal ceremony by which he claimed that Cabeza de Vaca was accepted by the royal officials as their governor and captain general. Hernández stated that the relevant decrees were read in their presence and

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> before the other captains and people who resided in the province . . . and the other clerics and soldiers who were present, by virtue of which they received the governor and gave him their obedience as captain general of the province in the name of His Majesty, and the staffs of justice were given and handed over to him, which he in turn presented to the persons who in the name of His Majesty would administer the execution of civil and criminal justice in the said province. (Serrano y Sanz 1:193 [chap. 13])

Finally, in chapter 49 and upon arrival at the port of Candelaria on 12 October 1543, Hernández (Serrano y Sanz 1:270) reiterated the full account and again blamed Irala's criminal negligence for the death of Ayolas and his 130 men, adding: "Domingo de Irala did this [that is, abandon the port of Candelaria] with evil intention so that the Indians would kill them [Ayolas and his men] as they did, in order to rise up in rebellion, as later occurred, against God and king, as he has done to this very day, having destroyed and laid waste to the entire land, which he has ruled tyrannically for twelve years now." With both Cabeza de Vaca and Domingo de Irala seeing each other as the personification of tyranny, it is impossible to determine which of the two acted with greater arrogance. However, a second issue that came up regarding Cabeza de Vaca's governance was his treatment of the Indians. Whether or not the colonists had made this an issue during his tenure as governor, it surfaced virulently in the conduct of the trial against him and therefore became a topic of considerable importance in the *Comentarios.*

6.D.3. *The Treatment of the Indians.* The most controversial and frequent topic around which the questions of Cabeza de Vaca's *interrogatorio* clustered was the question of Spanish relations with the Indian communities of the province, particularly in the area of Asunción and northward where Cabeza de Vaca spent his governorship. This would seem to be a predictable and transparent topic in the *Comentarios,* because we are familiar with the picture of Indian groups Cabeza de Vaca presented in the *relación* of his *Florida* experience. There, once leaving the rim of the Gulf of Mexico, all native groups provided little threat to the tiny band of Narváez survivors and seemed to be easily coaxed to guide and feed them, all the way from Tamaulipas in northeastern Mexico, across Nuevo León and Coahuila, back into Texas, then on to Chihuahua and Sonora and southward into Sinaloa. The four men reencountered hostile natives only through Nayarit, Jalisco, and Michoacán in areas of Spanish settlement (see vol. 1, f63v).

Cabeza de Vaca's experience with the Indian groups of the Gran Chaco more resembles the situation he encountered in settled New Spain than beyond its northern reaches. The *Comentarios* details a long series of wars,

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truces, and rebellions, and for this reason the treatment of the Indians is clearly a problematic issue. It should be noted that while Cabeza de Vaca's success (or failure) at Indian relations is not a major theme of Pero Hernández's work, the Indian question is intricately embedded in the arguments articulated to portray Cabeza de Vaca as a worthy and meritorious governor.

This tack was not unmotivated; of the thirty-four criminal charges drawn up by Villalobos against Cabeza de Vaca, a great many claimed his exploitation, abuse, and destruction of the Indians. Bishop (276–77) summarized these charges, newly transcribed in Rodríguez Carrión (101–06): robbing Indians of their provisions en route from Santa Catalina to Asunción, thus "occasioning tumults in the country"; delivering twenty-five friendly Indians to their Indian allies, the Guaraníes, so that the latter could kill and eat them; hanging the Guaraní lord Aracaré without a trial; illegally selling free Indian women as slaves; and forbidding all trade with the Guaraníes except to himself and his friends, "thus establishing such a low price-scale that the Guaraníes would rather eat their slaves than sell them." In addition, Cabeza de Vaca was charged with destroying nine Guaycuru villages and four thousand lives to punish them for refusing to provide the expeditionaries with foodstuffs; he was accused of responsibility for the massacre of three thousand Socorinos and the friendly Indians of Puerto de los Reyes, as well as for sacking some sixteen native villages and branding as slaves six friendly Indians who brought him a gift of fruit. In addition, he was charged with using "a medal engraved with his own device, a cow's head," to summon the Indians (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 2.c).

As we know, the sixteenth-century *interrogatorio* can be characterized as an assemblage of leading questions, and Cabeza de Vaca's (Serrano y Sanz 2:109–35) asked a long series of them about: 1) Gonzalo de Mendoza's leadership, under Cabeza de Vaca's orders, of the war against the Arianicosies (questions 28–47); 2) the war against the Guajarapos and the Guatos and the taking of slaves among them (questions 49–54); 3) the rebellion of the pacified Agaces (questions 55–57); 4) the hanging of the lord Aracaré and its relationship to a subsequent Indian revolt (questions 58–62); 5) Cabeza de Vaca's efforts, in specific instances, to instruct and offer friendship to the Indians (questions 21, 22, 25, 48).

The following general questions at the end of the *interrogatorio* allow us to assess the weight and magnitude of these specific questions and therefore the centrality of the Indian issue to the *Comentarios* (Serrano y Sanz 2:132–34):

> 66. Is it not so that all the wars against the Indians in this land were undertaken because of information about their crimes and because they had rebelled and because they had killed Christians and because of the war that

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they continually waged, and that these wars were fought according to the judgments rendered by His Majesty's officials, priests, captains, and other persons, and waged moderately and without depopulating the land? And that if depopulation did occur, that it was because the Indians burned their own villages?

67. Is it not so that, apart from the fact that some wars were waged because of the culpability of the Indians and in such situations as those mentioned, that the governor always tried to attract them with good works, in peace and friendship with the Christians?

68. Is it not so that in all the time he was in the governorship he prevented any Spaniard from doing harm [to the Indians], and is it not so that he punished those Spaniards who treated the Indians badly?

69. Is it not so that, during the time the said governor was in the said province, he compensated and ordered compensation to the Indians for all the provisions that were taken, even when the Indians gave these things of their own free will, by trade and other means, which contented the Indians very much?

70. Is it not true that all the Indians of the said province dealt very well with the governor, in such a manner that when they learned about his imprisonment they all wept and even wanted to liberate him from the prison where he was confined?

At the end, there were two very broad questions:

71. Is it not true that in all the discoveries that have been made in the Indies, wherever they have been, that the Indians have always sought to resist the Spaniards, trying to kill them and expel them from the land without having received any harm from them, making war on them and robbing them of their provisions and, when unable to vanquish the Christians, feigning peace and when the Christians are secure and trust them, attacking and seeking to kill them?

72. Is it not true that, apart from this custom, all Indians naturally despise all Christians because they seek to destroy their vices and sins against nature and the eating of human flesh and that, because they want to see themselves free, when the Christians are secure [in the belief] that they can trust them, then they attack and seek occasion to kill them?

For the purpose of answering these final two questions about the general character and comportment of Indian peoples, Cabeza de Vaca called as a witness one of the conquistadors of Mexico, Andrés de Tapia. It is of interest here that Cabeza de Vaca's suppositions about Indian customs and behavior, and the witness he called to confirm them, represent Mexican (not South American) experience. Tapia testified in Cabeza de Vaca's *probanza* taken

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in Madrid on 8 July 1546, and he declared himself to be forty-five years of age and with no relationship to either of the parties represented. He was called to answer certain questions only (40, 71, and 72) (Serrano y Sanz 2:218, 275–78). The first question sought to corroborate the claim that with the slightest provocation the Indians burned their homes, because they were made of straw and could be rebuilt in a day, being small and set up on four poles (Serrano y Sanz 2:123).

To this question, Tapia answered that he knew that some Indians, the Chichimecas of New Spain and others of the province of Jalisco, customarily went about hunting or fishing. They set up their houses and then burned them when it was time to move on. He added that he also knew about Indians who burned their own villages. He thought they did this to prevent the Spaniards from having lodgings so that they would have to go elsewhere; he had seen Indians who burned their food supplies so that the Spaniards would not get them. He concluded his testimony by stating that this was all he knew on this subject; he had never been to Río de la Plata, but he had heard from those who had returned from there that in some places the Indians were like the Chichimecas of New Spain (Serrano y Sanz 2:275–76).

To the final two questions, Tapia answered the first by stating that he had seen, especially in Tabasco and the central valley of Mexico, that Indians sometimes feigned peace and then broke their pledge; however, in the larger number of instances (and this, he said, he knew to be true from his experience in the conquest of New Spain), the Indians made war at all costs; those who submitted readily to the Spaniards were despised by the groups who resisted. On this point of voluntary submissions, he added that they were almost always done out of fear, not virtue or charity. On the question of whether Indians naturally scorned Christians and would try to kill them because of that scorn, Tapia said he based his answer on conversations with Indian lords of New Spain. They had explained to him, he said, that the Indians who made war on the Spaniards ended up by serving them better than those who did not; this was so because the Indians were honor-bound to test their fate in war, and if they were defeated and their lives were spared, they gratefully submitted in servitude to the victors (Serrano y Sanz 2:277–78).

Pulling together his questions on Indians at war and the answers of his star witness, Cabeza de Vaca here takes a position quite different from the one he took in the 1542 *relación*, where he argued that bringing Indians forward in peace was "the only way" to colonize them. Yet the difference is only apparent; the position by which he is represented in the *Comentarios* is consistent with the one he took in the *relación*. For Cabeza de Vaca, the issue was not that war should not be made against any Indians whatsoever but

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rather that the war to be made against them should be just. For this reason, Pero Hernández's *Comentarios*, like the witnesses on Cabeza de Vaca's behalf in the 1546 *probanzas*, asserted and affirmed that making war against the Indians had consistently and universally been just under Cabeza de Vaca's command.

6.E. *Pero Hernández's* Comentarios *as Advocacy*

Hernández's *Comentarios* (chap. 15) argues that from the outset of his command, Cabeza de Vaca mandated fair and humane treatment of the Indians. Subsequently, Hernández described the company's interactions with the various native groups. Unlike Andrés de Tapia's description of what happened typically in New Spain, the common case as portrayed for Río de la Plata and the Gran Chaco was the Indians' false friendship followed by their rebellion and war. Hernández skillfully threaded the tale of the Agaces, who offered peace, then made war before their leaders were captured and condemned (*Comentarios* chaps. 17, 28, 33, 73), among those of the Guaycuru (chaps. 20–26), the Apirús (chap. 32), the Tabaré (chaps. 40–42), the Guajarapos (chaps. 50, 51, 54, 58, 66, 73), the Ariosicosies (chaps. 66–68, 71), and the Socorinos (chap. 71) who killed five Christians and dismembered their bodies. The treachery of the Guaraní lord Aracaré is spelled out in detail (chaps. 34–35), and his indictment, sentence, and execution are narrated to contradict the charges made against Cabeza de Vaca for tyrannically killing him (chap. 37; Rodríguez Carrión 103).

In all cases, Hernández insisted, Cabeza de Vaca conducted just wars against the Indians, first by assembling the royal officials, captains, and clergy to determine whether justification for war existed, then continuing to try to solicit the peaceful cooperation of the native group and launching offensive warfare only when diplomacy failed. Although on 4 March 1544 Cabeza de Vaca had ordered the making of a branding iron for enslaving captives taken in the war against the Socorinos (Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 161), Hernández omitted all references to enslavement or slave branding of Indians, stating only that war was made against them (chap. 71). Throughout the *Comentarios* Cabeza de Vaca is portrayed as the firm but just governor, exercising the prerogatives of a just-war law and given to dispensing mercy but never cruelty.

Apart from war, Cabeza de Vaca is portrayed as being guided by the spirit as well as the letter of the law in dealing with Indians. The central episode of the *Comentarios* presents Hernández's main argument in favor of Cabeza de Vaca's good treatment of the Indians and protection of them against exploitation. Hernández narrates the preparations for the return of

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the main body of the expedition from Puerto de los Reyes to Asunción, which took place during the last week of March 1544 (Gandía, *Historia de la conquista* 164). Hernández (Serrano y Sanz 1:336–37 [chap. 73]) tells how Cabeza de Vaca refused to let the Christians take back to Asunción some one hundred young women whose fathers had offered them to the Spaniards at the time of Cabeza de Vaca's arrival to the Puerto de los Reyes. "To avoid the offense that this would be to God," writes Hernández, Cabeza de Vaca commanded the fathers of the girls to keep them safe in their homes until the expeditionaries had departed. Furthermore, the governor published a formal set of instructions from the emperor threatening severe punishment to anyone who dared to take any Indian from his or her homeland.

This deed produced the natives' relief and the Spaniards' anger, said Hernández, who used the incident to explain that "some men came to despise him [the governor] and from then on he was hated by most of them" (Serrano y Sanz 1:337 [chap. 73]). In Hernández's interpretation, the governor's concern for the Indians and his enforcement of the laws protecting them brought upon him the wrath of expeditionaries and settlers alike.

The exposition of these arguments stands at the heart of the *Comentarios.* Although inevitably taking a defensive position regarding the charges against Cabeza de Vaca that would have circulated at court in Madrid and, no doubt, in every city or *villa* where his *probanzas* were taken, Hernández's work also adopted an aggressive strategy. In the elite forum of the printed word where the likes of Domingo de Irala did not move, Cabeza de Vaca had the last word. Thus, Pero Hernández's apologetic history turned on its head the whole debate about whether Cabeza de Vaca unlawfully usurped the permanent position of governor.

Hernández goes on the offensive immediately after narrating Cabeza de Vaca's arrival at the island of Santa Catalina (chap. 4). He presents the entire account as given both by the Payaguas Indian captives and the Chanes youth who had escaped the wrath of the Payaguas in the ambush but who had been one of the carriers of the sixty-six loads of gold and silver that he and his kinsmen bore for Ayolas (chap. 49). Hernández blames Irala for the loss. Referring briefly to the death of Ayolas, which he had discussed earlier (chaps. 12 and 13), Hernández takes advantage of the opportunity to attack Irala when he narrates Cabeza de Vaca's arrival at the port of Candelaria, noting that this was where Ayolas had left the irresponsible Irala to await him (chap. 49). Here, in October 1543, the report of Ayolas's death is narrated again by the local Payaguas. Hernández gives the account in detail and again indicts Irala, not only for this past crime but also for ruling the province through tyranny for twelve long years and "up until this very day" (Serrano y Sanz 1:270 [chap. 49]).

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On giving an account of Irala's election as lieutenant governor after the imprisonment of Cabeza de Vaca (chap. 75), Hernández combines the exaggerated claims of Irala's partisans against the governor with a brief tribute to Francisco Ruiz Galván, the rival whom Irala had bested and whom Pedro de Mendoza had left in command. He also scorned Irala for his inferior social status, portraying him as the lackey of the aristocratic royal officials. Hernández claimed that they elected Irala lieutenant governor and captain general only because he was the lowest in social rank among them; thus they insured that he would do their bidding gladly (Serrano y Sanz 1:344 [chap. 75]).

These accusations are followed by the final chapters of the *Comentarios*, which are devoted to the abuse, exploitation, and social chaos that reigned during Irala's still continuing rule (chaps. 76, 78, 79, 80, 82). Hernández combined major accusations—such as claiming that Irala allowed the Indians of Asunción to revert to cannibalism—with a litany of crimes for which he made Irala responsible. The outrages for which Irala is blamed constitute Hernández's final attack on Cabeza de Vaca's mortal enemy. The reader is spared the appalling details of such grotesque deeds as Irala's torture of a rival by having him hung by his genitals or the sexual abuse of Indian women during mass or the refusal to prosecute and punish a relative of the royal officers Cabrera and Venegas who had raped the seven-year-old daughter of Irala's concubine. Hernández wrote accounts of these episodes in the *relación* that he sent to the emperor in January 1545 (Serrano y Sanz 2:318–19, 352), but he did not include them in the *Comentarios*.

Hernández's account of Irala's leadership in the *Comentarios* nevertheless follows closely the January 1545 *relación*. In the latter, he had reported that Irala had been publicly accused of responsibility for Ayolas's death because of negligence. Violence against the Indians, the permanent abandonment of the port of Buenos Aires, the sale of free Indians for capes and clothes, and a series of crimes and atrocities, either committed or condoned by Irala, completed Hernández's 1545 report of Irala's government (Serrano y Sanz 2:314–22). On the contrary and similar to the account he later gave in the *Comentarios*, he characterized Cabeza de Vaca's rule by good treatment of the Indians, the cessation of the collection of heavy taxes from the settlers, and the just war against and rightful subjugation of the Guaycurus (Serrano y Sanz 2:322–29). He went on to describe Cabeza de Vaca's exploration north from Puerto de los Reyes as well as the expeditions of Francisco de Ribera and Hernando de Ribera into the northern areas (Serrano y Sanz 2:329–34). He reported that Cabeza de Vaca's return to Asunción from Puerto de los Reyes, when he might have pursued the search for gold to the north, was due not to any caprice or poor judgment of his own but rather to the

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summons (*requerimiento*) issued to him by Felipe de Cáceres (Serrano y Sanz 2:335–36).

In the *Comentarios*, Hernández insulted not only Irala but also the royal officers who were Cabeza de Vaca's enemies; he dismissed them in two ways. First, he argued that Cabeza de Vaca earned their enduring enmity through his response to their application of a far too heavy tax burden on the expeditionaries. (This tax would have provided the royal officers' income.) The royal officials demanded the royal fifth on all provisions and attempted to apply a new tax on the expeditionaries. Because Cabeza de Vaca forbade the imposition of either tax on the destitute settlers and mercenaries, Hernández (Serrano y Sanz 1:204 [chap. 18]) argued, the royal officers sought by indirect means to do the governor all the harm they could.

In the penultimate chapter of the *Comentarios*, Hernández adds that Cabeza de Vaca's appointed lieutenant, Captain Juan de Salazar de Espinosa, could have prevented the governor's arrest if he had been so inclined, thus accusing this veteran of Pedro de Mendoza's expedition of only pretending to serve the governor. His collaboration, Hernández insisted, had made it possible to exile the governor from Río de la Plata and force him to return to Castile (Serrano y Sanz 1:361–62 [chap. 83]). As to the royal officials, Hernández suppressed the humiliating episode whereby Cabeza de Vaca was forced to return to Asunción from Puerto de los Reyes by the *requerimiento* that Felipe de Cáceres imposed upon him; as noted, he had detailed the deed in his *relación* to the emperor (Serrano y Sanz 2:335). Having told that it was Garci Venegas and Alonso Cabrera who escorted the governor to Spain as a prisoner, Hernández ended the *Comentarios* by narrating how Venegas later fell suddenly ill and died, "his eyes dropping out of his head," and how Cabrera succumbed to madness and killed his wife. The friars who had been involved in the scandals and uprisings against the governor also died sudden and disastrous deaths, "from which it seems evident the little guilt that the governor had" in the entire affair of Río de la Plata (Serrano y Sanz 1:367 [chap. 84]).

Reading Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* outside its historical context, the work may seem to be the account of a colossal failure. Yet in relation to the political struggle of which it formed a part, the *Comentarios* is a remarkably insistent and comprehensive assertion of Cabeza de Vaca's personal and professional integrity. Because it was not written by Cabeza de Vaca himself and because his brief government of Río de la Plata formed part of a much longer and complex conquest history, the *Comentarios* has been largely ignored. Yet this apologetic history, along with the reedition of the 1542 *relación*, constituted for Cabeza de Vaca the final, public appeal to reclaim his good name and establish his posthumous fame.

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6.F. *The Role of the 1542* Relación *alongside the 1555* Comentarios

The republication of the 1542 *relación* was crucial to Cabeza de Vaca's efforts to rehabilitate his personal reputation, and its relationship to other publications of the early 1550s foregrounds its importance. In 1552, three years before this second, royally approved edition of Cabeza de Vaca's work appeared, Las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias* was printed for private circulation at court and in Seville, and López de Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* was published for public sale in Zaragosa. Both had presented tumultuous accounts of the conquest of Nueva Galicia by Nuño de Guzmán in the early 1530s. The sizzling account Las Casas gave of Guzmán's cruelty in the *Brevísima relación* (95–99) was documented by the testimony of eyewitness sources in the suit against Guzmán (Carrera Stampa 93–193). In contrast, Cabeza de Vaca's account of his own experience provided a counterexample to the controversial conquest of northern New Spain (Nueva Galicia) and virtually the only account in print of peaceful Spanish conquest anywhere.

Thus the value of Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 *relación* deepened with the passage of time as it offered a glimpse at the "ideal conquest." It provided a model on which those who defended the conquests and those who condemned their execution but believed in colonization and evangelization could agree (Adorno, "The Negotiation" 188–91, "Peaceful Conquest" 84). In 1552, López de Gómara had declared in his *Historia general de las Indias* (67 [chap. 46]), precisely in his account of the failed Pánfilo de Narváez expedition, that "[w]hoever fails to populate the land does not make a good conquest, because without it the people will not be converted; therefore, the maxim of the conqueror must be to people the land" [(q)uien no poblare, no hará buena conquista, y no conquistando la tierra, no se convertirá la gente; así que la máxima del conquistar ha de ser poblar]. While it was painfully evident that Cabeza de Vaca did not succeed in that task in Río de la Plata, his previous claims regarding Indian (and therefore, indirectly, Castilian) settlement in Nueva Galicia became all the more important.

The significance of the 1555 republication in this regard was underscored a generation later by the son of one of the original protagonists, Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, mentioned above. In his *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España*, written in 1604 to the viceroy of New Spain, the marquis de Montesclaros, Don Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Dorantes de Carranza reviewed the history of Spanish settlement in Mexico, creating a historical roster of Castilian conquistadors and settlers and, in order to put forward his own request for further compensation, narrating his father Andrés Dorantes's deeds in and north of New Spain (264–67). Like so many

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other *relaciones* of this type written to government officials, Baltasar's had pragmatic aims and registered common complaints about the disparity between the application of law in Spain and in the Indies (to the disadvantage of the latter) and the lack of esteem in which the original conquerors were held (González Obregón v).

Unlike his peers, the author of this elaborate petition to the viceroy used various types of evidence to make his case; principal among them was the 1555 *Relación y comentarios* of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Dorantes de Carranza (264) considered one of his most treasured possessions and powerful tools of self-advocacy to be the published *relación* that included the account of his father Andrés Dorantes's experience in *Florida*. In contrast to the merely great deeds of most conquistadors, the younger Dorantes boasted that those of his father were miraculous, and he observed that this was demonstrated by "the *probanzas* and his printed history, set in type by the license and authority of the Royal Majesty of the emperor our lord Charles V, of glorious memory, which I have in my possession as something of great significance to me." The precious tome was not very large ("un volumen no muy grande"), he added (264–65), so he would be happy to pass it along to his intended reader, the marquis de Montesclaros, should he care to peruse it. If the *relación* was such a proud testimony after the turn of the seventeenth century for Dorantes's heir, it had surely been more than that for its principal protagonist and author in the sixteenth.

From Cabeza de Vaca's personal perspective, the account of the *Florida* expedition and survival was an extraordinarily important entry in the "curriculum vitae" of his public record. If contemporary and later readers from Oviedo and Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza onward emphasized the miracles of curing, Cabeza de Vaca articulated the miracle of healing with the miracle of pacification; the *relación* told of the four men's successful resettlement of the peoples of Sinaloa in the province of Culiacán after they had abandoned their lands and homes due to the campaigns of enslavement conducted by Nuño de Guzmán's men in the 1530s. Now, in 1555, Cabeza de Vaca juxtaposed that record alongside a much more modest one in the *Comentarios* in order to enhance his good intentions (if not significant achievements) during his governorship of Río de la Plata. Although he could not claim in the Gran Chaco of South America that he had never seen human sacrifice or the practices he would identify as idolatry, he did boast, in his "Relación general," of having left "four hundred leagues"—the trek overland from the island of Santa Catalina to Asunción—"populated in peace" (Serrano y Sanz 2:27 [sec. 41]). Likewise, in the *Comentarios* Pero Hernández frequently underscored Cabeza de Vaca's great success in dealing with the allied Guaraníes.

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Nothing could have humiliated the old Indies hand Cabeza de Vaca more than the charges made against him about abuse and violence against the Indians. The belligerence and treachery by which he and his partisans characterized the natives of the Río Alto Paraguay and the Gran Chaco stood in stark contrast to his earlier success at negotiating with native groups in *Florida.* If his enemies in Río de la Plata blamed the difficulties he had had with the natives in the Gran Chaco on his arrogant and indifferent rule (as the criminal charges brought against him sought to prove), Cabeza de Vaca placed the blame on the inexperience and greed of the men of his company. In his "Relación general" (Serrano y Sanz 2:12 [sec. 19]), Cabeza de Vaca had made the point vividly:

> All the men I carried in my company in the said discovery were new people, inexperienced in the dealings and customs of the Indians, for which reason, on account of keeping them from occasions of disorder wherein we would have conflict with them [the Indians], they [my men] gave me great difficulties, which I suffered more than the burdens of traveling [through the land] and dismounting and building bridges [to ford rivers].

Throughout the *Comentarios* but less directly, Pero Hernández blamed the ruthlessness, if not the inexperience, of the expeditionaries for the excesses committed against the Indians. By placing the already published *relación* alongside the *Comentarios*, Cabeza de Vaca offered his best argument in favor of his success in dealing with that most politically incandescent issue of his day, the treatment of the native populations of the Indies. By 1555, the exemplary character of Cabeza de Vaca's peaceful conquests of 1536 provided evidence of the good conquest that he could not deliver in 1545.

Finally, Cabeza de Vaca had cast himself in the 1542 *relación* as the royal officer of sound judgment in contrast to a Pánfilo de Narváez whom he portrayed as impetuous and irresponsible. In the *Comentarios* Cabeza de Vaca is portrayed once again as the altruistic leader and responsible and devoted servant of his king. When the *relación* was published in 1542, Cabeza de Vaca was abroad with a command entirely his own; when the *Comentarios* were published in 1555, he had been effectively exonerated of the criminal charges against him, and his harsh sentence had been all but lifted (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 9.B). From his personal viewpoint, therefore, the republication of the "breve relación," as he called it, of 1542 and the publication of Hernández's account of his governorship of Río de la Plata were not the desperate moves of a frustrated man dogged by failure. They were, to him in his time and place, the affirmative, optimistic gestures of a caballero whose good name had been restored by the smiling nod of the sovereign (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 9.C). Instead of being read as a

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testament of defeat, it is quite clear that in its own day, this new publication accompanied Cabeza de Vaca's greatest moments of vindication. It is for this reason that he could say with confidence, in the proem to the 1555 edition of the *Comentarios* (Serrano y Sanz 1:152), "[a]nd even when envy seeks to impede and obstruct this necessary work, the clear virtue and merits of such princes will defend us, God giving us the peace, calm, and tranquillity that is abundantly granted in times of good kings." Exonerated by the Council of the Indies, finding some of his principal enemies dead, and apparently relishing the prestigious life of the royal court, Cabeza de Vaca enjoyed his final triumph and sought to provide himself with a legacy that would long survive him. Consolidating and preserving that legacy began (and ended) with his successful efforts, in 1542 and again in 1555, to publish his *relación* of the 1527 expedition to *Florida.*

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CHAPTER 13

Readers of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* (Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries)

1. INTRODUCTION

The Gentleman of Elvas began his account of Hernando de Soto's expedition to *Florida* (1539–43) by saying that in 1537, after the concession to De Soto had been granted, a certain hidalgo (an untitled noble) arrived at court. Just back from the lands of *Florida*, this "Cabeza de Vaca by name" brought with him a written *relación* that described, according to the Portuguese gentleman, the poverty of the lands Cabeza de Vaca had visited and the hardships he had undergone. At the same time, however, Cabeza de Vaca gave the men at court to understand (either by what he said or failed to say) that the country he had visited was the richest in the world. In fact, the Gentleman of Elvas continued, Cabeza de Vaca's report was found to be so compelling that all the men of good breeding who had sold their estates and volunteered for the De Soto expedition could not be accommodated on the voyage and so "remained behind in Sanlúcar because there was no ship for them" (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:48 [chap. 2]).

There seems to be a noticeable gap in the Gentleman of Elvas's account between the impoverishment of the land apparently described by Cabeza de Vaca and the visions of wealth seemingly conjured up in the minds of ready listeners. In an analogous fashion, the problem of reception appears in what one reads in the famous *relación* and what has been said and written about it, from the fourth decade of the sixteenth century through the latter decades of the present one. The modest *relación* and its author have been the subject of countless re-creations that have found their way into the historiography of the Indies through the eighteenth century, and poetic, novelistic, graphic, and filmic versions of his experience continue to be produced today. This fact accounts in no small measure for our own interest in Cabeza de Vaca's historical experience. The ways in which it has been reinterpreted and reimagined raise the issue of its remarkable textual vitality.

Our main inquiry into the interpretation and reception of the *relación* pertains to the experiences therein retold, generally but not always relying on either sixteenth-century edition of the written account. Our objective

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has been to collect references to those who heard or read Cabeza de Vaca and his companions' accounts and examine how they were interpreted and employed. Our principal criterion for selection has been the regional focus on *Florida* and the northern and northwestern frontiers of New Spain that characterized the first centuries of writers' interest in the Narváez survivors' experience, both by those who heard about it from oral accounts and those who read about it in published versions. The former group includes individuals with whom the four survivors had direct contact upon their return to Spanish territory, and the latter consists of writers at a considerable remove from the events they narrated, often at third or fourth hand, and reiterating details given by earlier authors.

This survey takes us from the most immediate and direct to the most indirect and attenuated forms of contact with the experience the four men had shared, and it ranges from the authors of general histories of the Indies to explorers giving sworn testimony on their own experiences. The interest of these readers and writers concerns the frontiers of New Spain, including the entire rim of the Gulf of Mexico, as sources of new peoples, new empires, and new conquests. Our inquiry includes the commentary of explorers, conquistadors, settlers, friars, historians, and genealogists. Since we follow this chronology through printed sources from the sixteenth to the mid–eighteenth century, a word is in order about how we have constituted this trajectory.

The interpretive legacy of Cabeza de Vaca logically begins with the oral exchanges (f63r–v) of the men en route homeward with Spanish provincial and viceregal officials in 1536 as well as those Cabeza de Vaca had in Spain in 1537–38. In Nueva Galicia and in the capital of New Spain, men such as Melchior Díaz, Nuño de Guzmán, Hernán Cortés, and Antonio de Mendoza were vitally interested in the areas the men had traversed or heard about; in Spain, as we have noted, prospective members of the De Soto expedition preparing to depart were equally curious.

At the other extreme, we take as a termination point for our discussion the religious chroniclers of the eighteenth century, most of whom wrote provincial histories of their orders. These works' regional focus differs from that at the outset of the consideration of the four men's experience. As interest in ancient America grew at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, the authors who generally wrote the history of a single province within their religious orders faded in importance as they provided less and less information of general interest. They did not achieve the prominence in the field of historiography on the Indies at large that their predecessors of the sixteenth century enjoyed. The apogee and decline of this tradition, reflected in the table of religious chroniclers and

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historians compiled by Howard F. Cline (Burrus 139–40), reveals that the provincial religious focus wore itself out as the most innovative religious and ethnographic historians of the eighteenth century, such as Francisco Javier Clavijero, charted new directions of critical inquiry into the study of the civilizations of ancient America (see Ronan).

Various scholars have collected writers' references to the Cabeza de Vaca experience, beginning with Smith (*Relation*) in the 1860s, Wagner ("Álvar Núñez") in the 1920s, and, more recently, Lafaye (65–83), Weckmann (336–39), and Pupo-Walker ("Pesquisas" 519n9). Smith introduced the consideration of sixteenth-century explorers' and scholars' accounts; Wagner discussed the readings of the *relación* primarily by historians; Lafaye, Weckmann, and Pupo-Walker have taken up readings mostly by friars and chroniclers of religious orders.

Within the tradition of religious writers we underscore the importance of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in the *Apologética historia sumaria* (1555–59) and Padre José de Acosta in the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590) and the *De procuranda indorum salute* (1588). Buckingham Smith (*Relation* 172, 177n1) was the first to cite Las Casas's reading of Cabeza de Vaca; he made note of the Dominican's reflection on the meaning of the six hundred deer hearts given to Dorantes at Corazones. Smith transcribed sections of Las Casas's chapter 168 of the *Apologética*, which in the 1860s was still unpublished. Wagner and Parish (206) subsequently mentioned Las Casas's reliance on Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* for information about the Indians of *Florida*, and Adorno ("The Discursive Encounter" 220–27) has examined how Las Casas used the evidence provided by Cabeza de Vaca in the construction of his own arguments. Of lesser magnitude but of special interest are writers such as Fray Juan González de Mendoza (1585, 1586), who based his interpretation of Cabeza de Vaca's experience on Antonio de Espejo's account of his 1583–84 expedition up the Rio Grande beyond its confluence with the Río Conchos. For the readings of Cabeza de Vaca by French writers such as the Jesuits Nichole du Toit (1657) and Pierre François-Xavier de Charlevoix (1756), both of whom wrote on the history of colonial Paraguay (the sixteenth-century province of Río de la Plata), the reader is referred to Lafaye (79–83).

These diverse interpretations or readings enlivened the imaginations of interlocutors in two principal ways. In general, men involved in exploration, conquest, and settlement wanted to know the particulars of what had happened to the four men—where they traveled and what and whom they found. Cabeza de Vaca (f43v–f44r) revealed that he understood well the need for this type of intelligence when he explained, "This I have wanted to tell because, beyond the fact that all men desire to know the customs and practices of others, the ones who sometime might come to confront them

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should be informed about their customs and stratagems, which tend to be of no small advantage in such cases."

The other major line of inquiry has asked not "what happened" but rather "what does it mean." Leaving aside the references to terrain and inhabitants and allusions to mineral wealth that explorers and conquistadors used as sources of information (or perhaps, as Francisco Vázquez de Coronado sadly learned, goads to aspiration), other readers inquired into the significance of their reports. For many of these reader/writers, the men's remarkable tale was a source of inspiration. Friars used it for religious indoctrination and conversion; governors and settlers hailed the four men's presumed passage through their jurisdictions to promote the interests of Spanish settlement beyond the fringes of New Spain. In all cases, the Narváez survivors' presence represented in regional secular and religious history the local origin of Spanish Christian civilization. Whether to guide explorers to a prosperous future or to enhance the dignity of the local Spanish colonial past in outlying provinces, the legacy of the experiences summed up in Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was aimed at interpreting the history or projecting the future of the areas through which the men had traveled.

Exceptions to this pattern were concerned not with history (humanity's deeds in time) but with theory (general principles of human conduct or character). When the first archbishop of New Spain, the Franciscan Fray Juan de Zumárraga, talked with the men in 1536 and Padre José de Acosta read the 1555 *Relación y comentarios* half a century later, both sought to theorize from the Narváez survivors' experience the best ways to conquer and convert native peoples. The second type of theoretical appropriation of Cabeza de Vaca's observations was carried out by Las Casas, whose *Apologética historia sumaria* presented a full-scale theory of culture and cultural differences; one of his key authoritative sources on Indies peoples was the 1542 edition of the printed *relación.*

2. PERSONAL ENCOUNTERS IN NEW SPAIN (1536–41)

The men who knew the survivors and who were involved in the subsequent explorations to northwestern Mexico and the South Sea north of Colima on the Pacific coast initiate our chronological survey. Elsewhere we examine testimony in Alonso del Castillo Maldonado's *información de servicios* of 1547 from witnesses (Alonso de la Barrera, Cristóbal de Benavente, and Alonso de Bazán) who recalled seeing the men when they arrived in the capital of New Spain in 1536 (see chap. 11, sec. 3). Over a century later, Padre Andrés Pérez de Ribas imagined the excitement with which their reports must have been greeted, and he made clear why their news would have been the stimulus to

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subsequent exploration. The lands held in the New World at that time by the crown of Spain, he said, had not been very extensive, nor had many rich mines of silver been found (Pérez de Ribas 26 [bk. 1, chap. 8]). The great silver mines of northern Mexico (Zacatecas and Santa Bárbara in Nueva Vizcaya) were discovered later, in 1546 and 1567, respectively. Even though the conquest of Peru (1532–33) added a great deal of territory to Castile's domains, the news about the fabulously rich Inca empire of Tawantinsuyu and Atahualpa Inca's ransom would have stimulated explorers in New Spain to push beyond its northern reaches in pursuit of similar wealth.

In this respect, we must qualify Wagner's (*Spanish Voyages* 8) assertion that the expeditions sent out by Hernán Cortés and the viceroy Mendoza in the six years subsequent to the four Narváez expeditionaries' return could be attributed to the power of their account. It no doubt took slightly longer than two years to amass the capital and men required for the missions of reconnaissance and exploration that went forth, on land and by sea, in 1539 and 1540. Yet Cortés's seagoing explorations had been long under way; the expedition he sent out under the command of Francisco de Ulloa responded to the commitment he had made to South Sea exploration since the 1520s, including his own 1535–36 voyage just ended (see chap. 16, secs. 6.C, 6.E).

In addition, the Narváez survivors were not the first to give notice of the northern interior. On 30 August 1527, Luis de Cárdenas, who identified himself as one of the five hundred expeditionaries ("primeros conquistadores") who had gone to Mexico with Cortés in 1519, wrote to the emperor from Seville to offer a geographical description of the kingdoms of New Spain, divided into "four jurisdictions, by four great lords who governed them" (CDI 40:273–87, see 285). He described the third area as traversing Mexico from sea to sea, from La Raya de Tuspa (Tuspa was an area in Michoacán assigned by Cortés to himself in 1523 and seized by Nuño de Guzmán in 1529; Gerhard, *A Guide* 338b–39a) to the Río de las Palmas. The Cazonci of Michoacán was its lord, and Pánuco lay within its jurisdiction (see chap. 17, sec. 6.A). Cárdenas considered that the total area had "more inhabitants than the kingdom of Toledo," and he urged the emperor not to appoint a governor for this vast region but rather to keep it directly under crown control, because its wealth would be of great benefit, "providing more revenue than Castile" (CDI 40:280, 282). He cited the riches Cortés extracted in Michoacán from the Cazonci as well as Cortés's attempts since 1520 to build ships at Zacatula to pursue the riches in precious stones that were to be found on two islands in the (South) sea (CDI 40:278, 281).

Cárdenas thus revealed his substantive knowledge of events and intelligence about the lands of northwestern and northeastern Mexico that Cortés and Nuño de Guzmán had already explored or settled in Michoacán and

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Pánuco, respectively. It was Sauer ("The Discovery" 271–72) who apparently first cited this letter of Cárdenas on this early news about lands of wealth and peoples to the north. He suggested that the fourth territorial division Cárdenas mentioned, as indicated by direction and distance, pointed to New Mexico, "unless the entire statement is moonshine." What is clear from the 1527 document is that Cárdenas emblematized the far north as an area of great wealth by describing a place (named "Nuxpalo") "where they arm themselves with silver and use metal swords" (CDI 40:281).

The initial hard evidence about northern lands, however, came from the four men's notice, as recorded by Cabeza de Vaca (f49r), received at the Sierra de la Gloria, southeast of Monclova in Coahuila, when Dorantes was given the copper bell. Presenting this substantive indication of wealth to the north of New Spain in 1536, the Narváez survivors' reports did serve as a catalyst—though not the sole cause—to action taken by the viceroy Mendoza, as Wagner (*Spanish Voyages* 8–9) suggested. It is important to recall, however, that just as Cortés had initiated the push northward by sea in the early 1520s, Nuño de Guzmán had also set out to do so by land in 1530 when he undertook the conquest of the area that would be named Nueva Galicia (see chap. 16, sec. 6.B; chap. 17, sec. 10). We emphasize this point at the outset of this essay on the reception of the Narváez reports in order to scale down the popular notion that it served as the exclusive cause of northern exploration. In our view, the considerable impact of the account of the four men's experience on the imaginations and actions of others need not be exaggerated in order to be considered truly remarkable.

The content and character of the information the Cabeza de Vaca party communicated orally about their journey can never be known to satisfaction. The only observer to remark on it was the Gentleman of Elvas, and he described Cabeza de Vaca's appearance at court in 1537, not his presence in New Spain in 1536. Given the highly charged atmosphere of the court setting with its ever-present rivals and competitors, it is not surprising that the Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:48 [chap. 2]) reported that at court Cabeza de Vaca tended to emphasize "the wretchedness of the land" he found and the hardships he endured.

In New Spain in 1536, the Narváez survivors spent considerable time with four officials who were vitally interested in the north. The first was the chief magistrate (*alcalde mayor*) and civil officer of the province of San Miguel de Culiacán, Melchior Díaz; the men spent a two-week period with him in Sinaloa (f63r), and in 1540 he would lead a reconnaissance trip north for the viceroy Mendoza. The Narváez survivors' next stop en route to the capital was "ten or twelve days" spent in Compostela with the governor of Nueva Galicia, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, who no doubt had great interest

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in whatever information he could derive from them to serve the further expansion of his domains (f63v). A very late commentator, Fray Antonio Tello (256 [bk. 2, chap. 63]), declared in the 1650s that the men told Nuño de Guzmán that "although there were large settlements, the people were poor and there was no sign of gold or silver or anything of worth, and that it would be foolhardy to risk what was already gained" in pursuit of what might not exist. Copying directly from Tello's text, Fray Pablo Beaumont (323 [bk. 2, chap. 2]) repeated the same account. (Unbeknownst to him, Guzmán would have only six months to act before being arrested and imprisoned the following January and eventually sent back to Spain [see chap. 17, sec. 11].)

The two months all four Narváez survivors spent in México-Tenochtitlán before Cabeza de Vaca's attempted departure must have been for them a time of intense interrogation (f63v). Although they prepared and delivered a copy of their Joint Report to the viceroy, who then had detailed information about their journey, we surmise from Oviedo's book 35, chapter 7 that it had not contained news about the promise of mineral wealth found in the *relación* (f58r, f60r; see chap. 12, sec. 2.c.2). Having just returned in 1536 from a sea expedition that he had led to Baja California (see chap. 16, sec. 6.c), Hernán Cortés also would have been eager for further news of the north. Even after Cabeza de Vaca's aborted departure for Spain in autumn 1536, the dialogue between these officials and the Narváez survivors would have continued; it is evident from Mendoza's testimony that he had considerable negotiations with Dorantes that ultimately led only to the viceroy's acquisition of Estevanico (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 51–52).

More than a year and a half after the men's arrival in the city of Mexico, the viceroy Mendoza sent to the north Fray Marcos de Niza, and with him Estevanico as a guide, on 7 March 1539. A few months later, on 8 July 1539, Hernán Cortés sponsored his fourth South Sea voyage northward under the command of Francisco de Ulloa. The rivalry between the marquis and the viceroy was self-evident and did not end there. On 25 June 1540, Cortés (*Cartas y documentos* 407) accused Fray Marcos of having given the viceroy falsified reports of his mission, which Cortés claimed were based entirely on the account that he himself had given the Franciscan about Baja California; Cortés complained to the emperor that the viceroy subsequently used those reports to claim the discovery for himself. Fray Marcos's (Mora 148) report of his journey in fact contains a number of references to information given to him by "Indians of the islands where the Marqués del Valle had been." Estevanico apparently guided the friar through areas considerably inland (twelve to fifteen leagues from the coast) that Estevanico and his companions had traversed nearly three years earlier.

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The synthetic character of Fray Marcos's report is underscored by his mention of the Indians who touched his robes, calling him "Sayota, meaning in their language 'man from the sky,' " which he interpreted as indicating their "knowledge of our Lord in heaven and His Majesty on earth" (Mora 149). Fray Marcos thus claimed for himself the reverence the Narváez survivors had enjoyed before he arrived at "the first city of the land called Cíbola," which he asserted was larger than the city of Mexico but which he decided not to enter (Mora 150). Although he noted that he would merely be risking his life (which he had offered to God the day he began his journey), he realized that if he were to die there he would be unable to communicate his findings about the land, "which to me was the biggest and the best of all lands discovered thus far" (Mora 158). Taking into account Sauer's ("The Credibility" 243) argument that Fray Marcos's failure to mention the Narváez survivors was intended to bolster the viceroy Mendoza's claims to the area, it seems clear that Fray Marcos's purpose was to portray himself as being perceived to have the same stature he understood Cabeza de Vaca and his fellows to have enjoyed among the Indians. Insofar as Fray Marcos's account seems to be blatantly self-aggrandizing, it speaks indirectly (but plainly) to the esteem in which he considered the four men to have been held, not only by the Indians of the north but especially by his readers in the viceregal court.

One of the most influential ecclesiastics who regarded the men highly was Fray Juan de Zumárraga, the archbishop of New Spain. In a formal opinion (*parecer*) prepared at the request of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza on the question of taking Indian slaves in war as well as those who had already been enslaved by their own people (the so-called *esclavos de rescate*), Zumárraga opposed both types of slavery. Based on his contact with the four Narváez survivors, he turned the men's experience into a theoretical argument regarding the principles by which conquest and colonization could (and should) be effected (Zumárraga 90–94). Knowing of "no better form of war than the spiritual one made against the devil," Zumárraga (91) cited two cases as proof of the efficacy of this method: the work of Fray Francisco de Favencia among the Chichimecas, as reported by Fray Jacobo de Tastera, and "the experience of those who came with Narváez." As the experience of the men who went with Narváez bore out, the colonists should enter the land little by little, he said, not in one fell swoop ("de golpe").

If the archbishop's testimony can be taken as an example, the appearance in the viceregal capital of the four survivors of the Narváez overland expedition was a significant event in the debate about making war on the native populations and taking them as slaves. Zumárraga (91) stated that

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> they have passed through great and extensive lands of those who have never heard the gospel, nor knew anything about the faith, except for what they preached to them. And they [the Indians] did not eat them [the four men], but rather treated them better than if they themselves were already Christian. . . . And they held them in as much veneration as we do the saints.

Zumárraga here implicitly condemned Nuño de Guzmán's conquest of Nueva Galicia, which he had bitterly opposed, and rejected the enslavement of Indians based on the theory that they might be cannibals. According to royal decrees in effect since at least 1503 and 1505, the crown authorized the capture and enslavement of Indians, specifically from the islands of the Caribbean and Cartagena, based on reports that they were cannibals, made war on the Spaniards' Indian allies, and regularly devoured their flesh (CDI 31:196–200; CDU 5:110–13; for a summary of Castilian legislation on Indian slavery, see chap. 17, sec. 5.A).

Another of the men who knew the four survivors was the *alcalde mayor* of Culiacán, Melchior Díaz, who, as noted, was sent north by Mendoza on a reconnaissance mission in November 1539. In a letter to the emperor of 17 April 1540, the viceroy Mendoza reported the results of this journey, noting that Díaz had found bison robes of the type that Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had brought back from the north (CDI 2:359). Melchior Díaz's trip was the final prelude to the great expedition led by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and sent out by its sponsor, the viceroy Mendoza, on 22 February 1540 (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 7). Accompanying the expedition were at least three men who had met the Narváez survivors: Diego de Alcaraz, who met them at the Río Petatlán (f59r), Melchior Díaz, at Culiacán (f60v), and Fray Marcos de Niza, in México-Tenochtitlán. Following a series of interim appointees, Mendoza had just named the youthful Coronado as successor to Nuño de Guzmán as governor of Nueva Galicia.

The main accounts of the Coronado expedition (1540–42) filed by Coronado have not been located (Aiton and Rey 288), but two extant narratives are of interest. Since these lengthy accounts of the expedition were written some twenty years after the fact, we include them in our discussion of writings of the 1560s. Given the size of the Coronado expedition, it is clear, as Weddle (209) insisted, that the viceroy Mendoza was chiefly interested in the interior lands described by the Narváez survivors, where people were reported to live in permanent houses, cultivate maize and beans, and weave cotton. Fray Marcos had seemingly confirmed the existence of such prosperous settlements when he named "the first of seven cities Cíbola" (Mora 150).

Mendoza also sent out the sea expedition of Hernando de Alarcón in May 1540, only a few months after dispatching the Coronado expedition.

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Alarcón's remarkable account has survived only through Ramusio's Italian translation (published in his 1556 *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* [f363r–f370v]), available in English translation (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 117–55). We discuss elsewhere the notice Alarcón's interpreters gave about Estevanico and the explanation of his death on the basis of the military threat that the lords of Cíbola understood Estevanico's "many brothers" to have posed (see chap. 11, sec. 2).

Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía likewise knew at least one of the survivors. In 1541 he wrote that one of them (he did not specify which) was going to Spain, and that this person had told him about their seven years of enslavement and captivity and then, later, how they were taken to be "men fallen from the sky." They were then led forward seven hundred leagues, discovering "much land above Nueva Galicia, where now the Seven Cities are being sought" (Benavente 4). Writing at the time of the Coronado expedition, Motolinía brought to a close the period 1536–41, when reports of the Narváez survivors circulated directly from them to others by word of mouth. The two types of outcome that we see generated here—as a source of information for further exploration and a source of inspiration for peaceful settlement and evangelization—will be repeated and transformed, with the former fading out altogether and the latter achieving dominance and a remarkable longevity.

These two impulses come together in another type of oral tradition—the sermon or homily with its edifying *exempla*—that we can examine but not fully assess. Given what the Franciscans Zumárraga and Motolinía and the Dominican Las Casas wrote about the men's experiences, Pastor's (359) suggestion that the fame of Cabeza de Vaca and his fellows spread throughout New Spain from the pulpit is highly plausible. Pastor did not document the practice, but pertinent testimony is offered by Pedro de Castañeda Nájera in his account of the Coronado expedition of 1540–42. Remarking on the role of the Franciscan order in recruiting men for the expedition, Castañeda (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 200 [pt. 1, chap. 4]) declared:

> The good viceroy managed everything so well with the friars of the order of Saint Francis that they appointed Fray Marcos to the office of the provincial. The result was that from the pulpits of this order there emanated so many tales of great wonders that in a few days there were recruited more than three hundred Spaniards and some eight hundred Indians of New Spain.

Castañeda's account reveals that religious edification was not the exclusive reason the friars had for preaching about the pious laymen who performed miracles. Their mission of making new Indian converts depended on their encouraging their parishioners' efforts at territorial exploration and military

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conquest. The friars' sermons thus sought to recruit soldiers for the Coronado expedition to ultimately make possible their own further endeavors to convert Indians to Christianity.

3. THE DE SOTO EXPEDITION ACCOUNTS (1540S AND 1550S)

The accounts of the De Soto expedition (1539–43) constitute a unique case in the record of explorers and conquistadors whose acquaintance with the Cabeza de Vaca experience colored their own. Many would have heard the oral accounts and rumors that circulated after Cabeza de Vaca's arrival in Spain at the end of 1537. As mentioned above, one of the most important participant-reporters of the De Soto expedition, the Portuguese caballero still identified today only as the Gentleman of Elvas, was at court when Cabeza de Vaca paid his visit to the emperor and would have been one of many expeditionaries who before their departure with De Soto had access to news and rumors about the Narváez survivors' experience (see chap. 12, sec. 2.E; vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 7). At the same time, the Gentleman of Elvas, along with De Soto's personal secretary, Rodrigo Ranjel, and the factor of the expedition, Luis Hernández de Biedma, wrote their final accounts after 1543 and therefore could have had access to Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 published *relación* as well. Although it is not possible to prove that these writers used the published *relación* of 1542, it is necessary to at least bear in mind that they wrote their accounts based on late, superior information while often conveying the impression that they instead wrote them at or near the time of the events' occurrence.

By explicitly stating on three occasions that they had not yet reached the western lands that Cabeza de Vaca described, the Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:127 [chap. 27], 147 [chap. 34], 148 [chap. 35]) implied that he and the other De Soto expeditionaries had knowledge of Cabeza de Vaca's travels and may have had access to the report that Cabeza de Vaca presented to the emperor prior to their departure. The Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:48 [chap. 2]) seemed to suggest that he had seen Cabeza de Vaca's written *relación* (the 1537 version, not the one published in 1542) in Spain before departing for the Indies: "[h]e brought also a written relation of what he had seen in Florida. This stated in certain places, 'In such a place I saw this. Most of what I saw there I leave for discussion between myself and his Majesty.' " If the Gentleman of Elvas was able to examine it, the officials of the expedition such as Ranjel and Biedma were even more likely to have had such access. For these reasons the relationship between the writings produced by the Narváez and De Soto expeditions should not be overlooked.

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The four principal surviving accounts of the De Soto expedition are the one by Biedma, the royal factor whose 1544 account was the official report of the expedition (Bourne 1:xii); that of the Gentleman of Elvas, which was published in Portuguese in Évora in 1557; the account written by Oviedo in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1:544–77 [bk. 17, chaps. 22–28]), based on information given him by De Soto's personal secretary, Rodrigo Ranjel, presumably from a diary Ranjel kept and in interviews Oviedo conducted with Ranjel at the request of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo in the mid-1540s (Oviedo, *Historia* 1:560ab [bk. 17, chap. 26]; Bourne 1:xiii); and, finally, *La Florida del Inca* (1605) of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. We take up Garcilaso's account below (sec. 9).

The newest of these sources for historians was Ranjel's account in Oviedo, which came to light only with the Real Academia de la Historia's full publication of the *Historia general y natural de las Indias* in 1851–55 under the direction of José Amador de los Ríos. Oviedo must have worked from Ranjel's log sometime between the return of the De Soto expedition in 1543 and 1548, the year in which Oviedo is thought to have left the completed manuscript of his *Historia* in Spain. Oviedo's account covers only the first two years of the expedition, from the departure from Cuba to the arrival at Utiagüe on 2 November 1541. Amador de los Ríos (Oviedo, *Historia* 1:577ab [bk. 17, chap. 28]) discovered from Oviedo's table of contents that the two final chapters and a portion of the antepenultimate one (seven complete folios altogether) were missing from the autograph manuscript.

The late publication of the Oviedo/Ranjel account resulted in according it considerable importance; in presenting the English translations of the Biedma, Ranjel, and Elvas accounts, Bourne (1:xvii) conferred considerable authority on the latter two: "[t]he general trustworthiness of the *True Relation* (the 'Gentleman of Elvas'), which from a literary point of view ranks among the best of the old exploration narratives, is powerfully reinforced by the journal of Rodrigo Ranjel." In a study of the sources for the De Soto expedition, Patricia Galloway (qtd. in Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:14) has recently compared these accounts and argued for a pattern of borrowing that goes from Oviedo's Ranjel to the Gentleman of Elvas to El Inca Garcilaso, leaving Biedma's as the undisputed (and only) primary source of the De Soto expedition.

In our direct consideration of the Narváez expedition texts we examine how particular instances of claimed historical intersection of the De Soto expedition with that of Narváez in the De Soto expedition accounts might actually be the influence of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* on one or more of the De Soto accounts (see chap. 4, secs. 9–10; chap. 5, sec. 6). Other episodes of the De Soto narratives, pertaining not to the expeditionaries' activities

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and discoveries but rather to the claims the De Soto account authors made about the way the natives perceived the Spaniards and their willingness to submit in obeisance to the symbols of Christianity, speak—whether or not historically accurate—to the continuation of themes developed in Cabeza de Vaca's account of North America. In this more subtle intertextual sense, it is evident that even Biedma's formulation was neither entirely original nor unmediated. Like the other De Soto narrators after him, Biedma was clearly informed by the narrative (oral and/or written) accounts of Hernán Cortés and Cabeza de Vaca. Here we trace a series of related episodes through each of the three De Soto accounts of the 1540s to glimpse the way in which the narrative legacy left by Cortés and especially Cabeza de Vaca became part of their own.

The signal encounter occurs in the "province of Pacaha," which is generally acknowledged to have been located along the Mississippi River in a maize-growing area of present-day Arkansas that borders western Tennessee (see Clayton, Knight, and Moore 2:310 [map]; the earlier United States De Soto Expedition Commission [348b–c] had suggested western Mississippi). Biedma explained that going upstream on the river toward the "Province of Pacaha," his party came first to the province of a lord called Icasqui ("Casqui" in Elvas, Ranjel in Oviedo, and Garcilaso). In a passage whose elements recall Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and especially Cortés's second letter to the emperor, dated 20 October 1520, Biedma (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:239) declared, "This cacique came forth in peace, telling us that he had been hearing of us for a long time, and that he knew that we were men from heaven and that their arrows could not do us harm, and that therefore they wanted no war with us, but rather wanted to serve us." Subsequently, Biedma (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:239) stated that, on the day of their arrival, "the cacique spoke with the Governor, telling him that he knew that he was a man from heaven, and since he had to continue onward, he should leave a sign indicating whom he could ask for help for his wars, and whom his people could ask for water for their fields, because they were in great need of it, since their children were dying of hunger." De Soto ordered that a cross be set up on the summit of one of the "very high mounds, made by hand," that was surely already a sacred site (Biedma in Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:239). Heading onward to Pacaha, De Soto and his men found it empty; the Casquins, nevertheless, had followed them to offer help against the Casquins' enemies. Biedma (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:240) recalled that the lord Icasqui gave De Soto many thanks, "for the cross that he had left him, saying that it had rained a great deal in his land the day before, and that all his people were so content that they did not wish to leave us but rather to go away with us."

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The miracle of rain associated with the presence of the cross, given by men who were taken to be "from heaven" and long awaited, conflates the traditions circulating orally and in print in Cortés's second letter (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 210–11, 227–28) and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f55v, f56v). That is, the Cortesian tradition included the concept of the strangers' arrival being prophesied and long awaited; the Narváez survivors' tale participated in the notions since Columbus that the foreigners came "from the sky" (see chap. 7, sec. 4; chap. 8, sec. 12). The miraculous deed was clearly part of the Cabeza de Vaca legacy.

Not surprisingly, this dimension was emphasized in Oviedo's (*Historia* 1:573b [bk. 17, chap. 28]) narration of Ranjel's account in which the healing virtue of the Christian cross was introduced. After the Christians planted the cross on the mound, the Casquins "received it and adored it with much devotion, and the blind and lame came to seek to be healed." Oviedo continued: "[t]he faith of these, said Rodrigo Rangel, would have been greater than that of the conquistadors, if they had been instructed, and in them more fruit would have been produced than what those Christians produced" (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:301 [chap. 8]). The healing power of the cross as well as miraculous cures in general are themes that would be developed in great detail later by missionaries such as Alonso de Benavides in Nuevo México in the 1630s (see Weckmann 319–39).

Whereas Biedma (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:240) had remarked that Icasqui had followed De Soto to the town (presumably Pacaha) and that De Soto sent him home, content with many provisions, Ranjel (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:301 [chap. 8]) elaborated Casqui's stay there, recounting that since the lord departed from the town on one occasion without permission, De Soto decided to seek alliance with Pacaha and make war against Casqui. Calling Casqui before him, De Soto asked why Casqui had left without permission. In reply to this inquiry Oviedo (*Historia* 1:574ab [bk. 17, chap. 28]) put in the mouth of Casqui, as rendered by the Narváez survivor/interpreter Juan Ortiz and "other Indian interpreters," a long and withering harangue about being betrayed by the Spaniards.

In this remarkable speech, Casqui charges: "[y]ou gave me the cross to defend myself from my enemies, and with that same [cross] you wish to destroy me." Thus he referred to the practice by which the Indians of Pacaha wore crosses high on their heads so that the Christians would be able to recognize them as allies (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:302 [chap. 8]). He added: "why do you wish to offend your own God and us, when on his behalf, you assured us in his name and received us as friends and we gave you complete faith, and we confided in the same God and in his cross and

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we held it in our guard and protection, and in the reverence and esteem that is suitable?" (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:302 [chap. 8]).

Oviedo (*Historia* 1:575b [bk. 17, chap. 28]), who obviously invented this speech, later remarked, "[I]n my opinion, in a cacique of so much discretion as Casqui, it would have seemed well to baptize him and make him and his people Christians; and it would have been better to stay there, than to go forward to what this history will relate" (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:303 [chap. 8]). Via this speech and encounter and his own commentary on them, Oviedo illustrated his characteristic concern for the imprudent if not immoral conduct of the conquistadors.

The Gentleman of Elvas reported the encounter with Casqui somewhat differently but again with echoes of the accounts of Cortés and Cabeza de Vaca. Casqui sent gifts of skins, shawls, and fish to De Soto on the road and came half a league from his residence to receive the governor there, offering an eloquent speech to this "[v]ery lofty, powerful, and illustrious Lord." The cacique pledged obedience to De Soto, even though De Soto had entered his territory, "killing and making captive the inhabitants of it" who were his vassals. Reasoning that such an "evil may be permitted in order to avoid another greater evil, and therefrom good may result," Casqui offered De Soto all manner of services and with it his country, his vassals, and himself, that De Soto might dispose of them at his pleasure (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:115 [chap. 23]).

The Gentleman of Elvas also reported the request for healing we read in Oviedo's Ranjel. Pitching camp half a league away from the cacique's town, De Soto found himself visited by Casqui with "many Indians singing. As soon as they came to the governor, they all bowed themselves to the ground." Among these people were two blind men. The Gentleman of Elvas declared that Casqui then made a speech in which he said that "since he [the governor] was the son of the sun and a great lord, he begged him to do him the favor of giving health to those blind Indians. The blind men immediately rose and with great earnestness begged this of the governor" (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:115–16 [chap. 23]). De Soto responded with a version of the Christian apostolic creed (used as the first portion of most versions of the *requerimiento*) and commanded that a tall cross be constructed and erected in the highest part of the town, declaring to the cacique that the Christians worshiped it in memory of the one on which Christ suffered (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:116 [chap. 23]). This scene of jubilant Indians prostrating themselves before the Spanish recalls Cabeza de Vaca's many accounts of Indians along the survivors' trans-Mexico route who greeted them with reverence. The theme of taking the Christians to be

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"sons of the sun" was likewise familiar from Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f38v, f48r; V:f41r).

Although the Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:117–20 [chap. 24]) did not report any outcome to the healing request, he recounted Casqui's following the Christians to Pacaha (as in Biedma) and his subsequent flight (as reported in Oviedo/Ranjel but in greater detail). The Gentleman of Elvas (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:119–20 [chap. 24]) reported that the Indians of Casqui fled in fear that the Christians could take away the bounty they carried. De Soto sent a message to Casqui to the effect that "if he did not come in his own proper person he [the governor] would go to get him and give him the punishment he deserved." Casqui appeared before De Soto, "saying that his greatest desire was to unite his blood with that of so great a lord as he was," and thus offered De Soto his daughter and begged him to take her as his wife (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:120 [chap. 24]). (El Inca Garcilaso will repeat this incident, giving it significance within the framework of his own particular argumentation; see below, sec. 9.)

As in Oviedo/Ranjel, the Gentleman of Elvas's Casqui now gives a speech. Contrary to Oviedo's version of the cacique's harangue against the Christians' betrayal, the Gentleman of Elvas offered "a long and discreet oration" by the cacique, praising De Soto and concluding by asking his forgiveness, "for the love of that cross he had left," for having gone off without his permission. De Soto reiterates his former threat, and the cacique replies:

> Lord, I and mine are your Lordship's, and my land is yours. Therefore, if you should go, you would destroy your own land and kill your own people. All that comes to me from your hand, I shall receive as from my lord, both punishment and favor. Know that what you did for me in leaving me that cross, I consider a very notable thing and greater than I have ever deserved. For you will know that the maize fields of my lands were lost because of the great drouth; but as soon as I and my people knelt down before the cross and begged it for waters, our need was alleviated. (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1:120 [chap. 24])

The elaboration by Oviedo/Ranjel and the Gentleman of Elvas of the episode initially reported by Biedma to the effect that rain fell (thus promising the return to prosperity) after the Christians' intervention recalls vividly although in a different manifestation not only Cortés's account of Moctezuma's donation of his kingdom to the Christians but also the restoration of the Indians' well-being occasioned by the Narváez survivors' successful resettlement of the Indians of Sinaloa as reported by Cabeza de Vaca (f62v–f63r). There seems to be no question that the patterns of interaction reported by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were given powerful resonance in the De Soto

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expedition accounts and that, in some implicit fashion, like certain episodes of peaceful encounter in Cortés's second letter, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was being read as a model by which to elaborate accounts of the successful negotiations between conquerors and conquered.

4. HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE 1540S AND 1550S

Just as highly placed members of the De Soto expedition may have had access to the unpublished *relación* that Cabeza de Vaca brought to court to the emperor at the end of 1537, two important readers of early accounts of the Narváez survivors' experience should be mentioned here: Oviedo and Alonso de Santa Cruz. Oviedo is studied in detail elsewhere (see chap. 12, secs. 2.B–D). In the 1540s, he worked from a manuscript copy of the Joint Report that the men filed with the Audiencia of Santo Domingo as the basis for his account of the Narváez expedition in the *Historia general y natural de las Indias.* When he conversed with Cabeza de Vaca and examined the published *relación* in 1547, he saw the Zamora (1542) edition. Certain similarities between Oviedo's *Historia*'s book 35, chapter 7 and Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 imprint confirm this. In particular, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:617b–18a) commented in his chapter 7 about a printer's error that is unique to the 1542 edition (f49r); he noted that the text read "silver" where it should have stated "marcasite," according to the Joint Report account he had read. Ironically, the nineteenth-century edition of Oviedo itself misprinted "margarita" (pearl) where it should have read "margaxita" (*margajita*, marcasite). Oviedo (*Historia* 3:615a [bk. 35, chap. 7]) made explicit his view of the relationship between his two sources when, as we have noted, he described Cabeza de Vaca's published account as the "segunda relación." No doubt he meant in order of importance as well as in rank order of appearance.

The royal cosmographer Alonso de Santa Cruz presents a related case in which the use of manuscript and printed sources was possible if not probable. As historian and cosmographer, Santa Cruz studied Cabeza de Vaca's writings about *Florida.* As we have discussed above (see chap. 12, secs. 2.E–F, 4), he wrote out a detailed account of the first portion of the expedition, from its beginning in 1527 through 1533, based on Cabeza de Vaca's published 1542 *relación.* This is the so-called Short Report, which carefully collected the information Cabeza de Vaca brought about the lands of *Florida* and the Narváez expedition's exploration of them from the Florida Peninsula through coastal Texas. In his capacity as historian, Santa Cruz, like Oviedo, wrote one of the earliest accounts of the Narváez expedition; he prepared

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this account for his *Crónica del emperador Carlos V* sometime before 1551, by which time he had completed his work for the years 1500–50 (Mata Carriazo cvi).

Santa Cruz's *Crónica* account of the Narváez expedition is an abbreviated but complete version of the account we read in Cabeza de Vaca's 1542 published work, if we read it from the perspective that Cabeza de Vaca was its principal protagonist and that the "deeds of the Castilians" (the Herrerarian "los hechos de los castellanos") is its true subject. That is, while Santa Cruz crafted his account, sentence for sentence and often word for word, by paraphrasing and repeating the utterances we read in the 1542 published *relación*, we find none of the protagonism of Dorantes that we find in Oviedo's account written from the Joint Report, and there are no references to Indian cultures or customs, not even the resettlement of the peoples of the Sinaloa area that the men carried out at the request of Melchior Díaz. As in the Short Report, however, Santa Cruz reveals his interest in flora and fauna, including in the chronicle a full paragraph on the Apalache area that he copied out in greater, even complete detail in the Short Report. It remains an open question whether Santa Cruz wrote his *Crónica* account after 1542 on the basis of the published *relación* or whether he used an earlier manuscript, nearly identical in its parts to the 1542 imprint.

With Oviedo and Santa Cruz, it is impossible for us to mark a clear boundary between their verified or potential readings of manuscript versions of the Narváez expedition accounts and the published 1542 *relación*. Oviedo assuredly and Santa Cruz most likely had access to the former; Oviedo demonstrably availed himself of the latter. Thus, the new era of response to the four Narváez survivors' accounts that began with the 6 October 1542 publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in Zamora might properly be said to have been inaugurated by Francisco López de Gómara, Alonso de Santa Cruz, and particularly Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.

For both Gómara and Las Casas, the published *relación* provided a valuable source. Gómara used it extensively in writing the history of Spanish exploration north of New Spain; Cabeza de Vaca was his sole source for the area of the "Río de Palmas" (*Historia general* 66–69 [chap. 46]). Writing his *Historia general* in the 1540s, Gómara used the Zamora (1542) edition; this is confirmed by his use of certain textual variants such as "Xamho" (67), a name used in the Zamora edition (f23v) but replaced in the Valladolid edition by "rancho" (V:f19v). "Xamho," Cabeza de Vaca's reference to a particular coastal site, appears consistently in the first four editions of Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* (Zaragosa 1552:f24r, 1553:f24r; Medina del Campo 1553:f24r; Antwerp 1554:1:f60r). The failure in *Florida* of Cortés's old nemesis, Pánfilo de Narváez, provided certain edification for Gómara, who

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ended his account of the Narváez expedition with the reminder that Cortés had "vanquished, imprisoned, and blinded in one eye" his rival Narváez, whose infelicitous end had been prophesied by "a Morisca from Hornachos" (Gómara, *Historia general* 69 [chap. 46]). This detail from Cabeza de Vaca's (f66r) *relación* gave Gómara his last word on Cortés's old enemy. At the same time, Gómara (*Historia general* 68 [chap. 46]) highlighted the men's curing episodes, describing Alonso del Castillo Maldonado's first cure in the familiar terms of the *saludador* and declaring the resuscitation of the dead man a miracle.

If the published *relación* provided a key source for Gómara, it was not only a valued but also a unique source for Las Casas, who used it extensively for the *Apologética historia sumaria*. Las Casas had known Narváez well, having been designated chaplain of the expedition to complete the conquest of Cuba for which the governor, Diego de Velázquez, had appointed Narváez as captain (Casas, *Historia* 2:531 [bk. 3, chap. 28]). After a peaceful and bloodless campaign of two years, Narváez's men's massacre of a great number of unarmed Tainos at the native settlement of Caonao produced Las Casas's definitive opposition to armed conquest (Casas, *Historia* 2:535–37 [bk. 3, chap. 29]; Parish, "Introduction" 17–18).

Las Casas recalled this personal experience in his first-person account of the conquest of Cuba in the *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias* (45). Without naming Narváez (accusations against individual conquistadors were irrelevant to his purpose in the *Brevísima*; see Adorno, *The Intellectual Life* 9–11), Las Casas outlined Narváez's conquests in Cuba as well as in "the provinces of the mainland of the area called *Florida*." There Las Casas (*Brevísima* 153) implicitly referred to Narváez as the third of three tyrants who had claimed those lands and come to a bad end, a fourth being De Soto, about whom Las Casas said (also without naming him) that no news had come from him during the three years since his 1538 departure amid much pomp and fanfare. (This reference to De Soto suggests that Las Casas wrote this fragment of the *Brevísima* in 1541 and introduces the possibility that for the *Brevísima* he took his information on the Narváez expedition from a manuscript version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación.*) Briffault's (138n46) identification of Cabeza de Vaca as one of the other two *Florida* tyrants to which Las Casas alluded along with Narváez is an error.

In the *Apologética historia sumaria*, Las Casas's reading of Narváez's *Florida* expedition accounts concerned not the fate of its lost conquerors but rather the observations of its survivors. His objective was not to write the history of the native peoples of the Indies but to theorize the character of their cultures alongside those of antiquity. As he stated in his *argumento*,

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Las Casas's purpose was to "investigate, conclude, and prove with evidence that all [the peoples of the world], speaking *a toto genere*, although some more and others a bit less but none exempt, enjoy the benefit of very good, subtle and natural intellects and most capable understanding and are likewise all prudent and endowed naturally with the three types of prudence described by Aristotle" (Casas, *Apologética* 1:4). In this light, the overarching conclusion the men made in the Joint Report, cited by Oviedo (*Historia* 3:614a [bk. 35, chap. 6]) and reiterated by Cabeza de Vaca in his *relación*, about never encountering idolatry or (human) sacrifice, as well as Cabeza de Vaca's detailed accounts of social practices among the peoples of the Texas coastal interior provided Las Casas with extraordinary material for five key chapters (*Apologética*, chaps. 124, 168, 205, 206, 210).

Las Casas was one of Cabeza de Vaca's most remarkable readers and an exceedingly scrupulous one (see Adorno, "The Discursive Encounter" 220–27). As we indicate elsewhere (chap. 6, sec. 2.B), Las Casas was one of the earliest readers of Cabeza de Vaca to appreciate the particularity of the ethnographic information that Cabeza de Vaca's account offered and to discern that the four Narváez survivors persistently followed a route close to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The Dominican's acute reading corroborates the distinction we make between two types of orientation that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had to the lands and peoples they came to know: considerable knowledge of the groups "close to the coast of the North Sea and those who neighbor them and not very many leagues inland," versus the "diverse and more organized nations, of whose customs he [Cabeza de Vaca] could know very little due to his hurried passage" through north-central and northwestern Mexico (Casas, *Apologética* 2:361 [chap. 206]). In this respect, Las Casas has provided us with a major interpretive key regarding the route of the Narváez survivors.

Whereas Las Casas paraphrased with great care all the information he used and attributed it explicitly to Cabeza de Vaca, his direct citation of the passage regarding the absence of idolatry and human sacrifice over two thousand leagues of territory permits us to state definitively that he used the Zamora (1542) edition. Las Casas (*Apologética* 1:651 [chap. 124]) transcribed there the Zamora (1542) edition phrase "y que Vuestra Magestad a de ser el que a de poner esto en effeto" (f63r) rather than its Valladolid (1555) variant, "y que Vuestra Magestad a de ser el que lo a de poner en effeto" (V:f51v). As mentioned earlier (chap. 12, sec. 3.B), Las Casas described the account he read as one prepared by Cabeza de Vaca for the emperor; this too underscores Las Casas's reliance on the 1542 edition, intended for the sovereign's use and information, rather than the more luxurious Valladolid edition dedicated

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to the emperor's grandson, the Infante Don Carlos, and directed to a wider audience at a much longer temporal remove from the events at hand (see chap. 12, secs. 6.C, 6.F).

Las Casas utilized the *relación* for two purposes, first to demonstrate the "universal principle" of the natural inclination of humanity to seek and serve its maker, and second to elucidate the readiness of Amerindian peoples to receive Christianity, thereby supporting his project for peaceful colonization (*Apologética* 1:370 [chap. 71], 651–52 [chap. 124], 2:262–63 [chap. 186]). He found essential all the information Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* provided about native groups, both along the coastal region of Texas and, from north to south, inland to the west (*Apologética* 2:357–61 [chap. 206], 375–76 [chap. 210]). He used it to create his panorama of cultures that existed in "the great land we call *Florida*" since "all this land we call *Florida* is continuous with the land of the kingdom of Cíbola" (*Apologética* 2:357 [chap. 206], 366 [chap. 208]). Both the theoretical and the practical dimensions of his objectives were enhanced by his reading of Cabeza de Vaca's (f61r–f63r) *relación*, which, on the one hand, told how the peoples of Sinaloa worshiped the god they called Aguar and, on the other, gave proof of the efficacy of peaceful conversion. In offering "some characteristics of the peoples of *Florida*," Las Casas's seventeenth-century biographer, Fray Antonio de Remesal (258 [bk. 8, chap. 27]), would repeat the textual citation Las Casas (*Apologética* 1:651 [chap. 124]) made of Cabeza de Vaca's by-now famous statement that over the two thousand leagues they had traveled on sea and land, including the distance traversed in the ten months after they escaped from captivity, they found neither idolatry nor sacrifice.

Little of the great historical work of the 1540s just examined was published in the 1550s. Only Gómara's *Historia general de las Indias* appeared in 1552; the portion of Oviedo's *Historia general y natural de las Indias* that contained the Narváez expedition survivors' account and Las Casas's *Apologética historia sumaria* remained unpublished until 1851–55 and 1909, respectively.

As for exploration in the 1550s, Sauer ("The Road" 38) explained that "interest in the northwest frontier languished after the disappointment of the Coronado expedition" and that although Spanish settlement at Culiacán was maintained, most of the *encomiendas* in the area were abandoned. Only the discovery of the Zacatecas silver mines gave rise to a "vigorous northern frontier in the interior, the Province of Nueva Vizcaya" (Sauer, "The Road" 38), to which we will turn in due course. Like the Coronado expedition narratives that we examine below, the major accounts of the Nueva Vizcaya explorations would be written approximately two decades after their occurrence.

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5. ITALIAN TRANSLATION (1556) AND READING (1565) OF THE *RELACIÓN*

The favor Cabeza de Vaca's published 1542 *relación* gained among historians in Spain in the 1540s, attributable largely to the novel information it contained, was likewise enjoyed abroad, though to a more limited degree. Gian Battista Ramusio translated the *relación* into Italian soon after the Zamora (1542) edition appeared in Spain, including the translation in his *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (f310r–f330v), published for the first time in Venice in 1556; Adolph Bandelier (Bandelier, *Journey* xxi) misidentified the volume of this work as number two, and Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 162) incorrectly gave the date of its second printing (1565) as the year of its original publication (actually 1556).

Ramusio translated the title of the Zamora edition quite literally, calling it the "Relatione che fece Alvaro Nunez detto Capo di Vacca: di quello che intervenne nell'Indie all'armata, della qual era governatore Pamphilo Narvaez, dell'anno 1527 fino al 1536, che ritornò in Sibillia con tre soli suoi compagni." This title, as well as the appearance in the translation of toponyms and onomastics unique to the Zamora (1542) publication (Gutiérrez [f3r], Gottierrez [f310r]; Lixarte [f5v], Lissarte [f311r]; Tezaico [f12v], Tezaico [f313r]; de Avia [f23v], de Avia [f317r]) verify beyond any doubt that the Zamora (1542) edition of the *relación* served as the source of the translation, as Hodge (10) observed; Favata and Fernández (*Relación* xv) err in stating that Ramusio used the Valladolid edition. The 1556 publication date of the volume in which the translation appears—only one year after the Valladolid publication of the *relación*—makes it likely that Ramusio probably completed his translation without any knowledge that the second edition of the *relación* had appeared in Valladolid in 1555. For Ramusio, who was dedicated to reforming antiquated geographic perceptions of the world that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century voyages of discovery had proven false, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was an important source of geographic information pertaining to the Spanish province of *Florida*. This pragmatic and utilitarian interest, rather than any historical or belletristic one, explains the prompt effort to translate the work (see below, sec. 13).

Nine years after Ramusio had published his translation, and the same year (1565) and in the same city (Venice) where the second edition of the volume of the *Navigationi et viaggi* in which it figured appeared, Girolamo Benzoni published *La historia del Mondo Nuovo* (see Smyth), which included a brief narration of the Narváez expedition.

Little is known of Benzoni's biography, and the questions of whether a "Girolamo Benzoni" ever existed and, if so, whether he actually traveled

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to the Americas remain unanswered (Rosselli 11–13). Benzoni claimed in *La historia* that at age twenty-two he had left Milan for Spain in search of adventure and that he had traveled in the Americas between 1541 and 1556. Upon his return to Italy he compiled the account of his journey, sprinkling the narration of his own experiences with accounts of events that had occurred in the Indies among the Spaniards in order to illustrate his highly negative critique of the Spanish conquest. Wishing to demonstrate that the conquest had been motivated not by a pious desire to extend the Christian faith, as Spaniards were claiming, but rather by Spanish greed, Benzoni gave a number of specific examples, of which the Narváez expedition was one. Benzoni (Smyth 137 [bk. 2]) concluded his account of the Narváez expedition with the following statement:

> Finally, out of the six hundred with which he [Narváez] started, only ten were seen to return; who on reaching Mexico said publicly that they had healed many sick by only breathing on them, and moreover, that they had resuscitated three dead men. But their holinesses must forgive me, if I would sooner believe that they had killed four live men than that they had resuscitated one half-dead—*un mezo morto.*

The source of Benzoni's loose paraphrase is difficult to identify, but the inaccuracies of his hostile rendition of the Narváez expedition suggest that it was based on a perfunctory reading, probably of Ramusio's translation of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación.* Benzoni's unsympathetic view of the Spaniards was well received by anti-Spanish northern Europeans of that time, and the book was republished and translated many times from the late sixteenth to mid–seventeenth centuries; Rosselli (141 [table 1]) counted twenty-five separate publications between 1565 and 1644 in Italian, Latin, German, Dutch, French, and English. In 1629 Benzoni's *Historia* elicited the comment from the Peruvian-born Spaniard, León Pinelo (70 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 3]), that its author was "not very fond of the Spaniards" [poco afecto a los españoles]. Menéndez Pidal (qtd. in Rosselli 134) identified Benzoni's tale as an important articulation of growing anti-Hispanic sentiment in Europe that contributed significantly to the establishment there of the *leyenda negra.*

6. THE CORONADO NARRATIVES OF THE 1560S

This decade brought the belated accounts of Pedro de Castañeda Nájera and Juan Jaramillo of the Coronado expedition of 1540–42. Castañeda's account can be dated to 1560–65 (Mora 43) since he remarks on the "twenty years and more that have passed since the expedition took place" (Hammond and

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Rey, *Narratives* 192 [preface]). Jaramillo's is likewise considered to have been written long after the events it recounts (Hodge 279).

These Coronado narratives served purposes different from those written at the time of the expedition. At this distant remove, the references to Cabeza de Vaca and his companions' experience have implications that differ from whatever role they might have played as catalyst to the expedition in 1540. As Hammond and Rey (*Narratives* 238n5) observed, the many witnesses' accounts in the lengthy *residencias* of Coronado and Gabriel López de Cárdenas contained "not a single reference to Cabeza de Vaca or his companions." Hammond and Rey made this point to put into question the importance attributed to Castañeda's remark that the native peoples wept when the army refused to take the gifts they offered and instead would only "say a blessing over the goods as Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had done when they passed that way" (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 258 [pt. 1, chap. 19]). Castañeda's assertion seems to protest the accusation of ruthless exploitation of the natives by the Coronado armies, which were blamed at the time and afterward for provoking the tumultuous Mixton War (1541–42) that posed a grave threat to the stability of New Spain (Aiton 138–39; see López Portillo y Weber).

Castañeda's claim that the Coronado army refused even foodstuffs offered by the natives suggests the apologetic purpose of his account of the failed expedition. Thus Castañeda (Mora 63–64 [pt. 1, chap. 1]) attributed to Nuño de Guzmán the search for the Seven Cities, saying that the northwest area was so identified at the time (1530). Since the source of this supposed information was Guzmán's then-deceased Indian guide Tejo from Oxitipa in the province of Pánuco, "the names of these Seven Cities, which have not been discovered, remain unknown, and the search for them continues to this day" (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 196 [pt. 1, chap. 1]). As we know, Guzmán seems never to have made written reference to any such imagined place (see chap. 17, sec. 9.D).

Castañeda's source on the Narváez expedition survivors was the account Cabeza de Vaca had prepared and sent to Prince Philip, now king of Spain ("un tratado que el mismo Cabeça de Vaca hiço, dirigido á el Príncipe Don Phelipe, que agora es Rey de España y Señor nuestro") (Mora 65–66 [pt. 1, chap. 2]). Given the reference to Prince Philip, Castañeda had at hand the Valladolid (1555) edition of Cabeza de Vaca's (V:f1v) *relación* in which Philip, serving as regent of Spain in the absence of his father, the emperor Charles V, was substituted by his sister the Infanta Juana, who issued on her brother's behalf the license to print the edition on 21 March 1555. (The *Relación y comentarios* was actually dedicated to a different prince, Philip's son, the Infante Don Carlos [1545–68].) In contrast, the dedication of the Zamora

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(1542) edition is explicitly addressed to the emperor, and the edition bears no official license (see chap. 12, sec. 3.E).

If, according to Castañeda, Guzmán and his Indian guide were partly to blame for misinforming and misleading the Coronado expedition, Cabeza de Vaca and his colleagues figured in Castañeda's story in the same way. Castañeda recalled how the men had arrived to the city of Mexico; he lamented, "They told the good Don Antonio de Mendoza how, through the lands they had traversed, they obtained interpreters and important information regarding powerful pueblos with houses four or five stories high, and other things quite different from what turned out to be the truth" (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 197 [pt. 1, chap. 2]). Here Castañeda may also have been alluding to Cabeza de Vaca's (f55r) *relación* statement about the settled lands far to the north, reputed to have "villages of many people and very large houses."

Castañeda attributed to Estevanico further reports by the friars who accompanied Fray Marcos de Niza, who was, according to Castañeda, a source of colossal misinformation:

> They told so many glowing tales of what the negro Esteban had discovered and what they had heard from the Indians, together with other news of the South sea, of islands of which they had heard, and of other riches, that the governor, without further delay, left at once for Mexico city. . . . The result was that from the pulpits of this order [of Saint Francis] there emanated so many tales of great wonders that in a few days there were recruited more than three hundred Spaniards. . . . Among the Spaniards there were men of great distinction, such a large number that I doubt whether there were ever assembled in the Indies so many noble people in such a small group of three hundred men. (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives* 200 [pt. 1, chap. 4])

In contrast to Castañeda, who had a copy of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, Juan Jaramillo suggested in his much briefer account of the Coronado expedition the places through which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had passed (Mora 190, 193). His information seemed to rely on the oral traditions common to soldiers, and he made no particular judgment about them. Jaramillo's geographic interest ("Cabeza de Vaca passed through here") is the type we will see subsequently.

Juxtaposing Castañeda's and Jaramillo's accounts reveals that Castañeda attempted to assess causes for the failed expedition; he placed the blame principally on the viceroy Mendoza and the inexperience of Coronado, just as the inspector general (*visitador general*) of New Spain, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, had done in formal charges against the viceroy (Aiton 139n4). Cabeza de Vaca's account of the north and its somewhat exaggerated if not

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false claims likewise bear a portion of the burden for having told of "other things quite different from what turned out to be the truth."

7. JUAN LÓPEZ DE VELASCO'S *GEOGRAFÍA* . . . (1571–74)

Juan López de Velasco's 1571–74 *Geografía y descripción universal de las Indias*, first mentioned by Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 8) in regard to Cabeza de Vaca, briefly discussed the Narváez expedition with respect to the area the men covered in López de Velasco's "Descripción del golfo de la Nueva España o la Florida" (López de Velasco 179–80): "having always walked near the coast through poor and sterile lands, among wretched and very poor peoples, who maintain themselves on roots and many [others] on worms and earth and wood," they came out of the wilderness "through the Zacatecas" ("por los Zacatecas," that is, through the interior) (López de Velasco 179). López de Velasco's synthetic statement captures the essence of Las Casas's *Apologética* account, which we examined above. It is thus likely that López de Velasco knew of the Narváez survivors' sojourn not directly from Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* but by reading Las Casas.

A comparison of López de Velasco's account with Las Casas's *Apologética historia sumaria* strongly suggests that Las Casas's account of "customs, governance, and qualities of the Indians of *Florida*" (chap. 206) was López de Velasco's source. The cosmographer's mention of the Indians' diet as based on roots and in many instances on worms, earth, and wood ("se mantienen de raices y muchos de gusanos y tierra y madera") extracts Las Casas's longer list of comestibles, which was drawn by Las Casas directly from Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f32r–v). López de Velasco's account of the Narváez survivors' having gone near the coast through barren lands among wretchedly poor peoples ("cerca de la costa por tierras muy miserables y estériles, y de gentes pobrísimas y desventuradas") reiterates Las Casas's observation that these wandering peoples ("living scattered about and in groups, without fixed villages or order, and neither sowing nor harvesting") lived near the coast of the North Sea and not many leagues inland from it (Casas, *Apologética* 2:357, 361 [chap. 206]; López de Velasco 179).

López de Velasco likely came upon Las Casas's papers via the royal court and its councils. At some point after the Dominican's death in 1566, his papers and his general history in three manuscript volumes were transmitted by royal order to López de Velasco, who became the official cosmographer and chronicler of the Indies (*cosmógrafo-cronista de Indias*), succeeding Alonso de Santa Cruz as royal cosmographer on 20 October 1571 (López de Velasco vi; Wagner and Parish 256n2, 257n4). The 1574 examination of López de Velasco's completed manuscript by the *licenciado* Benito López de Gamboa on behalf

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of the Council of the Indies revealed that "everything written in this work has been taken from the collections of sea charts and papers that the Council has given him as well as those of [the royal historian and cosmographer Alonso de] Santa Cruz"; López de Velasco himself acknowledged that "the descriptions of Santa Cruz" were his source for the account of *Florida* (López de Velasco viii, 180). The subsequent transfer of Santa Cruz's papers to Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas will become relevant when we consider Herrera's version of the Narváez expedition written after the turn of the seventeenth century.

8. EXPLORERS OF NUEVA VIZCAYA IN THE 1580S

Half a century after Cabeza de Vaca and his fellows returned to the realm of Spanish settlement (not "por los Zacatecas" but somewhat west from there), there was a small burst of accounts of exploration by veteran expeditionaries of the northwestern fringes of New Spain who evoked the name and *relación* of Cabeza de Vaca. We consider here the accounts of Baltasar de Obregón, the reporters of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition (Hernando Gallegos and Pedro Bustamante), and Antonio Espejo.

In 1584, Baltasar de Obregón wrote his account of the Francisco de Ibarra expedition through Nueva Vizcaya on which he had gone in 1565. Named governor and captain general of Nueva Vizcaya in 1562, Ibarra had gone in pursuit of mineral wealth, taking "one of the most extraordinary expeditions since Coronado's time" (Hammond and Rey, *Obregón's History* xxi). The army traversed in reverse order much of the general area covered by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, from the country above Culiacán in Sinaloa into northwestern Chihuahua via the Bavispe Valley and "into the cool, well-watered high plains of Chihuahua" (Sauer, "The Road" 40–50). Written long after the experiences it recounted, Obregón's report was aimed at securing a royal appointment for its author; no doubt the governorship of Nueva Vizcaya interested him, but it was granted instead to Juan de Oñate (Hammond and Rey, *Obregón's History* xxiii).

Obregón presented another variant of the explorers' readings of Cabeza de Vaca, using the Narváez survivors' journey of half a century earlier to enhance the stature of his own of two decades past. Obregón (13 [bk. 1, chap. 2]) introduced "the four lost men" [los cuatro perdidos] by paraphrasing Cabeza de Vaca's (f67r) identification of each man found at the conclusion of the *relación*. The source on which he relied (heavily) is "el libro que se intitula 'Naufragios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,' el cual y sus compañeros dieron noticia al Virrey don Antonio de Mendoza y al marqués don Hernando Cortés de las muchas diferentes provincias . . ."

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(Obregón 13 [bk. 1, chap. 2]). Although he seemed to have confused the published Cabeza de Vaca account with the Joint Report the men gave to the viceroy in 1536, Obregón's mention of the *Naufragios* makes clear that he used the Valladolid (1555) edition.

Obregón's dozen and a half references to Cabeza de Vaca range from careful paraphrase (124 [bk. 1, chap. 20]) to reckless synthesis of disparate materials (134 [bk. 1, chap. 22]), from disputing his testimony (173 [bk. 1, chap. 27]) on some matters to giving him complete credence on others, such as the miracles the men performed: "[a]ll this I affirm and testify to be true, because the natives have assured us that all the miracles contained in his history are true as are the others he mentions" (Hammond and Rey, *Obregón's History* 201 [bk. 1, chap. 29]). Ultimately, Obregón's (180 [bk. 1, chap. 29]) account led him to interpret his own experience like that of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions,

> on account of whose miracles and great deeds the Indians treated us well among all the areas and places and peoples that they had seen and through which they had passed, adoring us and serving us in everything and in every way, affirming us to be children of the sun. . . . They said and believed that we were children of the sun whom they held, feared, respected, and adored as their god and they affirmed that we had come down from the sky.

On the one hand, Obregón revealed in 1584 that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had become the legendary authors of civilization in the area to the north of New Spain; Obregón argued that both the Ibarra expedition of 1565 and the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition of 1581 (see below, this section) had benefited from the Narváez survivors' civilizing legacy (Obregón 124 [bk. 1, chap. 20], 180–81 [bk. 1, chap. 29], 247 [bk. 2, chap. 1], 253 [bk. 2, chap. 2], 255 [bk. 2, chap. 3]). On the other hand, Obregón obscured the information given in Cabeza de Vaca's account or read it too carelessly. His conflation and confusion of unrelated materials reveal another aspect of the exaggeration of claims attributed to Cabeza de Vaca by his readers.

Regarding the objectives of exploration, Obregón relied on Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* to echo the familiar theme of mineral wealth sought but not found. With respect to the pueblo country of Nuevo México, Obregón (133–34 [bk. 1, chap. 22]; Hammond and Rey, *Obregón's History* 147) spoke of large numbers of people living in houses with foundations and terraces; very large quantities of metals were to be found: "I saw and verified this myself in the parts through which I passed and it is affirmed by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in his history. He says that throughout two thousand leagues of land which he traversed, the greatest quantity of metals which he saw was

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in this great mountain range. It took him seventeen days to cross it." This statement conflates three separate and unrelated remarks made by Cabeza de Vaca in the *relación.*

First, Cabeza de Vaca's (f63r) calculation about crossing two thousand leagues of land referred not to mineral wealth but, rather, as we know, to the spiritual virtue of the natives: "in the two thousand leagues that we traveled by land and through the sea on the rafts and another ten months that we went through the land without stopping once we were no longer captives, we found neither sacrifices nor idolatry." As we shall see, this most famous statement, first made in the Joint Report and reiterated by Cabeza de Vaca, was often repeated. Second, the seventeen days of travel refer to one of two possible sojourns made by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, either from the confluence of the Río Conchos and the Rio Grande at Presidio, Texas, and Ojinaga, Chihuahua, upstream and along the river up to present-day El Paso, Texas (f54v), or from that point onward through northern Chihuahua along the Rio Grande to the place where they came at last to permanent settlements, probably in northwestern Chihuahua or northeastern Sonora (f54v; see chap. 8, sec. 1). In contrast to Obregón's false paraphrase, Cabeza de Vaca mentioned no mining wealth for either leg of this journey.

Third, Cabeza de Vaca's (f58r) remark about precious metals comes much later in his account, as he surveys the land (in Sinaloa northward) from the point at the Río Petatlán where the four Narváez expedition survivors reentered the realm of Spanish activity, all the way north and northwest to Corazones: "[t]hroughout all this land where there are mountains, we saw great evidence of gold and antimony, iron, copper, and other metals."

In conflating these distinct statements, Obregón reveals how historical and geographic analysis faded as the mythologizing tendency began to dominate. A fundamental part of Obregón's assessment of Cabeza de Vaca pertained to his views on why the discovery and knowledge of the provinces of Cíbola were so much sought after. The first was the intelligence gathered by Cortés from Moctezuma about the origins of the Mexica, that is, "the arrival of the Culhuas and ancient Mexicans" to these kingdoms. He cited as the second reason the information and notice given by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions about the peoples of the lands to the north, and as the third the deceptions and deceits of Fray Marcos de Niza (Obregón 15 [bk. 1, chap. 2]). The role of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions in this genesis of northern exploration would become even more prominent—indeed, a major theme of interpretation—in the seventeenth century.

In 1581, a small expedition organized by a Franciscan lay brother, Fray Agustín Rodríguez, and commanded by Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado went to the north country toward New Mexico "two hundred leagues beyond

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the mines of Santa Bárbara in the jurisdiction of Diego de Ibarra" (CDI 15:80). Their objective was to preach the gospel in "a certain new land of which they have notice," where there were many permanent settlements and Indians wearing clothes who lived in organized society like the Indians of New Spain (CDI 15:81). Two of the soldiers on this small expedition gave testimony the following year, on 16 May 1582, in the city of Mexico regarding their motivation for going.

Pedro Bustamante testified that he based his interest on the account given to him by an Indian who said that beyond the jurisdiction of Francisco and Diego Ibarra there was a certain settlement of Indians who had cotton and made blankets with which they covered themselves. Bustamante declared that he was "likewise motivated by the notice given by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Baca, in a book he prepared about the journey he had taken from *Florida* to this New Spain" (CDI 15:82). The other soldier who was interrogated, Hernando Gallegos, gave nearly identical testimony about news received about people who had maize, poultry, frijoles, squash, and bison meat, as well as being "guided by the account that Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca gave in a book he wrote about the journey he made from *Florida* to this New Spain" (CDI 15:89). (See Ahern, "La relación," for an analysis of Gallegos's more extensive written account of the expedition.) Although Bustamante and Gallegos reported on their expedition immediately after the fact, and Obregón wrote his book two decades after the Ibarra expedition, all attributed to Cabeza de Vaca's account the same value. In the 1580s, each read it as a source to lend authority to his own long-past or recent efforts at northern exploration.

A year after the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition went to Nuevo México and named the province to which they arrived San Felipe (CDI 15:83), the Antonio de Espejo expedition set out from San Bartolomé in Nueva Vizcaya to check on the safety of the Franciscans left to preach in Nuevo México. Fray Bernaldino Beltrán volunteered to go; Antonio de Espejo, a wealthy citizen from the capital who was in Nueva Vizcaya at the time, offered to underwrite the trip and lead it as escort (Bolton 163). As they went into the area of La Junta de los Ríos en route to San Felipe, Nuevo México, one of the soldiers, Diego Pérez de Luján, noted in his diary of the journey: "[i]n this *pueblo* and in all the others they told us of how Cabeza de Vaca and his two companions and a negro had been there" (Hammond and Rey, *Expedition* 62; see Ahern, "Testimonio"). In his lengthy, 1582 account of the Rodríguez-Chamuscado expedition of the previous year, Gallegos had made similar observations, declaring that the Indians told them that a long time ago "four Christians" had passed through and that by the signs and gestures they made Gallegos understood them to mean Cabeza de Vaca,

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"because, according to his *relación*, he passed by this people of the river" (qtd. in Ahern, "La relación" 51). Both the Rodríguez-Chamuscado and Espejo parties followed the same route up the Río Conchos to the Rio Grande and, on the Rio Grande to the north, presumably passed through the same settlements located along it (Bolton 164). As Luján (Hammond and Rey, *Expedition* 50–52, 64) told how the people of the Conchos area greeted the Spaniards in a friendly manner and brought them gifts, and how the members of one settlement accompanied them to the next one, Espejo went into greater detail on the same matters.

Reading Espejo's report (CDI 15:101–26; Bolton 168–92) seems at times like reading a palimpsest through which we can glimpse Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación*. For example, Espejo noted that "[a]ll this distance is settled by Indians of the same nation, who came out to receive us in peace, one cacique reporting our coming to another" (Bolton 171; CDI 15:104). He also reported that these people "have caciques whom they obey," but that they neither had idols nor made sacrifices (Bolton 171; CDI 15:104).

Among the numerous nations he identified by the name "Jumano," Espejo made the bold claim that the people appeared "to have some knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, because they point to God our lord, looking up to the heavens. They call Him Apalito in their tongue, and say that it is He whom they recognize as their Lord and who gives them what they have" (Bolton 173; CDI 15:107). Many men, women, and children came to be blessed by the friars and soldiers and went away content: "[t]hey told us and gave us to understand through interpreters that three Christians and a negro had passed through there, and by the indications they gave they appeared to have been Álonso [*sic*] Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes Castillo Maldonado [*sic*], and a negro, who had all escaped from the fleet with which Pánfilo Narvaez entered Florida" (Bolton 173; CDI 15:107). The proselytizing role Espejo assigned to Cabeza de Vaca and his companions among these "Jumano" Indians was more implicit than explicit, but a paraphrase of Espejo's text a year or two later continued and enhanced this line of interpretation.

The Augustinian friar Juan González de Mendoza included the history of the discovery of Nuevo México in the Lisbon (1585) and the Madrid (1586) editions of his *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reino de la China* (pt. 2, bk. 3, chaps. 7–10). He worked directly from Espejo's account to write his own, reiterating Espejo's anecdote about the Indians' worship of the god Apalito and adding "and they know him as the lord from whose extended hand and mercy they confess having received life and being and worldly goods" (González de Mendoza 322 [pt. 2, bk. 3, chap. 8]). When asked

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> from whom they learned the knowledge of God they possessed, they responded, from three Christians and a black man who had passed through there and stopped some days in their land, who, according to the signs and gestures they made, had been Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes and Castillo Maldonado and a black man, all of whom had escaped from the expedition with which Pánfilo de Narváez had entered *Florida*. (González de Mendoza 322 [pt. 2, bk. 3, chap. 8])

What emerges from the Espejo/González de Mendoza interpretation of the effect of the four men's passage nearly half a century earlier is the claim that they had begun the substantive evangelization of the Indians of Nuevo México. Building on Espejo's account, Fray Juan González de Mendoza lent his priestly prestige to the claim that the Indians possessed knowledge of the Judeo-Christian god and that it had been communicated by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. This interpretive move marked the beginning of a tendency that would continue through the turn of the seventeenth century and beyond.

9. GARCILASO DE LA VEGA'S *La Florida del Inca* ([1587] 1605)

This new twist of interpretation applied to the area of Nuevo México was duplicated in the same decade of the 1580s for the area of *Florida* by El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega in his *La Florida del Inca*, completed in 1587 but not published until 1605. Garcilaso (19 [bk. 1, chap. 4]) referred to Cabeza de Vaca's book as *Naufragios*, which indicates that he used the Valladolid (1555) edition; elsewhere Garcilaso (336 [bk. 5, pt. 1, chap. 2]) used the term "comentarios," which appears in the same publication's title. Because he provided one of the most complex and compelling readings of Cabeza de Vaca in his time, we consider it in detail.

In *La Florida del Inca*, the points of correspondence between the Narváez and De Soto expeditions to which El Inca Garcilaso calls our attention are almost invariably the author's literary reconstruction of the De Soto expedition based on information he drew from the 1555 edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and his embellishment of it based both on Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and one or more of the earlier De Soto expedition accounts, themselves also possibly having been influenced by Cabeza de Vaca's account (see chap. 4, secs. 9–10; chap. 5, sec. 6; above, sec. 3).

Not unlike other explorers', conquistadors', and settlers' accounts examined here, Garcilaso sought to enhance—not as a participant but as a historian—the significance of the De Soto expedition, whose saga he narrated. Thus he declared that his goal was to present an account "of what Spaniards have discovered so near to their own land" so that "they may not

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permit themselves to lose what their predecessors struggled for, and instead may strive and become inspired to conquer and populate a kingdom as extensive and fertile as Florida is" (Varner and Varner 593; Garcilaso de la Vega 412 [bk. 6, chap. 9]).

Unlike the earlier, Castilian readers of Cabeza de Vaca, El Inca Garcilaso expressed an interest in Cabeza de Vaca's treatment of native peoples and customs that bore, however indirectly, on his own identity as a person of mixed, Spanish-Inca blood. This is apparent in his previously mentioned claim that the Indians at the Bay of Horses "led their captors step by step through all of the places where Pánfilo de Narváez had traveled"; his object had been to demonstrate how "the people along that entire coast prided themselves on their knowledge of that [Castilian] language and made every effort possible to learn even isolated words, which they repeated again and again" (Varner and Varner 192; Garcilaso de la Vega 136 [bk. 2, pt. 2, chap. 6]).

This effort to enhance the virtues of the Indians becomes apparent in Garcilaso's remarkable claim that the Narváez survivors left a visible spiritual legacy in lands they did not even reach. The many wooden crosses found on the dwellings in the province of Guancane was explained by the

> news of the benefits and marvels Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes and their companions had performed in virtue of Jesus Christ Our Lord within the provinces of Florida through which they had traveled during the years they were held in bondage by the Indians, as Álvar Núñez himself has recorded in his *Comentarios*. And even though it is true that Álvar Núñez and his companions did not come to this particular province or to a number of others which lie between it and the lands where they traveled, still the fame of the deeds performed by God through these men eventually, by passing from hand to hand and from land to land, reached the province of Guancane. (Varner and Varner 482; Garcilaso de la Vega 336 [bk. 5, pt. 1, chap. 2])

The point to be made about this, said Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 483; Garcilaso de la Vega 337 [bk. 5, pt. 1, chap. 2]) was the "readiness which the Indians in general had and these in particular do have for receiving the Catholic Faith if there were only someone to cultivate it, especially by good example, which commands their attention more than anything else." Echoing sentiments often expressed by missionary priests but from the unique perspective of his own Hispano-Andean background, Garcilaso insisted upon the Indians' developed sense of spirituality. Likewise, he defended the Indians' rejection of adultery and their laws against it as well as their abomination of cannibalism. In the latter case, he explicitly cited Cabeza de Vaca "in his *Naufragios*, chapters fourteen and seventeen" (Varner

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and Varner 15, 449; Garcilaso de la Vega 19 [bk. 1, chap. 4], 314 [bk. 4, chap. 10]). Considering, however, the expanse of *Florida*, he acknowledged that such loathsome acts could occur elsewhere, "for Florida is so broad and long that there is space enough within it for anything to happen" (Varner and Varner 16; Garcilaso de la Vega 19 [bk. 1, chap. 4]).

Clearly, Garcilaso was a very special reader of Cabeza de Vaca, and his interest in portraying the laudable religiosity of the natives, who worshiped the Cabeza de Vaca party as deities (Varner and Varner 11; Garcilaso de la Vega 16–17 [bk. 1, chap. 3]) and yet who would mislead the armed soldiers of De Soto in order to discourage the Spaniards from advancing farther (Varner and Varner 186; Garcilaso de la Vega 131 [bk. 2, pt. 2, chap. 4]), derived valuable support from Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*. Like so many other readers, Garcilaso repeated Cabeza de Vaca's statement about the latter's finding neither idolatry nor sacrifice in the two thousand leagues he traveled.

The mestizo writer (Varner and Varner 13; Garcilaso de la Vega 18 [bk. 1, chap. 4]) expressed his defense of the Indians in his customary manner of making an accusation in order to qualify and ultimately neutralize it: "[t]he Indians are a race of pagans and idolaters; they worship the sun and the moon as their principal deities, but, unlike the rest of heathendom, without any ceremony of images, sacrifices, prayers, or other superstitions." El Inca Garcilaso's treatment of De Soto's sojourn in the province of Pacaha (bk. 4) further neutralized the anti-Indianist sentiment that Garcilaso seemingly expressed. This remarkable series of episodes (see above, sec. 3) provided, even in Biedma's narration, the raw material from which Garcilaso could elaborate his most eloquent defense of the Indians. Like Fray Juan González de Mendoza, Garcilaso made the Spanish conquistadors (De Soto's men, in this case) the actual proselytizers of Christianity.

According to Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 431–32; Garcilaso de la Vega 302 [bk. 4, chap. 6]), the lord Casqui and his nobles came forth to meet De Soto and his men; on the fourth day after the army had bivouacked in the settlement, the cacique offered these words:

> My Lord, since you have the advantage over us in strength and arms, we are of the opinion that yours is a better god than ours. Therefore these nobles of my land whom you see assembled here (and who because of their low estate and little merit have not dared appear before you) and I with them do now beseech that you deign to request your god to grant us rain, for our crops are very much in need of water.

A "magnificent" cross of great height was built and placed "at the summit of a lofty mound which had been built on a cliff overlooking the river, and which served the Indians as a lookout, since it was higher than all the other

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hills of that vicinity" (Varner and Varner 432; Garcilaso de la Vega 302 [bk. 4, chap. 6]). A few days later, a procession of a thousand people (with many of the nobles scattered among the Christians) came forth, kneeled, and kissed the cross.

The grandeur of Garcilaso's scene is completed by the fifteen to twenty thousand souls of both sexes and all ages on the other side of the river who

> with arms outstretched and hands uplifted . . . stood watching the Christians. From time to time they raised their eyes to the heavens and made gestures with their hands and faces as if they too were beseeching God to give ear to the request of these strangers. Then again they uttered a low, dull cry as of people who had been hurt, at the same time commanding their children to weep; and this the children did. (Varner and Varner 433; Garcilaso de la Vega 303 [bk. 4, chap. 6])

Garcilaso imagined De Soto's men's edification, being "moved to much tenderness on perceiving that in such strange lands and among people so far separated from the Christian doctrine, the symbol of our redemption should be adored with such an abundance of tears and great manifestations of humility" (Varner and Varner 433; Garcilaso de la Vega 303 [bk. 4, chap. 6]). Garcilaso here evoked the sentiment expressed by Cabeza de Vaca ("we found such great readiness in them") (f56r), one that he would have perceived as animating Cabeza de Vaca's (f57v) vision to the effect that "all these peoples, to be drawn to become Christians and to obedience to the Imperial Majesty, must be given good treatment, and . . . this is the path most certain and no other."

Cabeza de Vaca's (f53v, f55v, f56r, f63r) themes of the natives' request that the men bring the rains and the edification of immense throngs of Indians who stretched their hands to the heavens and who came forth to receive the Christians with crosses in their hands all appear in *La Florida del Inca*. Garcilaso did not make any claim about the identity of Amerindian and Christian deities, as Cabeza de Vaca (f62r) had done regarding the Indians of Sinaloa, when he boldly proclaimed "the one to whom they referred we called God."

Overall, Garcilaso's reading of Cabeza de Vaca provided him with the means to defend the dignity of the Amerindian natives and echo the heroic sentiments of Spanish militarism in the service of empire. It is not surprising that he used the account of the unarmed Cabeza de Vaca—who had much to say about the merits and potential of Amerindian agricultural peoples—to serve the purpose of attributing dignity to the Indians. It is not without irony that, in order to celebrate the values of military imperialism, he used

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as the subject of his study the failed De Soto expedition and as one of his principal sources the disastrous Narváez expedition.

10. JOSÉ DE ACOSTA'S *DE PROCURANDA . . .* (1588) AND *HISTORIA NATURAL Y MORAL DE LAS INDIAS* (1590)

In his 1588 missionary treatise, *De procuranda indorum salute*, José de Acosta (bk. 2, chap. 9) contemplated the question as to why so few miracles seemed to be produced in the Indies to convert the natives. He examined this issue as it related to the larger question of methods of evangelization (Acosta, *De procuranda* [bk. 2, chap. 8]), and in considering it he emphasized the role of the Spaniards (priests and others) rather than the readiness of the natives. With respect to the occurrence of miracles, he argued that few were produced because in the modern era they were not as necessary as they had been in ancient times (Acosta, *De procuranda* 319 [bk. 2, chap. 9]). The principal reason Acosta (*De procuranda* 321 [bk. 2, chap. 9]) gave was that the superior skills of the missionary priests and the simplicity of the peoples they were to convert made conventional methods sufficiently efficacious. He cited the experience of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions precisely to make his point. Describing Cabeza de Vaca's work as his "creditable commentaries" [comentarios fidedignos], Acosta (*De procuranda* 315 [bk. 2, chap. 9]) referred to the proper name of the Valladolid edition or possibly a generic description of the work.

In Acosta's interpretation, the four men, "favored by God with the gift of making cures and performing apostolic works," not only "survived for ten years among ferocious barbarians but were followed by infinite multitudes of people, traversing roads completely unknown at the time, penetrating the land from the North Sea to the South." Through the performance of cures and their otherwise exemplary conduct, these men inspired so much wonder and fame among the barbarians that they "were almost adored as gods and whatever they demanded was received as if coming from the heavens" (Acosta, *De procuranda* 314–15 [bk. 2, chap. 9]). For Acosta (*De procuranda* 313, 315 [bk. 2, chap. 9]), all this demonstrated—"as one of them [Cabeza de Vaca] had left in writing"—how easy and safe was the road to conversion of these peoples, effected by men who were otherwise common soldiers ("soldados y profanos") now elevated by the splendor of miracles.

Acosta again cited the Narváez survivors as proof of the readiness with which religious conversion could be achieved by common men using uncommon means in his 1590 *Historia natural y moral de las Indias.* Discussing "some miracles that God has worked in the Indies for the benefit of the faith, without regard to the merits of those who performed them," Acosta (*Historia*

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371, 372 [bk. 7, chap. 27]) referred again to the "strange peregrination that Cabeza de Vaca, the one who was governor in Paraguay" had written about. Remarking that he considered Cabeza de Vaca an author worthy of trust, Acosta extolled the men for becoming "evangelical physicians" in spite of themselves, curing people through the prayers of the Church and the sign of the cross, their fame spreading through countless settlements as God miraculously made possible their deeds; "they marveled at themselves, being men of ordinary lives and one of them a black man" (Acosta, *Historia* 372 [bk. 7, chap. 27]).

With Acosta's writings, we bring to a close the enumeration of the paradigm of interpretations that would prevail for the subsequent two centuries. By the end of the decade of the 1580s, this typology of readings was virtually complete.

In the 1590s, the only occurrence pertinent to our theme was Juan de Oñate's 1598 expedition into Nuevo México. As in previous instances, it became the subject of a literary-historical account by one of its participants approximately two decades later (see sec. 14).

11. BALTASAR DORANTES DE CARRANZA'S *SUMARIA RELACIÓN* . . . (1604)

The first decade of the seventeenth century witnessed the creation of the commentary of a very special reader, Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, the son of Cabeza de Vaca's fellow survivor Andrés Dorantes. Baltasar began his account of his father's experience in his 1604 *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España* by saying that, if the inherited merits and historical deeds of the conquistadors (of New Spain) were great, those of his father were miraculous. Paralleling the interpretive thrust of El Inca Garcilaso's *Historia de la Florida*, published a year after Dorantes wrote his *Sumaria relación*, the son of the Narváez survivor asserted that the proof of these wondrous works was to be found in his own *probanzas de méritos* and in the account, set in type and printed "by the license and authority of the Royal Majesty of the emperor, our lord Charles V of glorious memory" (Dorantes de Carranza 264). Like other writing readers of the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, Dorantes referred to the Valladolid (1555) edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, which bears the license to print, executed by the Infanta Doña Juana on behalf of her brother Prince Philip in the name of their father Charles V, who would abdicate his throne the following year (1556). (As mentioned above [sec. 6], the readers of the period recognized the regency of the prince and princess while acknowledging that the formal act was carried out in the emperor's name.)

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Two points must be made regarding Dorantes de Carranza's account. First, we see in his work the fully realized emphasis on the miraculous character of the Narváez survivors' experience; the younger Dorantes (266) summarized the *Florida* sojourn by dividing it neatly into "six years of enslavement by the Indians" and "four [years] of God working the mentioned miracles and marvels through them." Second, the *relación* that contained the "proof" of his father's deeds was taken as an unimpeachable source for the sacred actions it described, and for Baltasar, as later for Antonio Ardoino in a slightly different fashion, the invocation of the emperor's name lent the work the authority of truth beyond all doubt. Dorantes de Carranza thus turned the bureaucratic and institutional license to print into an authenticating vehicle of the work's contents. (For the details of Dorantes's life recounted by Baltasar in the *Sumaria relación*, see chap. 11, sec. 1A.)

12. ANTONIO DE HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS'S *HISTORIA GENERAL DE LOS HECHOS . . .* (1601–15)

Immediately after the turn of the seventeenth century, the royal chronicler Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, named *cronista mayor de Indias* in 1596, began to publish his monumental *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar océano* (1601–15). Like other writers (El Inca Garcilaso, José de Acosta) in the last two decades of the previous century, Herrera seems to have relied on the Valladolid (1555) version of the work, inasmuch as his published text reveals various elements unique to this second printed edition of the *relación*. A key example is the change of the word "plata" of the Zamora (f49r) edition to "margaxita" in the Valladolid (f40r) edition; Herrera y Tordesillas's *Historia* (12:35 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 5]) reads "margarita."

By locating the pertinent documents, we have verified much additional information given by Herrera in his account that is absent from Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* regarding the preparations for the expedition (see chap. 1, secs. 5–7). This supplementary information, such as Andrés Dorantes's appointment as a councilor (*regidor*) of the first town to be founded by Narváez on the *Florida* coast and that of Juan Suárez to the anticipated bishopric of Río de las Palmas, has until now been considered spurious (e.g., Shea qtd. in Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements* 175–76). Herrera, however, clearly had access to court documents in addition to the 1555 published *relación*, and he obviously used them to augment the information provided by that account. Since Herrera formally requested the historical documents and papers of Las Casas in the possession of Juan López de Velasco and was awarded them by a royal decree of 24 September 1597 (Wagner and Parish

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257n4; Ballesteros-Beretta lxx; CDIE 8:557–59), it is very possible that the documentary file he received included the papers of Alonso de Santa Cruz. It may well have been that through them he gained the impression that Cabeza de Vaca and Andrés Dorantes had gone to Spain together in 1537, with which statement he concluded his account of the Narváez expedition (Herrera y Tordesillas 12:44 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]). (See chap. 12, sec. 2.E.)

Herrera's reading of the 1555 *relación* is detailed and fairly complete. Following his source closely, as he did with so many other works, such as Las Casas's *Historia de las Indias* (Ballesteros-Beretta lxviii–lxix), Herrera condensed the account from Cabeza de Vaca's chapter 1, from the departure from Sanlúcar through the hurricane in Cuba, and chapters 2–10, from Narváez's provisioning in Cuba in 1528 through the "calamitous end of that expedition" the same year, in his entries for the years 1527 and 1528, respectively (Herrera y Tordesillas 8:99–101 [dec. 4, bk. 2, chap. 4], 219–41 [dec. 4, bk. 4, chaps. 4–7]). Likewise, he transformed Cabeza de Vaca's chapters 14–37, from the account of his "six years" on the island of Malhado through the men's arrival in the city of Mexico, into chapters entered for the year 1536 (12:23–44 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chaps. 3–7]).

Herrera's reading of Cabeza de Vaca's experience shares much with the tendency of the preceding decades to emphasize the healing cures throughout the westward course through Mexico and Texas and the pacification and resettlement efforts of the natives that occurred in Sinaloa, without detailing the cause for the need to do so. With respect to the "deeds of Castilians" abroad, Herrera was deeply interested in the civilizing miracles of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, and he mentioned but did not dwell on the conflicts the four men had with their countrymen in Sinaloa who wanted to enslave the Indians. Cabeza de Vaca's dispute with Diego de Alcaraz and his men, to which chapter 34 of the 1555 *relación* was devoted, was reduced in Herrera y Tordesillas (12:42 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7]) to a single phrase, with the mention that Castillo and Dorantes brought more than six hundred people of those "who had fled because of the war" and persuaded them to resettle their homes and live in peace.

Likewise, Herrera's close paraphrase of the 1555 *relación* emphasized the perspective, enhanced over and above that of the 1542 edition, of the Indians' perception of the four Narváez survivors as possessing supernatural powers. For example, on Cabeza de Vaca's (f48r–v; V:f39v) mention that the Indians told their victims whose houses they sacked that the four men were "children of the sun" to console them by deceiving them, Herrera y Tordesillas (12:34 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 5]) separated the phrases to attenuate if not suppress the connection between the two efforts. Overall, Herrera succeeded in further developing the historiographic tradition of the Indies, established by Oviedo,

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Gómara, and Las Casas in their general histories, that introduced substantial materials about native customs and practices. Although like Gómara he did so at second hand, Herrera's efforts consolidated and confirmed this keystone of Spanish Americanist writings of the early modern period. His attempt to summarize Cabeza de Vaca's 1555 chapters 24 and 25 (Herrera y Tordesillas 12:31–32 [dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 4]) reveals his acknowledgment of this important trend in Indies historiography.

13. ENGLISH READINGS OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

While in the Hispanic world the value of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* as an informational text regarding the geography and economic potential of the regions of southern North America through which the Narváez expeditionaries had traveled had receded considerably into the background by the beginning of the seventeenth century, due understandably to subsequent exploration, it was precisely at that time, on the eve of English settlement on the Atlantic coast of North America, that the account was examined in England for its informing potential. Though the *relación* was not published in complete English translation until 1851, the first notices of it written in English appeared in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and were based on secondhand Italian and Portuguese sources. (Justo García Morales's [30] claim, repeated by Roberto Ferrando Pérez [*Naufragios* 38], that Buckingham Smith published his English translation of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in London in 1571 is incorrect, as is Luisa Pranzetti's [135] that the *relación* had been translated into English before the end of the seventeenth century.)

The earliest notice of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in English is found in Richard Hakluyt's dedicatory epistle in his 1609 English translation of the Gentleman of Elvas's 1557 *Relaçam verdadeira*, which was titled *Virginia richly valued by the description of the maine land of Florida her next neighbour*. Whereas Ramusio's objective in translating Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* some fifty years earlier had been the reform of geographical knowledge, Hakluyt's mention of the text concerned the promotion of English colonization of North America. It was toward this end that he had translated the Gentleman of Elvas's account, undertaking the task in order to use the text as a means of persuading potential English colonists that North America held untold riches. Thus, Hakluyt (1 [dedicatory epistle]) spoke of the "commodities" of the North American lands about which Cabeza de Vaca had reported prior to the Gentleman of Elvas's journey: "[t]ouching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca to Charles the Emperour (who first travelled through a great part of the Inland of Florida, next

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adjoining upon our Virginia) That Florida was the richest countrie of the world; and, that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and silver, and stones of great value." As we mentioned above, the Gentleman of Elvas had spoken at the beginning of his account about Cabeza de Vaca's arrival at court with a narrative of his *Florida* experiences, and thus it is no surprise that Hakluyt had notice of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, perhaps directly via the Gentleman of Elvas's text. The content of Hakluyt's dedicatory epistle demonstrates, however, that he had much more extensive knowledge of Cabeza de Vaca's text than the Gentleman of Elvas provided in his account, and this fact reveals that by 1609 Hakluyt had read at least Ramusio's Italian translation of Cabeza de Vaca's account if not the *relación* itself in one of the sixteenth-century Spanish editions. As in the case of Las Casas, Hakluyt recognized Cabeza de Vaca's account as information addressed to the emperor, according to its Zamora (1542) presentation, a fact more likely pointing to Hakluyt's familiarity with Ramusio's translation than to direct knowledge of the Zamora edition. Determining whether or not Hakluyt had seen either Spanish edition of the *relación* would require further investigation into his writings.

An abridged version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* made its way into the English language some years after Hakluyt's 1609 dedicatory epistle through Samuel Purchas's 1625 paraphrase of Ramusio's translation. Purchas first mentioned Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in the first edition of his *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in All Ages and Places Discovered from the Creation unto this Present* (642–43 [bk. 8, chap. 7]), the *editio princeps* of which was published in London in 1613. Purchas cited information on Cabeza de Vaca's experiences drawn from the portion of Benzoni's *La historia del Mondo Nuovo* and from Hakluyt's dedicatory epistle, as mentioned above.

In 1613 Purchas seems to have known Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* only indirectly through these two limited sources; when the fourth edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* appeared in 1626, however, it contained considerably expanded information on Cabeza de Vaca's journey. In addition to the material duplicated from the first edition that appeared in this fourth edition (845–46 [bk. 8, chap. 7]), we also find an additional paragraph (849–51 [bk. 8, chap. 7, par. 3]) called "of the more inland parts of Florida discovered by Núñez." There Purchas cited volume 3 of Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* and drew his material from Ramusio's Italian translation of the *relación*.

A second work by Purchas, entitled *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (first published in four volumes in 1625 and not to be confused with the one-volume *Purchas his Pilgrimage* of 1613 discussed above), contains the actual abridged

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paraphrase of Ramusio's translation (Purchas, *Pilgrimes* 4:1499–1528 [pt. 4, bk. 8, chap. 1]). Thus, it appears from the publication record that Purchas was aware of the existence of the *relación* via Benzoni and Hakluyt at least as early as 1613, and that he paraphrased Ramusio's translation sometime between 1613 and 1625. Purchas also included a paraphrase of Hakluyt's translation of the Gentleman of Elvas in this later *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1528–56 [pt. 4, bk. 8, chap. 2]) immediately following his paraphrase of Ramusio's translation of Cabeza de Vaca; as seen above, Hakluyt's translation of the Gentleman of Elvas had appeared first in London in 1609 and was republished in 1611, also in London. The four volumes of the 1625 *editio princeps* of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* are often found together with the one-volume 1626 fourth edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage* as a five-volume set. (Hodge [10] incorrectly cited the year of publication of the *editio princeps* of *Purchas his Pilgrimes* in his otherwise correct reference to Purchas's paraphrase of Ramusio's translation of the *relación* in "volume IV. of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1613 [*sic*], pt. IV., lib. VIII., cap. 1)"; the year should have been 1625. Carpani [58] and Barrera [*Álvar Núñez* 52] repeat Hodge's error.)

Writing in a very different historical context some fifty to sixty years after Ramusio, Hakluyt and Purchas cultivated very different interests in Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in the first quarter of the seventeenth century than the Italian had done in the mid–sixteenth century. For the two Englishmen, translation and paraphrase of Hispanic narratives of exploration in North America (in this case received in part through earlier Italian translation) served largely as political propaganda aimed at promoting the English colonization of North America, namely, the founding of the English settlements of Jamestown in 1607 and Plymouth in 1620. In spite of the subtler differences in motivation, from a certain perspective we can group the two sixteenth-century Spanish editions of the *relación* (1542, 1555), Ramusio's translation (1556), and Purchas's paraphrase (1625) together, inasmuch as all were designed as means to practical ends. For Cabeza de Vaca the Spanish texts had served initially and primarily to document his service to the crown and to restore his reputation; in the case of the Italian translation, the text served to renovate geographic knowledge; for the English, paraphrase and synthesis of the text had functioned as political propaganda directed at encouraging North American colonization. This last interest had pertained as well to the Spanish texts in the Iberian context, as we have considered in detail above. In this light, Pranzetti's (135) implicit suggestion that the early dispersal of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in translation was based on its "literary preeminence" is revealed to be a false conclusion resulting from historically decontextualized analysis and assumptions.

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14. SOLDIERS AS MISSIONARIES (1610S AND 1620S)

In these decades we see the continuation of a tendency to interpret the Cabeza de Vaca journey as the foundation of the history of Christianity in the area to the north of New Spain. In Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá's 1610 epic poem of the Juan de Oñate expedition of 1598, the Narváez survivors bring European Christian civilization to Nuevo México through their miracles, worked "in the miraculous pharmacy / Of God all-powerful" (19 [canto 3, vv. 49–50]). Unlike Acosta, who insisted that they were ordinary men, Villagrá classified them as extraordinary:

> The great and valorous negro Esteban
> And memorable Cabeza de Vaca,
> Castillo, [*sic*] Maldonado, without peer,
> And Andrés Dorantes, most remarkable,
> All being men most singular.
> In the most fierce and raging storm
> Of all their miseries and trials sharp,
> Through them the Highest Power chose to work
> Great store of miracles. (19 [canto 3, vv. 29–37])

These were not miracles in the abstract; they were anchored in time and place. The foundational dimension of Villagrá's interpretation is found in the same canto 3, the topic of which is the Spanish discovery of Nuevo México. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were the first, followed by Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado, and subsequent explorers; in that order the Spaniards arrived to the "Cities of Cíbola" (27 [canto 3, v. 383]). In essence, "The great and valorous negro Estevan / And memorable Cabeza de Vaca" and their companions—"men most singular"—were cast in the role of the spiritual discoverers of Nuevo México.

In his "Relación breve de la misión de Sinaloa," which Sauer ("The Road" 51–53) partially transcribed and attributed to the early seventeenth century, Padre Vicente del Águila presented the same genealogy of exploration to the northwest region. The genesis of Christian civilization in Sinaloa is identified as the arrival of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition. Águila directly attributed the identification of the men's acts of curing as miracles to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*: "[w]hich four [men] wandered ten years lost among these many and various nations always with the hope of arriving at lands inhabited by Christians; our lord worked through them some miracles as is told more extensively in a book that the same Cabeza de Vaca composed, telling his story and the pitious loss of that expedition" (qtd. in Sauer, "The Road" 51). In Águila's view, the etymology of the word *yorim* to refer to the Spaniards derived from the verb *yore*, meaning "to heal," because the Spaniards healed

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the sick; others, he noted, gave another origin, *yorim*, meaning "brave, lions, tigers, and other ferocious beasts and demons" (Sauer, "The Road" 51).

Either arriving at Cíbola (in Villagrá's account) or pointing the way to it (in Obregón's), Cabeza de Vaca and his companions heralded the discovery of the north. Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa's *Compendio y descripción de las Indias Occidentales* (c. 1622) celebrated the deeds of Coronado in the northwest. While Vázquez de Espinosa (134–35 [pt. 1, bk. 4, chap. 5]) attributed the conquest of Culiacán to Nuño de Guzmán and Diego de Ibarra (and its "pacification" to Coronado), he credited Coronado's discovery of Cíbola to "the notice he had of *Florida*, through Álvaro [*sic*] Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Estevanico the black man." Recapitulating the discovery of the provinces of Nuevo México through Espejo's account, Vázquez de Espinosa (138 [pt. 1, bk. 4, chap. 8]) relied on the tale of Cabeza de Vaca: "they [Jumanos, Patarabuies] had some knowledge of God, whom they call Apólito; they had crosses and reverenced them very much, since Álvaro [*sic*] Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had been in this province after he left *Florida*." Once again, the Narváez survivors became the teachers of Christian custom.

In 1624, the Augustinian friar Juan de Grijalva also took up the polemic on the performance of miracles in the Indies. Unlike Acosta, who argued that supernatural feats were not needed in modern times because of the ease of conversion as demonstrated by the likes of Cabeza de Vaca, Grijalva took the Narváez survivors' example to insist that "those who argue that there were no miracles in the conversion of the Indians are wrong." Contending that there were "very many miracles in conversions that have taken place in our times," he cited two examples: "Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo, and another" in the western Indies and those of Saint Francis Xavier in Asia, the latter of which "ought to be sufficient to close [anyone's] mouth concerning the proposed paucity [of miracles]" (Grijalva 136–37 [chap. 24]). Fray Juan made three points of interest with respect to the evolution of Cabeza de Vaca interpretations. First, Grijalva (136 [chap. 24]) claimed that the Narváez survivors' trajectory took them "from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic" with such great esteem by the Indians that, second, they would have worshiped them as gods if the four men had not prevented it, and, third, "this was the beginning of conversion in all these provinces" of New Spain and the area north of it. The four men were thus firmly identified as modern-day apostles of Christianity to the northern fringes of New Spain and Nuevo México.

In 1621, Caspar Plautius (Honorio Philopono), the "abbot of the Benedictine monastery Seitenstetten in Austria," published his thesis denying the Cabeza de Vaca party's performance of miracles on the basis of their being common men and soldiers under the title *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio. Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis* (*National Union Catalog* 461:333b). Hodge

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(10) was the first modern scholar of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* to call attention to this reading; Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 157) incorrectly cited the date of the work as 1728, rather than 1621. Whereas Plautius's contemporary, the Jesuit José de Acosta, used the lay status of the men to enhance the prospect of Amerindian conversion, Plautius considered that their vocation (the "mean and vulgar" pursuits of soldiering) denied the possibility altogether. He argued against the principle of the unity of cross and conquest inaugurated by Constantine ("In this sign shalt thou conquer" [In hoc signo vinces]) and concluded, "[I]t is agreed that these works [of conversion] have been performed by those religious monks and priests who are holy and not by evil soldiers" (qtd. in Ardoino 1b). Plautius's work merits mention here because Spanish peninsular and provincial readers came to know it, if only indirectly, via its refutation by Antonio Ardoino a century later. The fact that Plautius's treatise did not fall completely into oblivion can be directly attributed to Antonio Ardoino's eighteenth-century response to it (see below, sec. 18).

15. REGIONAL FOUNDATIONS (1640S AND 1650S)

Describing his 1645 work, the *Historia de los triumphos de nuestra santa fee entre gentes las más bárbaras y fieras del Nuevo Orbe*, Padre Andrés Pérez de Ribas followed those reader/writers who attributed a spiritual evangelizing role to the Cabeza de Vaca party. Taking up the discovery of the province of Sinaloa, Pérez de Ribas sketched the beginnings of the Spanish presence in the area of Nueva Galicia under the command of one who, "obeying neither king nor law," was swept away by greed in slave hunting; Pérez de Ribas (24 [bk. 1, chap. 7]) later identified this villain as Diego de Alcaraz. In the midst of this situation, "one of the rarest things that ever happened in human history occurred"; thus Pérez de Ribas referred to the Narváez survivors and their story, for which his source was Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos* (dec. 6, bk. 1, chap. 7). Pérez de Ribas (24 [bk. 1, chap. 7]) described the men as being perceived as "children of the sun" or "men from heaven" and gave the province of Sinaloa the honor of being "the end of their peregrination."

Like Padre Vicente del Águila (Sauer, "The Road" 51), the Jesuit Pérez de Ribas (24 [bk. 1, chap. 7]) referred to Castillo Maldonado as "Bernardino del Castillo Maldonado"; also similar to Águila is Pérez de Ribas's account of the establishment of the faith in Sinaloa through the settlement of peoples from the north accompanying the Cabeza de Vaca party ("those who came with them remained to settle in this land") (Sauer, "The Road" 51). Pérez de Ribas (25–26 [bk. 1, chap. 7], 120 [bk. 2, chap. 33]) told this story in much greater detail than had Águila, calling the settlement Bamoa, "that

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still exists today, and it is of the language and nation of a people [Nebomes] from more than a hundred leagues away." Thus, "the holy cross, the sign of our redemption, remained very well impressed on these peoples of Sinaloa" (25 [bk. 1, chap. 7]).

Pérez de Ribas (Robertson 8 [bk. 1, chap. 7]) could not be more emphatic about the meaning of the sojourn of the Narváez survivors: "[t]hus it may be seen that the great pilgrimage of these four companions was the medium of Divine Providence for bringing the first notice of these far away peoples, who inhabit places so distant that their limits are not yet known." In both Águila and Pérez de Ribas, the Cabeza de Vaca party played a pivotal civilizing role by resettling in the Spanish province of Sinaloa native peoples from the unbounded lands of the north. Pérez de Ribas (120, 121 [bk. 2, chap. 33]) later compared this to the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, telling of a migration of 350 Nebomes who, despite endless obstacles over the eighty-league journey, came to live at Bamoa.

Whereas all these accounts granted to Cabeza de Vaca and his companions the role of founders of Spanish civilization to the northwest of New Spain, from Sinaloa to Cíbola, only one prominent reader of the seventeenth century associated them with the civilizing foundations of the area to the northeast of New Spain, in Nuevo León.

In 1649, Captain Alonso de León (14 [proem]) finished his account of the *Historia de Nuevo León*, in which he sought to study "this land, its discoverers and wars, the temperament and condition of its native inhabitants." León had arrived to the province in 1636, and he had been among the early settlers who followed Luis de Carbajal, whom Philip II had commissioned in 1583 to carry out the conquest of the vast territory that came to be known as Nuevo León; it ultimately extended two hundred leagues north from the banks of the Río Pánuco and again as many leagues inland from the coast of the Gulf of Mexico (Prieto 79). León (24–25 [discurso 1, chap. 3]) incorporated the Cabeza de Vaca sojourn into the first division ("Discurso Uno") of his tripartite history, in which he concluded that the Indians of "the New Kingdom of León" (which he defined as bordered by the limits of New Spain, *Florida*, [Nueva] Vizcaya, and the coast of the North Sea) had "neither a true nor false but rather confused knowledge of God" and that their barbarism was such that they had "left the nature although not the form of men and become savages, forgetting the purpose for which they were created, recognizing neither God nor king."

After painting this grim picture, and in order to mitigate it, León (26–31 [discurso 1, chap. 4]) wrote the succeeding chapter on the topic of how "no nation has lacked teachers to teach the knowledge of the true God, and there have been signs of the same in this kingdom." Searching for appropriate

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antecedents in pre-Columbian times, he suggested that the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, described by Torquemada, Gómara, and others, might in fact have been such an apostolic visitor. Likewise, the people of Nuevo León could not have failed to be visited by "some man or, by the will of God, some angel" who would have given them the light of truth. Also, there was a mysterious rock painting in a certain settlement, the subject of which seemed to be persons "dressed in Spanish garb" with hens of Castile alongside them (León 28 [discurso 1, chap. 4]).

Against the background of such tentative and unconvincing evidence regarding the announcement of the gospel in the region, León concluded his chapter with reference to the "account that Cabeza de Vaca gives" of his journey. It stood to reason, León (30 [discurso 1, chap. 4]) argued, that to have emerged from their captivity and wandering where they did (in Sinaloa), the four men would have had to travel very near the spot of the present-day *villa* of Cerralvo as they went about teaching the people, performing miracles, and resuscitating the dead. The Cabeza de Vaca case bolstered his argument to the effect that no territory—not even Nuevo León—was so remote as not to have been visited at some point by bearers of the "good news." What is striking about his reading is the closeness with which he undertook his geographic assessment of the Narváez survivors' location, thus underscoring the importance of their presumed presence.

The final author to be considered in this trajectory is Fray Antonio Tello in his *Crónica miscelánea de la sancta provincia de Xalisco* (1650–53). Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 8) had remarked on Tello's confusions, and we examine in detail those problems (as well as sources on which Tello relied) elsewhere (chap. 9, sec. 2). Apart from his presentation of the four men as larger-than-life figures of the "spiritual conquest" of the north, Tello's signal contribution was his attempt to write their story into the conquest history of the area. Thus he mentioned in passing that they "cured the sick and resuscitated the dead and a multitude of people accompanied them," and he even scripted a bit of dialogue in which an Indian approached them saying, "Gods!—(for thus they called these pilgrims)—why are you sad and melancholy?" (Tello 249 [bk. 2, chap. 61]). Nevertheless, the Franciscan historian was also interested in their interactions with Spanish officials and men at arms at the time.

From unspecified sources, Tello portrayed the Narváez survivors' confrontation with Nuño de Guzmán at Compostela on the question of Indian slavery and told how they took testimony regarding the manner of enslavement and were then dispatched somewhat hastily to Mexico by the angry governor of Nueva Galicia (Tello 309 [bk. 2, chap. 74]). Since Tello attempted to write both the temporal and spiritual history of the Franciscan province of Jalisco, his turns out to have been the first proper history of the conquest of

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Nueva Galicia (López Portillo y Rojas v, viii). By the time Tello (249 [bk. 2, chap. 61]) was writing, he was able to take advantage of many available sources on the Narváez expedition, citing "a treatise of the peregrination of these Spaniards and what the chroniclers have written." Although he did not identify this *tratado* by its author, it is likely that he meant one of the two published versions of the *relación* (most probably the 1555 edition) as well as other published sources such as Gómara and Herrera.

16. PELLICER'S *GENEALOGÍA DE LA NOBLE Y ANTIGUA CASA DE CABEZA DE VACA* (1652)

José Pellicer de Ossau Salas y Tovar (1602–79) was the chronicler of Castile and *cronista mayor* of Aragon who authored the 1652 *Genealogía de la noble y antigua casa de Cabeza de Vaca* (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 2.A.1) to which Antonio Ardoino (4b) referred in the eighteenth century as the "Memorial de la Casa de Cabeza de Baca"; it was the same work that T. W. Fields attempted to decipher (without success) from Buckingham Smith's posthumous notes (Smith, *Relation* 233–34) and that Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 26n37) apparently dismissed without examining. As mentioned earlier, Ardoino deferred to Pellicer's work to authenticate the nobility of birth from which Cabeza de Vaca's credibility as a trustworthy historical witness could be derived.

In setting forth the succession of the lines of the many houses of Cabeza de Vaca, Pellicer had two principal motives, the second of which is the most interesting to us in the present instance. No one would doubt, Pellicer (f1v) declared, that nobility was "a certain splendor acquired by a certain individual, made venerable and well known beyond the commonness of other men" by some singular prerogative of heroic virtue. Making known the names and deeds of these exemplary foundational figures was important, Pellicer (f1v) insisted, because otherwise it might seem that such heroes were not mere mortals but rather "engendered in the clouds, in the same way that it was popularly thought that the mares of Spain were impregnated by the wind." At the same time, the successors often come to be as important as the progenitors, and, as it often happens with trees, the lifetime of a lineage is lived out not only by the principal trunk but by the many collateral branches. With this botanical simile in mind, Pellicer (f1r–v) noted that these transversal branches frequently compensated for the luster lost in the principal trunk, and that this occurred right up to the present day (the year 1652). As a result, in the course of his study, begun with the eight successive founding figures of the lineage of Cabeza de Vaca, Pellicer had highlighted more recent individuals worthy of note in the various houses.

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The first of these exemplars was Ruy Díaz Cabeza de Vaca, son of Fernán Ruiz Cabeza de Vaca and loyal *mayordomo mayor* of Don Juan Alfonso, lord of Alburquerque, who was the son of Don Alfonso of Portugal in the time of the reign of the king Don Pedro of Castile (1350–69) (Pellicer f21r–v). The second was Pedro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *ricohombre* of Aragon, the "second lord of the state of Calanda," who served the royal house of Aragon as councilor and occasional ambassador for more than forty years (Pellicer f28v). The third was Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, "*adelantado* of Río de la Plata and governor and captain general of that province" (Pellicer f35v). The fourth was Captain Manuel de Vega Cabeza de Vaca, "caballero of the order of Santiago, member of the war council in Flanders, and *maestre de campo general* (officer in charge of tactics and supply) in the invasion of Algiers" in August 1558 (Pellicer f49v). The fifth such personage was Don Luis Cabeza de Vaca, "bishop of Canaria, Salamanca and Plasencia, elected archbishop of Santiago" (Pellicer f54r). The subject of the sixth and final vignette was Don Felipe de Aragon and Navarre, count of Beaufort, archbishop of Palermo, master of Montesa, and illegitimate son (*hijo natural*) of the "most serene prince Don Carlos de Viana and Doña Brianda Vaca" (Pellicer f57r).

Pellicer's (f35v) discourse of praise (a literary piece called an *elogio*) for Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, "*adelantado* of Río de la Plata," was based on his reading of the 1555 edition of the *relación*, to which he referred as *Naufragios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* and for which he cited the final words of the *relación* in which Cabeza de Vaca identified his parents and grandfather Pedro de Vera. With reference to the experiences recounted in that work, Pellicer (f35v) assured the reader that what Cabeza de Vaca "omitted about his prodigious actions due to modesty" was told by other historians of the Indies. In describing Cabeza de Vaca's *adelantamiento* and governorship of Río de la Plata, Pellicer (f36r) referred to the "unspeakable difficulties" that Cabeza de Vaca suffered in order to subject those provinces to the crown of Castile. Pellicer added that Cabeza de Vaca was assisted "by another caballero and valiant soldier, Pedro de Estopiñán Cabeza de Vaca, who glorified with his great deeds whatever line of this house from which he descended." Pedro Estopiñán was the first cousin, or *primo hermano*, of Cabeza de Vaca, that is, the son of his mother, Doña Teresa's sister Beatriz (Sancho de Sopranis, "Datos" 84; see vol. 1, table 2).

Pellicer (f36r) informed his readers that the *adelantado* had commanded the secretary of his *adelantamiento*, "Pedro Fernández [*sic*, Hernández]" to write a history of all his deeds. Pellicer noted that Hernández did so and entitled his work *Comentarios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, which Álvar Núñez himself dedicated to the Infante Don Carlos. It was printed, Pellicer

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(f36r) added, in Valladolid in 1555 together with the book that Cabeza de Vaca composed about his *naufragios*.

Pellicer's reading of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación y comentarios* a century after they were written and his finding them to be models of noble conduct worthy of the highest praise suggest that time had treated Cabeza de Vaca's experiences kindly. The criminal charges and protracted proceedings against him (1546–52) seem to have been erased with time, and no doubt (as we see in Pellicer's reading) the triumphant approach that Cabeza de Vaca and Pero Hernández took, in the proem to the infante and in the *Comentarios*, respectively, helped create and preserve Álvar Núñez's posthumous reputation of honor and heroism.

17. FERNÁNDEZ DEL PULGAR'S "HISTORIA DE LA FLORIDA" (1694)

According to the customary practice of naming chronicler appointees well in advance, Pedro Fernández del Pulgar (d. 1697) was appointed *cronista mayor de Indias* on 20 January 1677 and assumed his office, following his predecessor's death nine years later, on 19 April 1686 (Schäfer, *El Consejo Real* 2:418–20). (José Pellicer had been one of the unsuccessful nominees on this as well as on a previous occasion.) Exercising his office, Fernández del Pulgar composed his "Historia general de la Florida" as part of the project he began as a continuation of Herrera y Tordesillas's *Historia general* (Fernández del Pulgar f8r). Fernández del Pulgar appears to have completed his work on European exploration in the Gulf of Mexico in 1694, collecting the *Florida* material from his continuation of Herrera's general history of the Americas into a separate work, a significant portion of which treats activities directly related to the rivalry between the Spanish and the French in the Gulf of Mexico between 1669 and 1693. Contrary to the general trend, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* seems in this particular case to have served once again as an important source of geographic information about the coastal lands of the Gulf of Mexico; it was for this reason that Fernández del Pulgar had the complete text of the *relación* copied as part 3, book 1 of his manuscript (f300r–f350r). The chapter divisions and titles of this late-seventeenth-century copy of the *relación* reveal that its source had been the Valladolid (1555) published text. Fernández del Pulgar's "Historia" has never been published and remains in manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (MS. 2999).

18. ARDOINO'S *EXAMEN APOLOGÉTICO* . . . (1730S)

Antonio Ardoino's identity and reasons for writing about Cabeza de Vaca are nearly as obscure as those of Caspar Plautius, who was the object of Ardoino's

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1730s refutation entitled *Examen apologético de la histórica narración de los naufragios, peregrinaciones i milagros de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Baca en las tierras de la Florida, i del Nuevo México. Contra la incierta y mal reparada censura del P. Honorio Filipono [sic], o del que puso en su nombre, el libro intitulado: "Nova Typis transacta navigatio Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis, Adm. R.R.P.P. ac F.F. Rev. ac ilustrísimo Buellio Catalani, Abbatis Montiserrati, et in Universam Americam, seu Novum Orbem S.S. Apostolicae Legati."*

From the information given about Ardoino on a 1736 title page printed for his *Examen apologético* and corresponding information from other sources, it can be determined that he was a member of the ruling family of northeastern Sicily and served the Spanish crown as the governor of Tarragona, Catalonia, as well as in other positions in the early to mid–eighteenth century. His interest in Cabeza de Vaca was directly linked to his relationship with Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga (d. 1743) and Barcia's publication of sixteenth-century Spanish writings on the Americas. (For Ardoino's identity and association with Barcia, see chap. 14, sec. 2.A.)

As Ardoino explained in the introductory paragraphs of his *Examen* (2b), his goal was to refute two basic criticisms that Honorio Philopono had made regarding Cabeza de Vaca's work: first, the incredible nature ("lo incierto") of his *relación* and the history it narrated, and second, the falsehood ("lo fabuloso") of the miracles performed. Ardoino argued that Cabeza de Vaca satisfied the criteria of writing history on two counts: first, due to his role as an eyewitness and participant in the actions he described, and second, in his care to "paint, before the eyes of the readers, a portrait naked of deceits [*afeites*] and colorful disguises, adorned only by the white fabric of truth" (Ardoino 3ab). Ardoino focused on establishing the veracity of Cabeza de Vaca's account of having performed miracles by verifying his noble status within Castilian society of the sixteenth century and underscoring the fact that he had directed his *relación* to the emperor; for Ardoino, these conditions guaranteed the truth of the account. Ardoino's (7b) mention of the "histórica narración" used by the chronicler Antonio de Herrera and supposedly still located in the Royal Archives (in Simancas, both in Herrera's and Ardoino's times) was evidently intended to authenticate the account as a bona fide historical source and document.

Ardoino (7b–8b) argued furthermore that, even if Cabeza de Vaca had not written his *relación*, the reception that he and his companions received from all the people on the route from the province of Culiacán to the city of Mexico was sufficient to confirm the truth of their miracles. Their reception by Diego de Alcaraz and his soldiers, the "wonder and tears" of Melchior Díaz, *alcalde mayor* of San Miguel de Culiacán, the acceptance of the miracles by Nuño de Guzmán, by the citizens of San Miguel, and by all the Spaniards

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and Indians they met on the road of a hundred leagues to the capital (because all came out to the roads to see them), as well as by the viceroy Mendoza and the marqués del Valle, were sufficient to confirm "what so many different nations and peoples affirmed."

Apart from Ardoino's insistence on the importance of the Spaniards and Indians of Nueva Galicia and New Spain in judging the men's deeds as miraculous, we see from the references to *Florida* and Nuevo México in the title of his work that he took into account Spanish activity in the northwest area on the fringes of New Spain from the late sixteenth century onward and that he distinguished the area by its name, current since that time, of Nuevo México. Both gestures reinforce the emerging regional identification of those areas, and, for this reason, it is not surprising that Ardoino's work was taken up by regionalist religious writers in the subsequent decades.

Though considerably removed from one another in time and place, the responses to Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* by the Italian Benzoni in the mid–sixteenth century and the Austrian Plautius in the early seventeenth century are similar in that both harshly criticize the claims Cabeza de Vaca had made about what the Narváez survivors had experienced on their journey, particularly with regard to the episodes of curing. These two critiques and Ardoino's response to the latter of them, as well as Fernández del Pulgar's use of Cabeza de Vaca's account as it figured in the effort to protect Spanish territorial interests in *Florida* from the encroaching French (all of which have been presented here as isolated moments in the reception of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*), fit into a larger context of European political rivalries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that goes beyond the scope of the present discussion.

19. HISTORIANS OF NUEVA GALICIA (1742, 1777)

Chronicles incorporating the Cabeza de Vaca tale continued to be written, and in the eighteenth century two of Tello's prominent successors were Matías de la Mota Padilla, whose *Historia del reino de Nueva Galicia en la América septentrional* was published in 1742, and Fray Pablo Beaumont, whose *Crónica de la provincia de San Pedro y San Pablo de Michoacán* was written circa 1777 but not published until the nineteenth century. Both relied on Tello as a source (Wagner, "Álvar Núñez" 8), and Beaumont entered into the polemic initiated by Ardoino's reading and rejection of Caspar Plautius's treatise, which challenged the performance of miracles by "evil soldiers." Weaving together earlier sources, both Mota Padilla and Beaumont continued the conceptual line of Tello, writing simultaneously

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the political and spiritual history of the province. (Mota Padilla was a layman and viceregal official from Guadalajara; Beaumont was a Franciscan friar.)

In effect, Mota Padilla (81 [chap. 15]) declared that it would take an entire volume to tell all the miracles that "Juan Núñez Cabeza de Vaca [*sic*]" and his companions performed; he wished instead only to reflect on the fact that the regulated, exemplary lives these pilgrims had led was sufficient to leave the natives well disposed to hearing the gospel. Beaumont (321 [bk. 2, chap. 2]) likewise did not linger over "one of the most unheard of adventures in the world," for which he referred the reader, copying Tello's remark, to "a treatise of the peregrinations of these Spaniards."

The miraculous deeds of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were peripheral to Beaumont's immediate purpose of narrating the history of Michoacán, and so he made another bibliographic recommendation to the "account of the journey and especially the *Examen apologético* of the peregrinations and miracles of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca in the lands of *Florida* and Nuevo México" (Beaumont 321 [bk. 2, chap. 2]). Beaumont was citing, in effect, the title of the Barcia edition; "these works," he said, "I possess and have read under the title of 'various papers of Indians [*sic*, the Indies]' " (322 [bk. 2, chap. 2]), which suggests that he read the compendium of works published by Andrés González de Barcia under the title *Varias historias de los primeros descubridores de las Indias* or the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* (see chap. 14, sec. 2.c).

20. CONCLUDING REMARKS

From this survey we can conclude that, although we can perceive a broad trend from historicizing to mythologizing the Narváez survivors' experience, there was no single, monolithic body of lineally evolving interpretation produced by the chronological trajectory of readings. José de Acosta, for example, was far less inclined to exaggerate the qualities of these ordinary men than writers either before or after him did. Even Fray Juan de Grijalva's interpretive leap, from the men's merely preparing the way for the arrival of the gospel to their actual conversion of the Indians, represented only an instance, not a trend.

As far as trends go, the main one was identified by Lafaye, that is, the tendency to portray the deeds of the men as miraculous. A significant exception is Caspar Plautius's rejection of the principle that laymen and soldiers could be the authors of divinely ordained deeds. Although Lafaye (76) argued that Gómara was the literary creator of the "Álvar Núñez, author of miracles" and that Gómara was the first to insist on them, Gómara's interpretation was preceded by Oviedo's, who unequivocally judged the

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success of the men's civilizing and healing efforts as miraculous even as he studied the Joint Report. Of greatest import regarding both sixteenth-century historians is that they were not hyperbolic in their assessments. Neither Oviedo nor Gómara turned the four survivors into saints or holy men; they instead likened the men's actions to those of *saludadores*, that is, lay curers like those in Castile who breathed on and blessed their patients (Oviedo, *Historia* 3:603b [bk. 35, chap. 5]; Gómara, *Historia general* 68 [chap. 46]).

It is striking that we can find the precedent for any one of the main present-day interpretations in the sixteenth-century accounts. Thus, researchers such as Sauer ("The Discovery" 274–77), who proposed the trans-Texas route of the four men, taking them into today's New Mexico by crossing the Rio Grande above El Paso, were anticipated by such early writers as Villagrá, who attributed to the four men the actual Spanish discovery of the cities or lands of Cíbola. Likewise, Pupo-Walker's ("Pesquisas" 522) view—that although "Cabeza de Vaca did not deliberately articulate concrete elements of the hagiographic code," nevertheless his text "as a scriptural and transmitting entity recuperates and integrates components of that hagiographic and legendary tradition"—characterizes the earliest reader/interpreters of Cabeza de Vaca's narration but not, in fact, the *relación* itself. As we demonstrate, the rhetorical codes on which Cabeza de Vaca's writing consciously or involuntarily drew consisted of the mundane codes of official reporting to royal, viceregal, and conciliar authorities (chap. 12, secs. 2.A–B).

While the healing miracles as such give us but one dimension of the interpretive history of the Cabeza de Vaca story, its significance, as we have seen, was configured more broadly. The casting of the four men as founders and civilizers in the northwest (and, in one instance, the northeast) of New Spain became a prominent theme that identified them as the "Adam" of the Spanish presence on the northern frontier and the "Moses" (Pérez de Ribas) of the native peoples to the north. In this manner the early modern readings grafted the civic and patrimonial impulse onto the religious initiative and subtly transformed the realization of the universal goals of Spanish empire (territorial expansion and religious conversion) into the harbingers—even in the word's archaic sense as "people sent ahead to provide lodgings"—of regional identity.

The consideration of centuries of interpretation of the experiences recounted in the *relación* turns the reader's thoughts once again to Cabeza de Vaca's visit to court at the end of 1537 as recalled by the Gentleman of Elvas. We need only consider the apparent differences between what, according to the Gentlemen of Elvas, Cabeza de Vaca is alleged to have said about the poverty of *Florida* and what the other noble gentlemen around

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him seem to have understood to the effect that it was "the richest country in the world." We can only imagine what reports Cabeza de Vaca offered to the emperor or to others who decided to go with De Soto. Yet one thing seems sure: whatever he said about his own experiences, it gave rise to incalculable hopes and imaginings. Equally certain, in our own interpretive experience, is the existence of the tension between the essentializing trend and the resistant interpretive instance; the reality of this tension is what keeps open the possibility of the continuing process of interpretation and the interest of new readers.

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CHAPTER 14

Spanish-Language Editions of the *Relación* (1730s to Present)

1. INTRODUCTION

When Fray Pablo Beaumont directed his readers in the 1770s to the volume of "various papers of Indians [*sic*, the Indies]" for an account of the Narváez expedition survivors' journey, referring evidently to Barcia's 1730s edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (chap. 13, sec. 19), he helped document the beginning of a new period in the reception of Cabeza de Vaca's account, characterized by the turn away from the two sixteenth-century editions toward Barcia's eighteenth-century edition of the 1555 Valladolid text. This eighteenth-century edition would serve as the source text for the majority of modern Spanish editions of the text, a central factor in the development of the modern misconception that the Valladolid version of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* is the "definitive" (and, therefore, preferred) version of the account.

The earliest commentators on the Cabeza de Vaca experience had relied on a combination of oral, manuscript, and published sources, as we have already considered (see chap. 13). The Gentleman of Elvas in the years 1537–57, Alonso de Santa Cruz in 1538–51, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés in 1540–48, and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas from at least 1541 to 1559 all appear to have had access, in varying degrees, to oral and manuscript information, as well as to the Zamora (1542) edition of the published *relación.* Francisco López de Gómara and Gian Battista Ramusio likewise consulted the published Zamora text prior to 1552 and 1556, respectively. Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 5) indirectly called attention to the fact that Alfonso Chacón, a Spanish bibliophile who lived between 1540 and 1599, had included the Zamora edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in his catalog of books titled *Bibliotheca libros et scriptores ferme cunctos ab initio mundi ad annum MDLXXXIII, ordine alphabetico complectens* (col. 115). Chacón's catalog was first published (incompletely) in Paris in 1731.

Though seemingly insignificant, Chacón's reference to the Zamora edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was for two reasons an important and pivotal one in the *relación*'s subsequent publishing history: first, it marked a shift during Chacón's time away from the use of the Zamora (1542) edition, which apparently became relatively rare and little known in the later decades of the sixteenth century, and toward the use of the Valladolid (1555) edition; second, upon publication in the 1730s and afterward, Chacón's reference to

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the Zamora edition served to keep that version of the text from falling into complete oblivion, as we discuss below.

The entry directly following Chacón's (col. 115) reference to the Zamora edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* speaks of a work on an American topic written in Spanish by a certain "Alvarus Nunnius." This second entry by Chacón does not give the book's publication date or size, as the one that describes the Zamora text does; as we will consider below, this second entry appears to refer to the Valladolid (1555) edition of the text. As we have already seen (chap. 13), use of the Valladolid version of the *relación* was frequent among writers during the second half of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century: Castañeda (1560s), Obregón (1584), El Inca Garcilaso (1587), Padre José de Acosta (1588, 1590), Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (1601–15), Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza (1604), José Pellicer (1652), and Pedro Fernández del Pulgar (1694) all consulted the Valladolid text.

The apparent rarity of the Zamora (1542) edition of the *relación* is likewise evidenced by its absence from the works of three seventeenth-century bibliographers: Tomás Tamayo de Vargas (1587?–1641), Antonio Rodríguez de León Pinelo (1590/91–1660), and Nicolás Antonio (1617–84). Tamayo de Vargas, in his still-unpublished "Junta de libros la maior que España ha visto en su lengua hasta el año de MDCXXIV" (1:40–41), gave the following reference to the Valladolid text: "Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, sevillano, *Relación i commentarios de las dos jornadas que hiço hiço [sic] a las Indias.* Valladolid, por Francisco Fernández de Córdoba. 1555. 4°." León Pinelo included in his published 1629 *Epítome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, náutica i geográfica* a citation for Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (77 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 6]), and Pedro [*sic*] Hernández's *Comentarios* (87–88 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 10]), a clear reference to the Valladolid (1555) edition. Nicolás Antonio, in his 1672 *Bibliotheca hispana* (1:48b–49a), expanded Tamayo de Vargas's entry on the Valladolid edition, offering more detailed information about Cabeza de Vaca's parents and about the expeditions on which Cabeza de Vaca had gone. Antonio identified Cabeza de Vaca's birthplace as Jerez de la Frontera and disputed Tamayo de Vargas's claim that Álvar Núñez had been born in Seville. The failure of these three erudite Spaniards to mention the Zamora (1542) *editio princeps* of the *relación* during the course of the seventeenth century offers compelling negative evidence that the Zamora edition of the *relación* had become quite rare in Spain already by the end of the sixteenth century and was largely forgotten throughout the course of the seventeenth century.

Sometime near or in the 1730s, Antonio Ardoino claimed in his *Examen apologético* (7b) that the copy of Cabeza de Vaca's "histórica narración" that

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Herrera had used to write his account of the Narváez expedition in his *Historia* over one hundred years earlier (published between 1601 and 1615; see chap. 13, sec. 12) was still present in the Royal Archives. Ardoino does not explain whether the physical text to which he referred was a manuscript or a printed edition or how he knew it was the one Herrera had used. As discussed elsewhere (chap. 12, sec. 2.E; chap. 13, secs. 7, 12), though the body of Herrera's narrative clearly follows the printed *relación* in its Valladolid (1555) form, certain aspects of his account suggest that his writing was influenced by manuscript sources treating the Narváez expedition (possibly the writings of Santa Cruz and Las Casas that Herrera acquired with López de Velasco's papers or another manuscript copy [see Nieto Nuño]).

Despite differences between Herrera's account and the published forms of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, without investigating surviving manuscript materials it is impossible to prove that Herrera used a manuscript account of the Narváez expedition by Cabeza de Vaca or anyone else to write any part of his own version. In his defense of the truth of the Cabeza de Vaca experience, Ardoino put great weight on the presumed authenticity he claimed for the document he knew to be present in the Royal Archives in the 1730s and that he claimed had served as Herrera's source of information. The complexities of the Herrera account indeed suggest that manuscript sources may still have been exercising some peripheral influence on the transmission of the Cabeza de Vaca experience in the early seventeenth century, and Ardoino's mention serves as a reminder of the possibility that such material may still have been extant in the eighteenth century; nevertheless, the physical text to which Ardoino referred was most likely just another copy of the published Valladolid (1555) edition of the *relación* present in the Royal Archives that Herrera may or may not have used. By Ardoino's time, when manuscript information had been forgotten or destroyed, the Zamora (1542) edition of the *relación* had been eclipsed, and even the Valladolid (1555) edition was becoming rare, the secondary accounts of the Narváez expedition such as those of Gómara and Herrera would have begun to serve with increasing frequency as the source for the Cabeza de Vaca experience. It was in this context that Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga republished the Valladolid *relación*, perhaps editing it from the copy of the text housed in the Royal Archives to which Ardoino had vaguely referred.

2. THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY REEDITION OF THE *RELACIÓN*

2.A. *Antonio Ardoino and His Notice of the Republished* Relación

Ardoino's comment in his *Examen apologético* (2a) regarding a "new printing" of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* reveals that the impetus for his writing

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on the subject was directly related to the reedition of the Valladolid text in the early eighteenth century by the editor of Ardoino's own text, Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga. External evidence shows that Barcia was broadly associated with the Ardoino family. Sometime after 1699 (according to internal evidence), the *licenciado* Barcia drafted the following document, a published copy of which is held in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (3/72804):

> *Consultatio iuriumque expositio competentium illustrisimo D. Paulo de Ardoino, aequiti Alcantarensi, Principi Palisii, Fiorestae, et Soreto Marchioni, Comiti de Quintana, Baroni de la Plazza Baijana, ac Petrae Pannatae, Toparchae, etc. adversus Feudum plumbinense; cuius haeres extitit excellentiss. D.D. Hyppolita Ludovissia, Boncompagnis Plumbini Venusiique Princeps, Sorer Excell. D.D. Olimpiae Ludovisiae. Amita Exc. D. Nicolai Mariae filii excellentissimorum Ionnis Baptistae, et D.D. Annae Mariae Ardoino, Quondam Principum Plumbini, et Venusii. In haesitanter ostenditur, teneri feudum praedictum, aut ipsa Exc. D. Hyppolita ad exolutionem dotis, dotarii, aliorumque iurium, pertinentium, nominae praefatae D. Annae Mariae, Praedicto Illust. Principi D. Paulo Ardoino, tamquam eius haeredi, et patri legitimo.*

Besides what we know about Antonio Ardoino's publishing affiliation with Barcia, our present knowledge about Ardoino is based completely on the information given on the 1736 title page printed for his *Examen apologético*, most likely prepared by Barcia, which names Ardoino as a *Caballero del insigne orden del Toison de Oro, Marques de Sorito, Mariscal de los Reales Exercitos de su Magestad, i Governador de Tarragona: Hermano del Excelentissimo Señor Principe de Palizzi, Marques de la Floresta, Conde de Quintana, Baron de la Plaça Baijana, Señor de Piedra Panata, etc.* We call attention to the repetition of toponyms here that appeared above in the title of the legal document drafted some thirty years earlier by Barcia and pertaining to Paolo de Ardoino; this Paolo de Ardoino was perhaps the brother of Antonio Ardoino to whom the text of the 1736 title page of the *Examen apologético* referred. These toponyms likewise appear in another text held by the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (7/13017), written by Pietro Ardoino and published in 1716 in Messina, Sicily: *Sonetti di Pietro Ardoino, Marchese della Roccalumera, Figlio primogenito del Principe di Palizzi, et Alcontres, Marchese della Floresta. Con la versione in verso latino di Carlo Vitali.* This last work has provided us with the key to identifying the mentioned toponyms, all of which refer to locations in northeastern Sicily. Thus, the following can be deduced about Antonio Ardoino: he was a member of the ruling family of northeastern Sicily who served the Spanish crown as the governor of Tarragona in Catalonia as well as in other positions during the early to mid–eighteenth century; his familiarity with and interest

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in Cabeza de Vaca and his writing on *Florida* were evidently linked directly to his relationship with Andrés González de Barcia, prior to Barcia's editing of sixteenth-century Spanish texts on the Americas. (For a discussion of Ardoino's *Examen apologético*, see chap. 13, sec. 18.)

2.B. *Received Ideas Regarding Barcia's Republication of Cabeza de Vaca's* Relación

Above we have referred to the composition date of Ardoino's *Examen apologético* as sometime near the 1730s and to its first publication in 1731. The problem of determining these dates is one aspect of the complicated history of the republication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in the 1730s. The incomplete knowledge held by subsequent editors of Cabeza de Vaca's text regarding this third edition of the *relación* as well as their often erroneous or incomplete knowledge of the two sixteenth-century publications have spawned a considerable amount of misinformation that continues to proliferate today.

Between translating the *relación* into English in 1851 and publishing a second edition of it in 1871, Buckingham Smith (*Relation* vi) learned of the existence of the Zamora *editio princeps* (1542), and thus he correctly referred to Barcia's edition as the third one, although he incorrectly gave the date of its publication as 1799 (*Relation* viii), obviously intending to refer to Barcia's 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* volume, in which Ardoino's treatise preceded the edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación.* In 1905, Adolph Bandelier (Bandelier, *Journey* xx) repeated Smith's information about the two sixteenth-century editions and corrected the date of Barcia's text, referring to Barcia's 1749 reediting of the *relación* in his *Historiadores primitivos.* Although this information was accurate with respect to the two sixteenth-century editions of the *relación* and the account's reappearance in volume 1 of the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* (Bandelier falsely claimed it was volume 2), it did not reflect the complexity of the publication of this last edition, which we discuss below.

Unaware of the existence of the Zamora (1542) edition, in spite of Smith's observations in the second edition (1871) of his translation, Serrano y Sanz (1:xxix) claimed in 1906 that Barcia's text as it appeared in volume 1 of the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* was the second edition of the *relación* after the Valladolid (1555) edition. Also in 1906, in an effort to correct that misinformation in light of his own discovery of the 1542 *editio princeps* of the *relación*, Serrano y Sanz (2:xii, n1) falsely claimed that in 1736 Ardoino had reedited the *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios*, and that Barcia had later included them in his 1749 *Historiadores primitivos.*

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Reprinting Smith's translation in 1907, Hodge (10) also alluded to a 1736 publication of the *relación*: "the *Naufragios* (or *Relación*) and *Comentarios* were reprinted at Madrid in 1736, preceded by the *Exámen [sic] Apologético* of Antonio Ardoino. . . . This edition of the narration of Cabeza de Vaca is included in volume I. of Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, published at Madrid in 1749." Hodge clarified the fact that Ardoino had not published the *relación* himself but that his text had been published with Cabeza de Vaca's and Pero Hernández's. The notion that this took place in 1736 derives from the fact that this is the year stated on the title page to Ardoino's text as it appears in the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* volume. Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 5) observed that "Barcia himself however says this *Relación* was printed in 1731. . . . In a note in the *Addiciones* to his edition of Pinelo, Barcia mentions the fact that he had just seen in *Chacon* a notice of the 1542 edition unknown by him up to that time."

In spite of Wagner's observation that Barcia himself claimed that his reedition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* had appeared in 1731, most modern editors of the *relación* continue to repeat previous accounts of the publishing history of the first three editions of the *relación*, especially the version given by Smith and Bandelier that the first three Spanish editions appeared in 1542, 1555, and 1749 (see Favata and Fernández, *Relación* xiii–xiv; Pupo-Walker, *Naufragios* 74) and by Hodge that the editions appeared in 1542, 1555, and 1736 (see Barrera, *Álvar Núñez* 52; Carpani 57–58); others have remained altogether unaware of the Zamora (1542) edition (see Ferrando Pérez, *Naufragios* 37). Wagner reveals the important detail, however, that while the *relación* appeared in 1749 in Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos*, Barcia had first printed it eighteen years earlier, in 1731. As we will show, Barcia's own publications and nineteenth-century bibliographic information suggest that Barcia probably published (i.e., bound and distributed) the reedited *relación* in two different collections of reedited chronicles—the first in 1731 and the second in 1735—before the copies of the account that remained after his death were collected with other texts he had edited and published into the posthumous 1749 *Historiadores primitivos*.

2.C. *Barcia's Printing of the* Relación *in 1731 and Its Distribution up to 1749*

In 1723 Barcia published his *Ensayo cronológico para la historia de la Florida*, designed to accompany his new edition of El Inca Garcilaso's *La Florida del Inca*, also published in 1723. Details of Barcia's account of the Narváez expedition in decades 2 and 3 of the *Ensayo*, such as Cabeza de Vaca's 9 August 1537 arrival in Lisbon (20a [año 1537]), reveal that the author/editor was already directly familiar with Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* by 1723 and had drawn

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his information directly from it in writing the *Ensayo cronológico*, rather than from the somewhat modified account of the same events in Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, which Barcia had finished editing and publishing by 1730.

Sometime in 1731 or after, Barcia began working on his expanded edition of León Pinelo's 1629 *Epítome*; Barcia published volume 1 of this work in 1737 and volumes 2 and 3 in 1738. León Pinelo had placed the entries pertaining to the Valladolid (1555) edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* in the "Biblioteca occidental" section of his one-volume *Epítome*, which figures in volume 2 of Barcia's expanded 1737–38 edition.

Barcia seems to have prepared his edition of the *Epítome* in two stages. He apparently first made one pass over León Pinelo's 1629 edition, supplying whatever new information was available to him at the time about each work that León Pinelo had listed and adding works Pinelo had not included as well as ones published after León Pinelo had completed his catalog. Later, in an appendix written to supplement his own expanded text, Barcia included information he had acquired since originally drafting his expanded version. The appendix (number 2) to the "Biblioteca occidental" is situated directly after the "Biblioteca occidental" in volume 2 of Barcia's *Epítome*.

In his first pass over León Pinelo's text regarding Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, Barcia (*Epítome* cols. 610–11 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 6]) repeated León Pinelo's (77 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 6]) 1629 entry, "*Álvaro [sic] Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Relación* de la Jornada, que hiço à la Florida, con Panfilo de Marváez [*sic*], hállase con otra del Río de la Plata, impressa 1555. 4." To León Pinelo's entry Barcia added the following: "i con outros *Autores*, 1731. fol. en Castellano." This is the entry that led Wagner to claim, as mentioned above, that the *relación* had been *printed* in 1731 but was not published until 1749. Wagner evidently made this assumption in light of the fact that he knew of no other extant collection of chronicles earlier than the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos*, which had been edited by Barcia and which included Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*. It seems, however, that since Barcia's citation also mentions "other authors," that the "1731 fol." reference identifies a bound volume, suggesting the completed publication and distribution of a collection of accounts, rather than merely the printing of the separate *relación*.

Barcia followed his entry on Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in his 1737–38 edition of the *Epítome* (col. 611 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 6]) with one that had not appeared in León Pinelo's original text; it regarded Antonio Ardoino:

> *Don Antonio Ardoino*, Caballero del Insigne Orden del Toison de Oro, Marques de Sorito. *Discurso Apologético*, de la verdad de los milagros de Álvar

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> Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, i del honor, virtud, i decencia militar, en que con doctísimos fundamentos le defiende de la impostura de Fr. Honorio Filipono [*sic*] impreso con la *Relación de la Florida* 1631 [*sic*] fol.

The year 1631 is evidently a typographical error for 1731, corresponding to the printing of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* as described above. Our examination at Widener Library, Harvard University, and at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Spain, of Cabeza de Vaca's and Ardoino's texts collected into volume 1 of the *Historiadores primitivos* convinces us that Ardoino's text had indeed been printed with Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, since the catchword on the verso side of the final page of Ardoino's *Examen* is "NAU," corresponding to the title of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, "NAUFRAGIOS . . ."; the text that directly follows Ardoino's in the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos*, however, is titled "NAVFRAGIOS," and thus the u/v variation could suggest that these two particular pieces collected into the two copies of the 1749 volume 1 that we have consulted do not correspond to the same printing. Furthermore, it is impossible to prove that any particular piece found in a given copy of the *Historiadores primitivos* dates to 1731, as there may also have been later printings of both Ardoino's and Cabeza de Vaca's texts. The cover page to Ardoino's text, dated 1736 and also collected into the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* volume, was likely printed independently from the text itself. Ardoino's (2a) mention, cited above, of the new edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* is further evidence suggesting that these two pieces had been planned as a single publication.

Barcia's publication notes seem to suggest that Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* were printed separately from Ardoino's and Cabeza de Vaca's texts. With regard to the *Comentarios*, Barcia again repeated León Pinelo's (87–88 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 10]) original 1629 entry in his own expanded edition of the *Epítome* (col. 663 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 10]): "*Pedro Hernández* Escrivano de la Jornada: Comentarios de lo que hiço Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca, Governador de Río de la Plata; hállase impresa con el viage del mismo Álvar Núñez, a la Florida." This citation referred, of course, to the Valladolid (1555) edition of the text, in which the two accounts were indeed found together. To this citation Barcia added "i con otros, 1731. fol." Here again Barcia seems to imply that a bound volume that included Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and Pedro Hernández's *Comentarios* as well as the texts of other authors had been published; as we have already seen, one of these other authors had been Ardoino. When he spoke of others, however, Barcia was most likely also referring to other sixteenth-century writers, as we will see below.

Barcia's comments about the publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación de la Florida*, Pero Hernández's *Comentarios*, and Ardoino's *Examen apologético*

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in his first pass over León Pinelo's *Epítome* reveal that all three of these texts had been printed *and* published (i.e., bound and distributed) in 1731. To date, no such volume has come to light, and we can only hypothesize about what other works this volume might have contained; one method of doing so is to consult Barcia's comments in his expanded edition of León Pinelo's *Epítome* regarding the publication of other texts that appear in the three volumes of the extant 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* collection.

Barcia's comments in his expanded edition of León Pinelo's *Epítome* on Oviedo's *Sumario*, Gómara's *Historia general*, Cortés's letters, Augustín de Zárate's *Historia*, and Francisco de Jerez's *Verdadera relación* are particularly revealing. Regarding the *Sumario*, Barcia (*Epítome* col. 580 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 2]) gave a modified version of León Pinelo's (127 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 25]) information: "Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, de la *Natural Historia de las Indias*, o *Sumario de la Natural i General Historia de las Indias*, escrivió le [*sic*] de memoria, impreso en Toledo, 1526, fol." To this, Barcia added "1631 [*sic*] fol." Again, the year 1631 is evidently a printing error for 1731.

Regarding Augustín de Zárate, Barcia (*Epítome* col. 649 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 8]) copied León Pinelo's (84 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 8]) text "Augustín de Çárate. Historia del descubrimiento i conquista del Peru, impresso 1555 8. 1577. fol." and then added "1731 fol."

Barcia (*Epítome* col. 647 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 8]) gave a slightly modified version of León Pinelo's (83 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 8]) entry on Francisco de Jerez, "Francisco de Xerez, Secretario de D. Francisco Pizarro: Verdadera Relación de la conquista del Perú, i Provincia de Cuzco, llamada la Nueva Castilla, imp. 1534 fol. 1547 fol.," and then added "i después de Augustín de Çarate, 1631 [*sic*] fol." In this case, the *fee de eratas* [*sic*] to volume 2 of Barcia's *Epítome* corrected the date to 1731.

With regard to Gómara's *Historia*, Barcia (*Epítome* col. 589 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 3]) gave an augmented version of León Pinelo's (70 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 3]) citation, adding the 1552 edition: "Francisco López de Gómara, Fresbytero [*sic*], *Historia General de las Indias*, en dos partes, una General, i del Perú i otra de Nueva España, imp. 1552. fol. 1553 fol. 1554 fol. con estampas, fol. i en dos tomos en 4. es *Historia* libre, i está mandada recoger por cédula antigua del Consejo Real de las Indias." Barcia again followed the information with his addition; this time with a particular detail: "pero el año de 1729. permitió que se bolviese a imprimir, i se está acabando, 1631. [*sic*] fol."

We note León Pinelo's (73 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 4]) detailed citation of Cortés's first, second, and third letters in our discussion of Narváez's activities prior to departing for the Caribbean in 1526, since it involves

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Pánfilo de Narváez's attempt to suppress their publication in the sixteenth century (chap. 1, sec. 2.A.1). To the entry on these writings, Barcia added the following in his edition of the *Epítome* (col. 597 [Biblioteca occidental, tit. 4]) regarding the second and third letters: "están en la Librería de Don Miguel Núñez de Rojas, del Consejo Real de Órdenes, que las dio liberalmente para imprimirlas, i se quedan acabando de imprimir con la siguiente este año de 1731. i con licencia de los Supremos Consejos de Castilla, i Indias, en fol." Barcia's publication notes on Gómara's and Cortés's writings are particularly important, since they show that Barcia wrote his expanded version of the "Biblioteca occidental" section of León Pinelo's *Epítome* in 1731, and that the printing of Gómara's and Cortés's texts had not been completed at that time.

Sometime after his first review of León Pinelo's work and before 1738, Barcia compiled the four appendixes to his expanded version of León Pinelo's *Epítome*. In appendix 2, pertaining to the "Biblioteca occidental," he gave no further information about Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* or Ardoino's treatise; he did, however, offer an important observation about Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*:

> Fol. 611 Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Añade, al fin, Chacón en su Biblioteca, fol. [col.] 115. pone la impresión de Zamora 1542. 4. i después como persona diversa, otro Álvar Núñez, que dice escrivió del Nuevo Orbe: pero es el mismo, i esta segunda obra será la que va puesta, con nombre de Pedro Hernández, fol. 663, imp. con la antecedente, i 1735. fol. (Barcia, *Epítome* f915[bis]v [appendix 2, tit. 6])

The entry provides a number of important observations. As we mentioned above, Chacón lived between 1540 and 1599, but his *Bibliotheca* was not published until 1731 by Denis François Camusat (1695–1732) in Paris and again in 1744 by Johann Erhard Kapp (1696–1756) in Amsterdam. We observed above that Chacón had mentioned this second author who wrote about the "New World." Barcia's somewhat cryptic reference to "fol. 115" refers to the Chacón catalog column 115 where Chacón's two references to Cabeza de Vaca appear; "fol. 663" refers to Barcia's own entry for Pero Hernández in volume 2, column 663 of his expanded version of León Pinelo's *Epítome*. Our early observation above that both the 1542 and 1555 editions of the *relación* figured in Chacón's catalog proceeds from Barcia's speculation presented here about the meaning of Chacón's second entry. Whether Barcia used a manuscript version of Chacón's text or Camusat's 1731 incomplete published version is not known. The column number (115) of the published 1744 version corresponds to the one Barcia gave, but since Barcia died in 1743, it is only possible that he used a manuscript version or the 1731 Paris version, which we have been unable to consult. He most likely used the 1731 published

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version, a scenario that would explain his discovery of the 1542 edition of the *relación* sometime between 1731 and 1737–38. Barcia's mention in this entry of a 1735 publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* suggests that another collection of accounts that included Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was released in that year. Barcia did not, however, make separate entries in his appendix for Antonio Ardoino and Pero Hernández documenting the reappearance of these texts; whether or not they also appeared in 1735 is unknown.

Regarding references in the appendix to the "Biblioteca occidental" section of Barcia's expanded version of León Pinelo's *Epítome* treating other writings that appeared in the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos*, Gómara's works are the only ones besides Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* that Barcia mentioned. About Gómara's works Barcia (*Epítome* f915v [appendix 2, tit. 3]) noted that the new edition he had mentioned in 1731 on his initial review of León Pinelo's text was now completed: "fol. 589. Francisco López de Gómara. Añade al fin: i salió la nueva impresión en Madrid. 1735 fol." Thus, Barcia's notes suggest that Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* had appeared not only in 1731 but possibly also in 1735, perhaps on the latter occasion in a bound collection of accounts that included, among others, the new edition of Gómara's *Historia general.*

In his entry on Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* in the 1872 *Catálogo de Salvá* (Salvá y Pérez 610b [entry 3344]), either Vicente Salvá y Mallen or his son Pedro noted that he had seen a volume with the following frontispiece:

> *Varias historias de los primeros descubridores de las Indias. I. Historia del Almirante Don Cristoval Colón por su hijo D. Fernando Colón. II. Relación de las Indias de Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo. III. Examen de los naufragios & c. de Alvar-Núñez Cabeza de Baca. IV. Naufragios de Álvar-Núñez Cabeza de Baca. V. Historia del Río de la Plata, y Paraguay, escrita por Ulderico Schimidel. VI. Historia general de las Indias por Francisco López de Gómara.*

The author of the *Catálogo* entry noted that there was no place or date on the volume but that it also was a collection of Barcia's publications. The fact that Gómara's *Historia* is included suggests that this collection must have been bound sometime in or after 1735. This 1735 collection was no doubt the "various papers of Indians [*sic*, the Indies]" that Padre Beaumont had used toward the end of the eighteenth century (c. 1777).

Prior to mentioning the *Varias historias* collection, the author of the entry on the *Historiadores primitivos* collection in the *Catálogo de Salvá* (Salvá y Pérez 610a [entry 3344]), either Vicente Salvá y Mallen (1780–1849) or his son Pedro (d. 1869), gave some important information on the 1749 collection of chronicles:

> This whole collection of chroniclers on America is quite rare, because the sixteen tracts of which it is composed were printed in different years and

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> were not collected into three volumes until after Barcia's death; in addition, at the beginning of this century, 1300 copies were discarded in Madrid as waste paper, among them twenty-one copies on large paper, perhaps all that had been printed, as now not one complete set of this type is known; only some pieces remain.

Earlier, in 1835, Obadiah Rich (1783?–1850) had given similar information about the *Historiadores primitivos* in his *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (96 [1749, no. 14]):

> Don Andrés González de Barcia Carballido y Zúñiga, after having published new editions of Torquemada (1722) El Peru y la Florida del Inca, Herrera, la Araucana, El Origen de los Indios, and the Biblioteca de Pinelo, caused to be printed the authors contained in this collection, and probably some others, as he mentions, in his edition of Pinelo, that Fernández's Historia del Peru was about being finished in 1731, but of which no copies are known to exist. Most of these authors were printed about the same period, but were not published until 1749, (six years after Barcia's death, which happened in 1743,) when general titles to the 3 volumes were printed, with a table of contents, of which there are two different impressions; one, the most modern, is printed by Ibarra. In the account of the remaining stock of this work in 1778, two hundred complete sets are mentioned, 21 of which are described as on large paper. Of the separate parts there are as many as 1300 copies of some of them, of others very few, and none of the History of Columbus; all these separate parts were sold as waste paper, upwards of 30 years ago. The large paper copies disappeared about this same time, and perhaps in the same manner, as I have found seven copies of the history of Columbus on this paper, but have never seen a copy of the whole work on large paper.

In the copies of the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* in Harvard University's Widener Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, the William L. Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Spain, of all the accounts in volume 1, only Ardoino's *Examen apologético* has a separate, dated title page, where the year given is 1736. This date suggests that Ardoino's work, as well as Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, which had been printed with it, might also have been distributed separately beginning in that year, since the evidence above shows that the texts had already been printed and distributed since 1731. Medina (*Biblioteca* 280 [entry 3012]) recorded Leclerc's observation that Ardoino's opusculum is also found separately, although on rare occasion, "since González de Barcia added it to volume one of this *Historiadores de Indias*." It was evidently this title page in the *Historiadores primitivos* volume 1 that, as noted earlier,

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led Serrano y Sanz (2:xii, n1) to claim that Ardoino had first published the *relación* and *Comentarios* in 1736 and Hodge (10) to say that the *relación*, along with Hernández's *Comentarios* and Ardoino's text, had first been published in 1736.

Summarizing, it seems that Barcia may have presented Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in at least two different collections—in 1731 and again in 1735 (the latter time under the title *Varias historias* . . .)—prior to the appearance after his death of the three-volume collection titled *Historiadores primitivos* in 1749. In addition, the *relación* may have circulated separately, attached to Ardoino's *Examen apologético* in 1736, and probably from 1731 onward.

With the exception of Rich, who used a 1778 inventory list, and Salvá and Mallen, who examined a copy of *Varias historias*, writers on Barcia's publication of the various accounts have depended on his expanded edition of León Pinelo and direct examination of the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos* collection for their information. The claim made by Rich and Wagner that the accounts had been printed in 1731 but not bound and sold until 1749 is a hypothesis proceeding from the evident rarity of early collections such as the one-volume *Varias historias* mentioned in the *Catálogo de Salvá*. It seems clear that Barcia's citations in the *Epítome* refer, however, to completed volumes that were distributed in his own time and that have since disappeared.

It seems unlikely that Barcia would have edited these texts and overseen the printing of them without following through with their binding and sale. Furthermore, it is equally unlikely that his printers would have printed these materials and then allowed them to lie in storage for eighteen years. Thus, we can assume that Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* came into circulation, accompanied by Antonio Ardoino's *Examen apologético*, Pero Hernández's *Comentarios*, and various other accounts of European exploration and conquest in the Americas already in 1731. Having considered the complicated history that the 1749 edition of the *Historiadores primitivos* presents in relation to the reappearance of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in 1731, we turn now to a brief, direct consideration of Barcia's text—the third Spanish edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *Florida relación*—as it appears in the 1749 *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*.

2.D. *The Text of Barcia's Edition*

Barcia's own comments on his complete ignorance of the Zamora edition of the *relación* until sometime after 1731, when his own edition of the text had already been published, are sufficient to prove that he used the Valladolid edition as the sole source of his text; elements of the format and content

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of his edition offer additional evidence that the Valladolid edition was his source. The most obvious of these is the presence of the Valladolid chapter divisions and titles. At the level of textual content, many entries in Barcia's edition are unique to the Valladolid edition: Suárez (1a [V:f3r at Z:f3r]), "i al caballo" (6a [V:f8v at Z:f10r]), "en rancho" (15a [V:f19v at Z:f23v]), "muchas Taleguillas de Margagita" (32a [V:f40r at Z:f49r]), and the omission of "de Avia" (15a [V:f19v at Z:f23v]). Pupo-Walker's (*Naufragios* 74n188) claim that Hart's (xv) comparison of the Zamora and Valladolid editions with Barcia's confirms that Barcia was aware of the Zamora edition when he prepared his own is patently false. Hart (xiii) himself makes no such claim, saying instead that "this edition [Barcia's] was carefully compared to both the 1542 and the 1555 texts. In those places where the latter two texts differ, Barcia consistently follows the 1555, at no time using the 1542."

Barcia's republication of the Valladolid version of the *relación* has had some near-permanent effects on subsequent publication of the text. First and foremost, it has contributed to a privileging of that version as the "legitimate" one, for which specious arguments have been developed a posteriori to vindicate its supposed superiority to the Zamora text. As we have shown, Barcia did not make a selection of one edition over the other; much to the contrary, he simply published the only version known and available to him in 1731. Only later (c. 1735) did he learn of the existence of the Zamora (1542) text, most likely via the incomplete 1731 Paris publication of Alfonso Chacón's sixteenth-century catalog of books. The subsequent effect of Barcia's republication of the Valladolid (1555) text was to make the already more available of the two sixteenth-century versions of the account even more accessible and known and the less available one even more obscure.

Apart from strengthening the primacy of the Valladolid (1555) text, perhaps the most indelible mark that Barcia left on Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* with his early-eighteenth-century edition is the title he chose to use: *Naufragios de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, y relación de la jornada que hizo a la Florida con el adelantado Pánfilo de Narváez.* As we discuss elsewhere (chap. 12, sec. 2.D), Oviedo was the first to apply the term "naufragios" to the content of the *relación*, and in his proem to Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* Cabeza de Vaca later used the term in reference to his *Florida* account. Barcia evidently drew the first portion of his title from the running heads of the *Florida* account in the Valladolid edition where the words "Naufragios de" appear on the verso pages and "Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca" on the recto. Barcia printed the complete title in large letters on the first page of his edition and displayed the running head "Naufragios de Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca en la Florida" on subsequent pages.

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2.E. *The Context of Barcia's Edition*

One of the major criticisms of Barcia's 1731 edition is that it lacked the license to print of the Valladolid edition as well as Cabeza de Vaca's dedicatory epistle to the *relación* and his proem to Pero Hernández's *Comentarios.* These were not reintroduced until Serrano y Sanz reedited the text, again from the Valladolid edition, in 1906. Although Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* had become the companion piece to the *relación* in the Valladolid edition, Barcia seems to have viewed Cabeza de Vaca's *Florida relación* and Pero Hernández's writing on Cabeza de Vaca's governance of Río de la Plata as very independent pieces. When he reedited them in 1731, the *relación*'s companion was no longer Hernández's *Comentarios* but rather Antonio Ardoino's defense of the truthfulness of Cabeza de Vaca's *Florida* account. Hernández's *Comentarios* evidently appeared in the 1731 collection with the *relación* and Ardoino's treatise, but Barcia seems to have seen the two texts as largely unrelated accounts of different events by different authors, though both were protagonized by Cabeza de Vaca. For Barcia, the *relación* appears to have been no more closely related to Hernández's *Comentarios* than to other sixteenth-century texts of discovery, exploration, and conquest in the Americas.

With respect to other editorial aspects of the edition, Barcia took the initial step toward the development of a critical apparatus for the *relación* by adding to his edition a "[t]abla de lo más especial contenido en los Naufragios y Relación de la Florida de Álvar Núñez Cabeça de Vaca." Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 74) errs in claiming that Andrés González de Barcia placed at the top of each page of his edition the place along the expeditionaries' route where the events narrated occurred.

3. ENRIQUE DE VEDIA'S 1852 TRANSCRIPTION OF BARCIA'S 1731 EDITION

Barcia's transformation of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, characterized by his default election of the 1555 Valladolid text as the source and format of his transcription, his use of the title *Naufragios*, and his elimination of the peripheral pieces of the work, persisted when Enrique de Vedia reedited Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* in the mid–nineteenth century for its inclusion in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.* Vedia's edition of the *relación* appeared in 1852 in volume 22 of the *Biblioteca.* Hart (xiii–xiv) has demonstrated that Vedia used Barcia's text as the source of his transcription.

In light of the rarity of the sixteenth-century editions and Barcia's 1749 *Historiadores primitivos*, the availability of Vedia's, republished at least five

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times since 1852 (1877–86, 1913–18, 1923–25, 1928–31, 1946–47), explains why it has served as the source of various popular editions of the *relación.* Although the inclusion of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* as part of the *Historiadores primitivos* in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* secured a place for the text in the canon of Spanish literature, the edition itself was an unfortunate step backward in the critical development of the text. Not only was it a secondhand transcription, but Barcia's index disappeared and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* ceased to be identified in any clear fashion as not of Cabeza de Vaca's authorship. In 1905, Adolph Bandelier (Bandelier, *Journey* xxii) wrote under the misconception that Cabeza de Vaca had written both the *relación* and the *Comentarios.*

4. SERRANO Y SANZ'S 1906 TRANSCRIPTION OF THE VALLADOLID (1555) TEXT

In his 1906 edition, Manuel Serrano y Sanz restored the license to print and Cabeza de Vaca's dedication in the *relación* and his proem to the *Comentarios.* Rather than using as his source Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* edition as Vedia had done, Serrano y Sanz followed Barcia in making another direct transcription of the Valladolid edition; as we have seen above, like Barcia nearly two hundred years earlier, Serrano y Sanz believed that this was the original publication of both the *Florida* and the Río de la Plata accounts at the time he published his edition. The work appeared in Madrid in volume 1 of the two-volume *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, adelantado y gobernador del Río de la Plata*; this volume formed the fifth of the *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia de América.*

Probably Serrano y Sanz's greatest contribution to the study of Cabeza de Vaca as a historical figure was his publication of a number of documents on Cabeza de Vaca's governorship of Río de la Plata in volume 2 of his *Relación de los naufragios y comentarios.* Serrano y Sanz's focus on Cabeza de Vaca no doubt dictated his choice to edit both the *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* as had been done in the Valladolid edition of 1555. Serrano y Sanz thus played a key role in keeping these two texts — one North American, the other South American — together.

5. SPURIOUS ENRIQUE PEÑA EDITIONS OF 1909 AND 1911

In his 1984 edition of the *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios,* Ferrando Pérez (*Naufragios* 38) claimed that Enrique Peña had published the *Relación y comentarios del gobernador Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* in

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Buenos Aires in 1909 and the *Relación y comentarios del gobernador Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca,* supposedly a facsimile edition of the 1555 Valladolid edition, with Editorial Estrada in 1911. The only authors other than Ferrando Pérez to mention these editions are those who have published posterior to Ferrando's edition, evidently taking the citation directly from his text; these include Barrera (*Álvar Núñez* 52) in 1985, Favata and Fernández (*Relación* xv, 162) and Matamoro (21) in 1986, Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 162) in 1992, and Favata and Fernández (*The Account* 141) again in 1993. We have been unable to locate Peña's alleged editions from 1909 and 1911 and believe their existence to be highly doubtful.

As we will discuss below, Ferrando Pérez first published brief studies and annotation to accompany reeditions of Justo García Morales's 1945 edition of the *relación* and the *Comentarios* in 1958 and 1962, respectively. We have consulted García Morales's 1945 edition, published by Editorial Aguilar in its Colección Crisol. García Morales (28–30) was aware of the Zamora edition of the text and claimed that the *relación* had been printed twice in the eighteenth century, citing 1736 and 1749, the second time, he says, by Barcia. There is no indication that García Morales (30–31) had any notice of editions by Enrique Peña; he mentions only a certain "Rodríguez de la Peña (1916)" and a "Juan Cola," who he says popularized the adventures of Cabeza de Vaca. In Ferrando Pérez's 1958 and 1962 editions, the editor made no mention of Enrique Peña's editions.

In a 1924 biography entitled *Enrique Peña, un estudioso ejemplar,* Ernesto Quesada made no reference to editions of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* or Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* among Peña's scholarly accomplishments. Quesada (21) does mention Peña's publication of Cabeza de Vaca's own 7 December 1545 "Relación general" treating his governance of Río de la Plata. This appeared as the "Relación de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca" in 1906–07 in the *Revista de derecho, historia, y letras* and was also published separately in 1907 by Jacobo Peuser. Favata and Fernández (*The Account* 141) erroneously claim this also to be an edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* of his *Florida* experience.

6. POPULAR SPANISH EDITIONS OF THE *RELACIÓN* IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

6.A. *Popularization of the* Relación *in Spain*

6.A.1. *The Espasa-Calpe Edition.* With the 1922 publication of the *Naufragios y comentarios* by Espasa-Calpe, Cabeza de Vaca's *Florida relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* on Cabeza de Vaca's governorship of Río de la Plata became widely available. Hart (xv) argued that this edition was made

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from a copy of the Valladolid (1555) edition, rather than from either Barcia's or Vedia's edition, as is often claimed. Espasa-Calpe has published the edition at least four times in its "Viajes clásicos" series (1922, 1932, 1934, 1944) and seven times in its "Colección Austral" (1942, 1946, 1947, 1957, 1971, 1981, 1985).

6.A.2. *The Compañía Ibero-Americana Edition.* The Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid has cataloged the first edition of the *relación* printed by the Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones under the year 1928, although the actual publication contains no date. This popular edition, which contains a slim introduction and no notes, formed part of the first series of the Bibliotecas Populares Cervantes, entitled *Las cien mejores obras de la literatura española* [The best one hundred works of Spanish literature]. Although largely insignificant as an edition, the inclusion of the work in such a series signaled the broadening of the reception field of the *relación.* The reprint of this work is also undated.

The lack of a date in this edition has caused considerable confusion. Justo García Morales (30) referred to the date of the first edition of the work as 1934. In his 1958 reedition of Justo García Morales's text, Ferrando Pérez ("Naufragios" 16b) referred somewhat cryptically to the "1934" Compañía Ibero-Americana edition and the 1944 printing of the Espasa-Calpe edition, such that the Compañía Ibero-Americana reference multiplied into two editions, one in 1934 and another in 1944, in Matamoro's (21) 1986 edition. Favata and Fernández (*Relación* xv, 162) refer to the date of the Compañía Ibero-Americana edition once as 1933 and later as 1934. Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 162) lists the edition twice, once under 1928 with the publisher "Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones" and again under the year 1934 with the publisher "Biblioteca Popular Cervantes." This error was copied into the bibliography of the English translation of Favata and Fernández's edition (*The Account* 141). All these references, giving the years 1928, 1933, 1934, and 1944, are evidently permutations of García Morales's original reference to the undated copy still present in the Biblioteca Nacional.

6.A.3. *The Editors Justo García Morales and Roberto Ferrando Pérez.* Although Justo García Morales (30) was aware of and referred to Serrano y Sanz's edition of the *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios*, he seems still to have perceived his own 1945 edition published by Aguilar as the initial restoration of the integral 1555 text. This tiny pocket edition, number 98 of the Colección Crisol, was evidently seen by its editor as more than another popular edition, and in some ways it did offer more critical information than its predecessors. The text included the license to print and Cabeza de Vaca's introductory pieces to both the *relación* and the *Comentarios*,

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and Justo García Morales's introduction offered a brief but well-balanced introduction to the text. As mentioned previously (chap. 13, sec. 13), García Morales misidentified the date of Buckingham Smith's English translation of the *relación* as 1571. In 1960 Aguilar reprinted García Morales's edition in the same pocket format of 1945. In 1987 Aguilar again reprinted the text, this time slightly altering the notes and removing Justo García Morales's introduction.

In 1958, Aguilar republished the *relación* in volume 2 of the "Colección de Textos Anotados: Bibliotheca Indiana: Libros y fuentes sobre América y Filipinas: Viajes y Viajeros," directed by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. The title of volume 2 was *Viajes por Norteamérica: Edición, con estudios y notas, de los textos de Cabeza de Vaca, Vizcaíno, Padre Kino, Lafora, Morfi, Chateaubriand, Charnay, Fr. Francisco Palóu, Zavala, Menéndez de Avilés y Tamarón.* The editor of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was Roberto Ferrando Pérez. Although the source of this edition is not identified and the introduction to the text is difficult to call anything but a plagiarized version of Justo García Morales's 1945 text, Ferrando Pérez seems to have had no knowledge of the 1542 edition of the *relación*, in spite of the fact that it is explicitly mentioned in García Morales's 1945 introduction. In general, Ferrando Pérez's understanding of the various editions of the *relación* is confused, and errors abound in the edition (e.g., on page 21b, the date of the Valladolid edition stated beneath the facsimile reproduction of the edition's frontispiece is 1561 rather than 1555).

In 1984, Ferrando Pérez brought out a new edition of the *relación* and *Comentarios* with Historia 16 in the collection "Crónicas de América," also directed by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (Ferrando Pérez published a reedition of Justo García Morales's edition of the *Comentarios* in 1962 in volume 4 of the Bibliotheca Indiana). The Historia 16 edition was printed a second time in 1984 and again in 1985. In addition, the text of the Ferrando Pérez edition of the *relación* has also been reprinted by Información y Revistas as part of a series called Cambio16–92 in 1992. Finally, this same edition of the *relación* and *Comentarios* as published by Historia 16 has been reprinted and published in 1992 as volumes 11 and 12 of the Biblioteca Americana by the same Información y Revistas; this last publication was supported by the Caja de Madrid.

This last version of the *relación*, edited in 1984 by Ferrando Pérez and presently having been printed five times, continues to cause considerable false and outdated information to proliferate, beginning with the editor's complete ignorance of the 1542 Zamora edition of the text.

6.A.4. *Other Popular Editions Printed in Spain.* In addition to the twenty-two twentieth-century printings we have already mentioned in this survey

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intended to correct widely circulating misinformation, we give notice here of others of no particular interest, simply in order to detail the great number of times the *relación* has been published in Spain. In 1943, the *relación* was published with [Diego] Portichuelo de Rivadeneyra's *Viaje y sucesos* by the publisher Atlas. In 1948 it appeared in its entirety in a literary magazine called the *Revista literaria: Novelas y cuentos.* An undated version of the *relación* and *Comentarios*, cataloged at the Biblioteca Nacional for 1956, was published by García Enciso. The Taurus edition of 1969, edited by Dionisio Ridruejo, included in its very limited bibliography mention of Fernández del Pulgar's manuscript. In 1970, the Editorial Libra published an edition of both the *relación* and *Comentarios*, preceded by an introduction by Justo García Morales. Juan Estruch edited the text from Serrano y Sanz's edition for Fontamara in 1982. The publisher Orbis has printed an edition in 1983, 1986, and 1988, the second of which includes the introduction cited above by Blas Matamoro based largely on information apparently taken from Ferrando Pérez's 1984 edition. In 1987, the Club Internacional de Libro published an edition of both the *relación* and *Comentarios* that also included an introduction by Justo García Morales. Finally, Anaya brought out an edition of the *relación* directed at youths, but in its original, unmodified form, in 1992. We discuss the two printings of Barrera's edition (1985, 1989), Maura's edition (1989), and Pupo-Walker's (1992) below (sec. 8).

Summarizing, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* has been printed at least thirty-seven times in Spain between 1922 and the present. Of course, without specific information about the pressrun and sale of each of these editions it is difficult to convert these data into meaningful information regarding the readership and reception of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in Spain during the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the simple fact that it has been printed so often gives some idea of its conversion into a widely read "classic" text in the twentieth century.

6.B. *Spanish-Language Editions Published outside of Spain*

The information we have gathered about the popular editions of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* derives in large part from our investigations in libraries of the United States and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, Spain. A complete study of the Spanish-language publication of the *relación* would require visits to many of the archives of Spanish America. We have examined two editions published in Spanish American countries, one from Havana (Instituto del Libro, 1970) and the other from Mexico (Porrúa, 1988), the latter of which includes an introduction by Justo García Morales. Maura (*Naufragios* 65) mentioned an edition of the *relación* by Luis Alberto Sánchez published in

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Mexico in 1977, most likely the one listed in Favata and Fernández's (*The Account* 141) bibliography as being published by the editor Premia. Favata and Fernández (*The Account* 142) also cited editions published in Bogotá (1983) and Buenos Aires (1984). Favata and Fernández's own 1986 Spanish edition of the *relación*, published in the United States (discussed below), as well as the curious Spanish edition with Italian footnotes published by Cisalpino-Golardico (1984) in Milan must also be considered among Spanish-language editions published outside of Spain. Thus, since 1922, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* has been printed in Spanish a minimum of forty-four times.

7. LESS TRADITIONAL VERSIONS OF THE *RELACIÓN*

We have already mentioned above the publication of the integral text of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in some less traditional formats such as in pocket form and in an issue of a literary magazine. These formats suggest the possibility of new readership, but their presentation of the text does not differ in any fundamental way from previous editions. We here examine briefly some more radical modifications and transformations of the *relación*, both within and outside the Spanish-language context.

7.A. *Juvenile Editions*

Ever since García Morales (30) documented the existence of the juvenile edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* published by Seix Barral in 1943 (actually the second printing of it), subsequent editors have repeated this information as though this were the only juvenile edition of the account ever published; Ferrando Pérez repeated the information in 1958 ("Naufragios" 16b) and again in 1984 (*Naufragios* 38), Favata and Fernández (*Relación* xv, 162) did so in 1986, as did Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 162) in 1992, and Favata and Fernández (*The Account* 141) again in 1993. Contrary to the received idea of this one juvenile edition, Cabeza de Vaca's account has in fact served a long tradition of juvenile editions. The tradition is particularly difficult to track, however, as such editions are generally neither studied nor systematically archived; the observations we make here proceed from our investigations in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

In addition to the Seix Barral edition, originally published sometime before 1943, another edition, also of uncertain first publication date, was done by the Augustinian Padre García Celso. The fifth printing of this edition appeared in 1955 and was published by Araluce in the series *Los grandes hechos de los grandes hombres* [The great deeds of great men]. According to Padre García's introduction (vii–viii), he desired to offer "true histories" that would

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satisfy the reading desires of youth (supposed by him to be adventure stories) but without fiction. José-Miguel Velloso edited a juvenile edition of the *relación* with Aguilar in 1963. Miguel Álvarez Morales published an edition of both the *relación* and Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* in a juvenile edition that first appeared in 1965 and was printed for the eighth time in 1980. Other editions include one by María Isabel Molina published at least once before 1966 and again in 1972, one by Jorge Campos in 1970, and, finally, one by Antonio Corella Cebriá in 1992. This last one, similar to Padre García's, is also set in a religious context and consists of a rewriting and commentary on the *relación* with segments bolded to elicit an inspirational reading of the work.

7.B. *The* Relación *on Radio Salamanca (1944)*

In 1944, the Jesuit Padre Enrique Basabe published *La cruz del imperio: Cuatro supervivientes de la Florida.* According to Basabe (12), the eight chapters of this "edition" corresponded to eight radio programs presented by Radio Salamanca, which the Salmantine public had followed with such considerable interest that the publication of the transcripts was warranted. In the edition of these transcripts, Basabe (10) spoke of the difficulties and burdens of empire, both in the sixteenth century and in the modern world. In the former, according to Basabe, the challenges were met through religion, as demonstrated by Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, and thus the particular spin put on the radio broadcasts of 1944 and the desired effects of their author(s) should be clear.

7.C. *The* Relación *in Comic-Strip Format*

Cabeza de Vaca's biography has recently appeared in comic-strip format. Miguel Ángel Nieto Ventura authored the text for *Cabeza de Vaca: El mago blanco,* published in 1992 by Spain's Sociedad Estatal Quinto Centenario and Planeta-Agostini, Barcelona. In this work Cabeza de Vaca is portrayed in the year 1559 as an old man who has joined a religious order. He walks through Seville, conversing with a younger member of his order and narrating the tale of his life; once again the "edition" seems to focus on drawing out inspirational aspects of the *relación* and of Cabeza de Vaca's biography in general.

7.D. *Cabeza de Vaca's* Relación *as the Inspirational Source of Creative Expression: Film, Music, Graphic Arts, Creative Writing*

The same inspirational energy of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* tapped by some religious editors has likewise served the interests of various modes of secular

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creative expression. Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 157–60) documented the existence of various novelistic and poetic variations of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, Ettore de Grazia's graphic creations of the four Narváez expedition survivors' experiences, a cantata based on the narrative of the *relación*, and the Mexican cinematographer Nicolás Echevarría's 1990 film based on the *relación*. To the list of works compiled by Pupo-Walker we add three relatively recent appearances: (1) Roberto Ferrando Pérez's *Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1987), a biographical work sprinkled with fragments of invented first-person "testimony" from Cabeza de Vaca; (2) Abel Posse's *El largo atardecer del caminante* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 1992), which is a fragmentary sort of novel in an autobiographical form offering Cabeza de Vaca's reflections on a number of events narrated in the *relación*; and (3) Jean-Louis Rieupeyrout's *Le conquistador perdu: La fabuleuse odyssée indienne de Cabeza de Vaca (1528–1536)* (Paris: Payot, 1992), a novel that stays close to the original account while incorporating fictional episodes into the historical framework of the narrative.

8. CRITICAL STUDY OF THE *RELACIÓN* IN SPANISH: NEW TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE VALLADOLID (1555) TEXT

The critical study of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* in Spanish was begun by Billy Thurman Hart in 1974 with his unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled "A Critical Edition with a Study of the Style of *La Relación* by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca." Since then, four editors have presented new transcriptions of the Valladolid (1555) text, all of which have been mentioned above: Trinidad Barrera (1985, rpt. 1989), Martin A. Favata and José B. Fernández (1986), Juan Francisco Maura (1989), and Enrique Pupo-Walker (1992). In spite of the fact that these editors used the Valladolid (1555) edition, none of them chose to include Pero Hernández's *Comentarios* with Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*.

In contrast to previous Spanish editions of the text, in these editions we find various efforts to establish a more critical edition of the text that takes into account the variations between the two sixteenth-century editions, Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition, and the Short Report. With the exception of Maura's exclusion of the 1555 license to print, all include both this document and Cabeza de Vaca's dedicatory epistle to the emperor. Again with the exception of Maura (*Naufragios* 65), who claims that the differences between the Zamora (1542) and Valladolid (1555) texts are minimal, each editor has made some attempt to document the variations between the two texts. In Favata and Fernández's and Pupo-Walker's editions, where the effort to study these differences has been carried out the most completely up

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to the present edition, the inclusion of orthographic as well as substantive differences has tended to conceal the significant variants. In Pupo-Walker's work, his comparison of the two sixteenth-century editions, Oviedo's text, and the Short Report as though all four are mere variations of the same text carries this obfuscating effect a step farther. (For our discussion of the relationships between Oviedo's text, the Short Report, and the published sixteenth-century editions that render the comparison of textual variation of the first two texts with either of the published editions unprofitable, see chap. 12, secs. 2–5.)

With respect to the titles used in these editions, only Hart excluded the term *naufragios* from the title of his dissertation, referring to Cabeza de Vaca's account as the *relación*; Barrera chose *Naufragios* for her edition, Favata and Fernández used *La Relación o "Naufragios" de Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, and Pupo-Walker calls his edition *Los Naufragios.* Thus it is evident that although each of these editors has reached beyond Barcia's eighteenth-century edition based on the Valladolid (1555) text back to the Valladolid publication itself, the eighteenth-century editor's use of the Valladolid edition with its chapter divisions and other, less obvious textual modifications has persisted, as has his use of the title "Naufragios." Finally, again with varying degrees of detail and completeness, these editions have attempted to provide contextualizing material and explanatory annotation necessary for improved comprehension of the text, following in the tradition introduced by the nineteenth-century translations of Ternaux-Compans (1837), Buckingham Smith (1851, 1871), and Franz Termer (1925).

9. SURVIVING COPIES OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS

Today the Zamora (1542) edition of the *relación* is extremely rare. We have verified the existence of one copy each at both the New York Public Library and the John Carter Brown Library; in 1924, Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 5) mentioned a copy at the British Museum (now at the British Library). Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 5) did not mention a copy at the John Carter Brown Library in 1924, but he did refer to one in the hands of a private collector in Spain. Although Pupo-Walker (*Naufragios* 71) recently claimed that the library of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid holds a copy that he did not have the opportunity to examine, our investigation in that library in July 1994 has revealed that a copy of neither the 1542 edition nor the 1555 edition is held there; Pupo-Walker also claimed that "informed bibliophiles" told him about two additional copies in private collections in Spain, one of which, "in all certainty," is in the library of the house of Medina Sidonia; he was evidently also unable to verify this information. We have not investigated these claims.

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In preparing his 1925 German translation of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, Franz Termer compared the 1542 edition of the *relación* to the 1555 edition, although not in a systematic, exhaustive fashion, as Georg Friederici (19) observed in his 1926 review of the edition. In the introduction to the second edition of the translation, published in 1963, Termer (16) again referred to this comparison and identified the copy of the 1542 Zamora edition of the *relación* that he used for his comparison as one located in the Universitätsbibliothek in Leipzig, Germany (14). Thus, at present we are certain that at least four copies of the Zamora printing survive (at the New York Public Library, the John Carter Brown Library, the British Library, and the Mary Couts Burnett Library, Texas Christian University). It is possible that three additional copies survive (the copy at the Universitätsbibliothek of Leipzig, Germany, and two more dubious copies possibly in private collections in Spain).

Surviving copies of the Valladolid (1555) edition of the *relación* are considerably more numerous. Wagner ("Álvar Núñez" 5) listed copies at eleven locations in 1924. Given the relative abundance of the Valladolid edition, Wagner evidently felt it unnecessary to compile an exhaustive inventory of existing copies of the 1555 text, and some of the locations he cited, such as the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, house multiple copies of the edition. At present, the Firestone Library of Princeton University (not mentioned by Wagner in 1924) houses two copies, one in its own Kane Collection and one in the Scheide Library. As we have demonstrated above, the republication in the eighteenth century of this still relatively available Valladolid (1555) version of the text was not the result of a conscious editorial preference for that edition as the more definitive form of the text; rather, it was a result of the scarcity of the original Zamora edition, which was virtually unknown in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century when Barcia first reedited the Valladolid text.

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CHAPTER 15

Pánfilo de Narváez and Spanish Activity in the Gulf of Mexico (1508 to 1528)

1. INTRODUCTION

According to what Cabeza de Vaca would later recall as he wrote his *relación* (f8v) back in Castile sometime after August 1537, it had been on a Saturday, 1 May 1528, when he and the other members of the tiny ruling junta of the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition gathered together on what today we can be certain was the western coast of the Florida Peninsula to decide what course of action their expedition should pursue. The expedition's destination had been the Río de las Palmas, which a pilot Narváez had recruited in Cuba during the winter of 1527–28 said he knew well. The storm that had blown the expedition off the northwestern coast of Cuba and into the Gulf of Mexico had so disoriented the navigators of the expedition, however, that they now had little idea where they had landed along the gulf's northern coast. The pilot, named Miruelo, had already departed on Narváez's orders to sail in the direction of the Florida Peninsula in search of the river he said he knew, with instructions to continue until he either discovered it or reached Cuba. Meanwhile, the rest of the expedition needed to decide what to do.

The members of the ruling junta had considerably different opinions regarding what plan to follow, and these were based, in part, on their previous experience in the Indies. Narváez had come to America soon after Columbus's 1492 discovery, had participated in the conquests of Jamaica and Cuba, and had spent over four years as Cortés's prisoner in Mexico. The hardened conquistador thought little of leaving his ships in pursuit of inland conquest.

The commissary of the expedition, Juan Suárez, had been one of the original twelve Franciscans to travel to New Spain in 1524 and was undoubtedly eager to enter the new mission field of the province of *Florida.* Suárez was no doubt just as eager to start exercising his authority as the bishop of Río de las Palmas, but the difficulties of the expedition's journey to that point had made him fearful of further sea travel, and he therefore proposed a land route directly along the coast, perhaps until the expedition reached the Río Pánuco; there he knew the group could proceed upstream to the settlement

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of Santisteban del Puerto, which Cortés had founded in 1523, one year prior to the Franciscans' arrival in Mexico.

The three members of the royal treasury of Narváez's expedition — Alonso (Diego) de Solís, Alonso Enríquez, and Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca — were on their first voyage to the Americas. Whereas Solís and Enríquez agreed with the commissary's suggestion, Cabeza de Vaca leads us to believe that his greatest concern was not his own safety or personal gain but, rather, his sovereign's interest in the expedition. He argued that the ships should not be deserted, for to do so was to put them at risk of loss, as two others had already been destroyed on the southern coast of Cuba during the previous winter and another had been lost on the *Florida* coast. Although he neglected to say so in his *relación*, according to what Oviedo (*Historia* 3:584a [bk. 35, chap. 1]) recorded from the report Cabeza de Vaca and the others had given upon their return to Mexico in 1536, he had also argued that the expedition was waiting for the return of the pilot Miruelo and the supply ship from Cuba and that if the expedition were to go off in the direction of Pánuco, the direction opposite that in which Miruelo had gone, it might never regain contact with him.

According to Cabeza de Vaca, only the notary of the expedition, Jerónimo de Alaniz, agreed with him. Alaniz had also come to the New World in the earliest years and had worked as a notary (*escribano*) both on Española and later on Cuba. In 1520 he had apparently accompanied Narváez to Mexico, and after Narváez's defeat there, he had worked for a time at Veracruz before returning to the islands. In 1527 he vacated his royally appointed position in Cuba to go with Narváez to *Florida*, and, like all the others of the expedition save four, he never returned.

The course that these men eventually resolved to pursue along the coast toward the Río de las Palmas and the Spanish settlement of Santisteban del Puerto on the Río Pánuco was determined by over thirty-five years of Spanish presence in the Americas. Most pertinent to the Narváez party was the ten-year period between 1513 and 1523, during which all the major events that would influence the Narváez expeditionaries' perspectives on the geography of the Gulf of Mexico took place. Many of the details noted above are fleshed out in our commentary on the expedition. An understanding of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, however, demands a historical overview of Spanish discovery and colonization in the Gulf of Mexico that contextualizes the events narrated therein. Thus, we offer here a discussion of the period preceding Narváez's expedition in an effort to establish the origins of the protagonists and the ideas that influenced the course of events that led to the loss of this major Spanish expedition on the northern coast of the Gulf

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of Mexico (see table 7). We begin with a portrait of its leader, as given by some sixteenth-century writers who knew him.

2. THE CHRONICLERS' DESCRIPTIONS OF NARVÁEZ AND HIS EARLY YEARS IN AMERICA

Bartolomé de las Casas first mentions Pánfilo de Narváez in his *Historia de las Indias* (2:405 [bk. 2, chap. 61]) as the captain whom Juan de Esquivel sent from Jamaica to Guacanayabo Bay off the coast of southern Cuba to rescue a small group of men, led by Alonso de Hojeda, who were stranded there in 1508, three years prior to the Spaniards' conquest of the island: "and in it he sent Pánfilo de Narváez as captain, of whom there is much to say below, and of his disastrous end." Las Casas does not describe Narváez as a caballero, the term he uses in the same passage to describe Juan de Esquivel, then the lieutenant governor of Jamaica under Nicolás de Ovando's government of the Indies. Instead, he refers to Narváez simply as a "reputable and honest man" [hombre honrado y de bien]. Las Casas's comment on Narváez's "disastrous end" reveals that the chronicler had planned to extend his *Historia* to include Narváez's loss of the 1528 *Florida* expedition. This is confirmed by a later description of Narváez that Las Casas (*Historia* 2:524–25 [bk. 3, chap. 26]) gives, this time with regard to the conquest of Cuba:

> During this time, it being known on the island of Jamaica that Diego Velázquez had crossed over to populate and pacify the island which was often called, and to this day is still often called Cuba, Juan de Esquivel, who was lieutenant [governor] there [Jamaica] and who had almost destroyed it, agreed to send . . . Pánfilo de Narváez, a native of Valladolid, of whom Diego Velázquez was fond, because he himself was from Cuéllar, which is near there. . . . This Pánfilo de Narváez was a man of respect, tall, of fair complexion, which tended toward ruddy, honest, of good judgment, but not very prudent, of good conversation and manners, and also courageous in fighting against the Indians, and probably would have been so against other peoples as well, but above all he had this one fault, which was that he was very negligent; of which there is plenty to say below. . . . Diego Velázquez made this Narváez his chief captain, always favoring him, such that after him [Velázquez], he [Narváez] held the highest position on the island [Cuba].

Las Casas (*Historia* 2:522–47 [bk. 3, chaps. 25–32]) had had ample time to assess Narváez's character, since he had accompanied him on his expeditions of conquest in Cuba between 1512 and 1514: "[a] few days later, I crossed over to there [Cuba], Diego Velázquez having sent for me because of the friendship we had enjoyed on this island [Española], and Narváez and I

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marched together" (Casas, *Historia* 2:525 [bk. 3, chap. 26]). In spite of his firsthand experience with Narváez, Las Casas's opinion of him as "negligent" undoubtedly had been formed retrospectively; he most likely did not judge Narváez in this respect so much on the basis of his activities in Cuba from 1512 to 1514 but more so on the grounds of Cortés's defeat of him in Mexico in 1520 and his loss of the expedition to *Florida* in 1528. Although Las Casas's narrative in the *Historia* ends before the recounting of these events, he was obviously aware of them when he composed his description of Narváez at the beginning of his discussion of the conquest of Cuba.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo probably met Narváez for the first time in 1520, when Diego Velázquez sent Narváez from Cuba to arrest Cortés in Mexico. Díaz del Castillo (105b, 106b [chap. 55]) gave a description of Narváez similar to the one Las Casas gave, saying that he was "an hidalgo . . . tall in stature and corpulent, and he spoke in a booming voice, which sounded as though it was emanating from a vault or cavern, and he was a native of Valladolid, and he was married on the island of Cuba to a widowed proprietress named María de Valenzuela, and he had fine settlements of Indians and was very rich." Like Las Casas, Bernal Díaz (Castillo 643b [chap. 206]) had Cortés's 1520 defeat of Narváez in Mexico as well as his 1528 *Florida* disaster in mind as he wrote his *Historia verdadera* in the second half of the sixteenth century, and he mentioned both events in a second description of Narváez:

> Narváez seemed to be about forty years old and tall in stature and very muscular, and he had a long face and a ruddy beard; his company and bearing were agreeable, and his voice boomed as though it emanated from a vault or cavern; he was a fine horseman and was said to be very brave; he was a native of Valladolid or Tudela de Duero; he was married to a lady named María de Valenzuela; on the island of Cuba he was a captain and a rich man; they say he was thrifty, and when we defeated him, he lost an eye; and he reasoned well in speaking, and he went to Castile to complain before His Majesty about Cortés and about us, and His Majesty favored him in the governance of a certain land in those of *Florida*, and there he lost and spent everything he had.

In the introduction to his account of the Narváez expedition, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (*Historia* 3:580ab [bk. 35, proem]) offers a third view of Narváez while contemplating a conversation he says he had with Narváez in Toledo in 1525:

> If Pánfilo de Narváez had not forgotten how he had been treated in New Spain, and had examined how contrary to his expectations his plans had turned out, he might not have sought further whirlwinds and toils, and instead might have contented himself being an hidalgo who crossed over to these parts as a man of means, ready to serve and to search out his fate, acquiring honor and

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> a virtuous wife of rank; and God gave him children and an estate with which he could well live out his life according to his status, as he was reputable and of gentle breeding and pure blood, and had proven himself in the military to be as brave as he was capable, both as a soldier and later as a captain. And he was the one who afterward completed the pacification and conquest of the island of Cuba, and there he possessed much land and lived prosperously; and even after he escaped from the prison and stranglehold of Cortés, he found his wife, María de Valenzuela, who for some years had waited for him, maintaining as good a reputation as even Penelope, given that she did not weave and unravel as the latter had done because of the uncertainty of or hope for the return of her husband, Ulysses; the former, certain of the prison and trials of her husband, made his estate prosper and increased its value and saved the profits in order to help him and ransom his freedom. And thus, when he returned home, he not only found the estate he had left increased, but also thirteen or fourteen thousand *pesos de oro* that his wife had gathered with his slaves and Indians, a fact which Pánfilo de Narváez himself verified for me in Toledo in 1525, while the Caesarean Majesty was in that city. And as he was soliciting justice and challenges against Cortés, as I have said in another part, I advised him, as a friend, to seek repose in his house in the company of his wife and children, and to give thanks to God for having the necessities to endure this life, so full of difficulties. But since his desires enticed him to lead the sons of others, it must have seemed that what I said to him was not as much to his advantage as what he was seeking appeared. And thus he met his end as all poorly planned endeavors do, with his death and that of many whom he entreated to go with him; nor did he lack the age with which to seek tranquillity, since he was as old as or older than I, and his person seemed to me not a little worn.

The translations of Las Casas, Bernal Díaz, and Oviedo are our own; for alternate English translations, including an extended quotation from Oviedo, see Smith (*Relation* 97n3).

Because Oviedo used his narration of Narváez's 1528 expedition as one of many illustrative examples of his critique of the Spanish conquest of America, his description of Narváez must be read in light of this critical positioning of the account of the expedition. Later in his narrative, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:586b [bk. 35, chap. 1]) refers to his earlier description of Narváez, contrasting his performance as a soldier in Cuba with his failures as the leader of the 1520 expedition sent by Velázquez to replace Cortés in New Spain and of the 1528 expedition to *Florida.* On his first mention of Narváez, pertaining to the conquest of Cuba, Oviedo (*Historia* 1:496b [bk. 17, chap. 3]) described Narváez as "a good man, capable in war." Nevertheless, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:586b [bk. 35, chap. 1]) reminds us that in spite of Narváez's virtues as a soldier and captain, he was a man to be led rather than followed.

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Like Oviedo, Las Casas and Bernal Díaz would have held biases against Narváez. In his *Historia*, Las Casas (2:533–45 [bk. 3, chaps. 29–31]) described the conflict he had had with Narváez regarding the treatment of the Indians in Cuba, evidently during the period between sometime in 1512 and 1514. By 1516 Las Casas was in Spain informing the court of Castile about the Spaniards' abuses of the Indians that he had witnessed in Cuba, to which Narváez, also present at court at that time as one of the advocates of the island, gave a formal response (CDI 7:12–13). Las Casas later repeated the account of the Cuban conquest in his *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias* (45, 47), although, as he did throughout the book, he purposely omitted the name of the perpetrator of the crimes recounted, in this case Narváez. It is evident, therefore, that even though Las Casas described Narváez as an affable individual in his *Historia*, the bishop of Chiapas justifiably placed Narváez in a class of brutish conquistadors. As one of Cortés's soldiers, Bernal Díaz would have been a natural opponent of Narváez, the individual whom Diego Velázquez had sent to Mexico to arrest Cortés.

Their biases notwithstanding, the three chroniclers provide largely corroborative information on Pánfilo de Narváez from which we can reconstruct the earliest years of his Indies career. According to Oviedo's estimate, Narváez must have been born sometime around 1478, the year of the chronicler's own birth. Bernal Díaz drew his description of Narváez from an encounter that would have occurred sometime during Narváez's imprisonment in Mexico between 1520 and 1524. If Narváez was forty at that time, the year of his birth would fall between 1480 and 1484. As Bishop (17n1) observed, the commonly stated year of Narváez's birth as 1470 has no foundation; 1480 seems to be a more plausible estimate. This being the case, Narváez was probably only five to ten years older than the royal treasurer of his 1528 *Florida* expedition, Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca.

Although the sixteenth-century sources agree in naming the region of Valladolid, Cuéllar, and Tudela del Duero as Narváez's birthplace, in the early seventeenth century Herrera y Tordesillas (8:305 [dec. 1, bk. 9, chap. 8]) not only insisted on the lands of Cuéllar as the place of Narváez's origin but pointed even more specifically to Navalma[n]zano somewhat to the southeast of Cuéllar, where the chronicler claimed that hidalgos of the surname Narváez still resided. Such sources seem to suggest that Pánfilo de Narváez was actually an hidalgo, but to our knowledge neither his particular genealogy nor his family's status has been investigated.

The year of Narváez's passage to America is also uncertain. Weddle (25) gives no source for his claim that Narváez went to America on Columbus's second voyage in 1493. Smith (*Relation* 207) translated an undated

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document, which he cited no more specifically than "Archivo de Indias," in which Narváez declared twenty-six years of service in America. The document probably dates to 1525, the year that Narváez most likely returned to Spain after being imprisoned by Cortés in Mexico (see chap. 1, secs. 1–3), and this implies that he had arrived on Española at least by 1499. Marte (128) published Juan Bautista Muñoz's transcription of a vague fragment of a document that identifies a certain Rodrigo de Narváez who, as a superintendent of artillery, was involved in the outfitting of Columbus's second voyage; the same name appears in Diego Velázquez's will (CDI 35:514), where the governor of Cuba states that he made a payment to Rodrigo de Narváez sometime prior to 1524 according to María de Valenzuela's order. This Rodrigo de Narváez was perhaps Pánfilo's brother or another close relative, suggesting that Pánfilo too may have come to Española in 1493, as Weddle claims.

The 1514 *repartimiento* of Indians on the island of Española by Pero Ibáñez de Ibarra and Rodrigo de Alburquerque (CDI 1:50–236) gives an indirect record of Narváez's prior registration of Indian slaves on Española and names him as a *vecino* of the *villa* of Vera Paz on Española previous to the date that the document was written (CDI 1:80); it also documents the transfer of Indians registered to Narváez from him to *vecinos* of Concepción (CDI 1:80) and Vera Paz (CDI 1:216), as well as the assignment of one of María de Valenzuela's Indians to a *vecino* of Concepción (CDI 1:65).

The evidence suggests that both Narváez and his wife had lived on Española prior to 1514 and were perhaps married there rather than in Cuba, as Bernal Díaz claimed. Narváez's son Diego appears in the documentary record in 1536 (CDU 4:409–11) requesting that possession of his holdings in Cuba be guaranteed during the time he intended to be absent from the island in order to attend to his late father's business "in New Spain and other places." It appears, therefore, that at least one of the Narváez children to whom Oviedo referred had likely been born on Española in the first years of the sixteenth century.

Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 179) notes that Narváez was second in command under Juan de Esquivel in the conquest of Jamaica in 1509. As a man of means, Narváez appears to have risen in rank by virtue of his military prowess and had become a captain at least by the time he went over to Cuba from Jamaica in 1511 if not already before that time. Narváez appears to have made his fortune as one of Velázquez's favorites in the conquest of Cuba. It was obviously not his success in the island conquests that led Las Casas (see above) and Oviedo (*Historia* 3:316b [bk. 33, chap. 12]) to underscore negligence as the most prominent aspect of his character. By following the course of events in the Caribbean and Mexico that led to Narváez's disastrous

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loss of the *Florida* expedition at the end of 1528, we will not only be able to better understand the historical and geographic context of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* but will also be able to further assess Cabeza de Vaca's own negative portrayal of Narváez in his testimony and writing on the 1528 expedition. The notion of the incompetent Narváez that Cabeza de Vaca evidently sketched in the Joint Report and filled out in his *relación* became a resonant theme in the writings of Las Casas and Oviedo, two of the most important early readers of the *relación.*

3. SPANISH PRESENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE SEARCH FOR GOLD AND SLAVES (1508 TO 1516)

From the island of Española, Spanish conquest radiated outward (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 157–60). Juan Ponce de León entered Puerto Rico in 1508. In the same year, Cuba was circumnavigated by Sebastián de Ocampo. From the time of Columbus's second voyage in 1493–94 until 1508, Cuba was believed to be part of a larger mainland to which the would-be peninsula was thought to be connected on its western end. The date by which Cuba's status as an island was proven is a point of some dispute. Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 158) states that Sebastián de Ocampo's mission was to survey the coasts of Cuba, already known to be an island, for settlement, rather than to prove its island status; early accounts, however, contradict this claim.

Bartolomé de las Casas (*Historia* 2:339–40 [bk. 2, chap. 41]) explicitly says that the Ocampo voyage had been sent out to prove Cuba was an island, adding that another pilot, Andrés de Morales, was sent out at the same time on another mission to record the features of the Cuban coast. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 262 [dec. 2, bk. 7]) explains that "[t]he year prior to the departure of captains Nicuesa and Hojeda," Vicente Yáñez Pinzón set out from Española on a voyage of exploration, upon which he circumnavigated Cuba before continuing on to the mainland coast. According to Martire, "[t]his Vicente Yáñez ran the coast of Cuba from east to west and circumnavigated that land, considered then by many to be a continent, given its extent. It is said that others had done the same." Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 170) states that Nicuesa and Hojeda departed for the northern coast of South America in December 1509, and he also discusses the Yáñez Pinzón voyage of 1508 (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 165–68), although he does not mention the circumnavigation of Cuba by this pilot on this voyage. Martire's careful observation of the American discoveries from Spain and Las Casas's presence on Española at the time Cuba was being explored make their testimony that Cuba was thought to be part of a mainland body until 1508 particularly convincing; although

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others probably had circumnavigated Cuba before Sebastián de Ocampo, his 1508 voyage officially proved that it was not a peninsula but rather an island.

The establishment of Spanish settlement on the islands of Cuba and Jamaica was the prelude to the discovery and exploration of the Florida Peninsula, the Yucatán Peninsula, Mexico, and the other coastal lands of the Gulf of Mexico; this exploration was financed and carried out almost exclusively by wealthy *vecinos* of the Cuban and Jamaican colonies. We have already mentioned Narváez's involvement in the conquest of these two islands. It is difficult to put an exact date on Narváez's conquests in Cuba, but from an extract of an account of the conquest of Cuba written by Diego Velázquez that was evidently dated 1 April 1514 (CDI 11:412–29) and Las Casas's description of the conquest in his *Historia* (2:522–47 [bk. 3, chaps. 25–32]), it seems that Narváez had been most active between 1512 and 1514.

By 1514 Diego Velázquez had founded six *villas* in Cuba, and in 1515 he added Santiago de Cuba as the island's capital. Santiago de Cuba, San Salvador de Bayamo (inland on a navigable channel), Trinidad, and San Cristóbal de la Habana were located from east to west along the southern shore; Asunción de Baracoa and Puerto Príncipe were situated along the northern shore, as was the port of Carenas, to which San Cristóbal de la Habana was transferred in 1519; Sancti Spíritis was founded inland near Trinidad (see Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 188, fig. 23).

Gold mining and livestock production became the major sources of income in Cuba; if gold had been found in Jamaica, it was not abundant, and the island became the major site of food production for the mining districts of Cuba. To provide the labor required for the mining and livestock operations on all four islands of the Greater Antilles, it became necessary to replace the native populations that either fled from the Spaniards or were killed or enslaved by them at the time each of the islands was initially overtaken. The Spaniards' search for Indian slaves was probably the single most important factor leading to their exploration beyond Española, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba to the smaller Lucayas (Bahamas), Lesser Antilles, and the Bay Islands, including Guanaja, as well as to the American mainland. Before moving on to our discussion of island exploration in the search for slaves, however, a second motivating factor leading to the exploration of the Caribbean islands and the mainland coast—the search for a passage to Asia—needs to be mentioned.

Securing a convenient passage to Asia was the official interest of the Castilian crown with regard to the "Indies" from the discovery of America until about 1525. By then Magellan had discovered the passage around the southern tip of South America (1519–20), and Esteban Gómez had proven

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that no other passage existed between the Strait of Magellan and the high northern latitudes (1524–25). Cortés's discovery of México-Tenochtitlán in 1519 and Pizarro's conquest of the Inca empire and the capture of Atahualpa in 1532 brought the possibility of the crown's acquisition of great mineral wealth from its American colonies to the fore. Even though the crown had initially been interested only in reaching Asia, gold, slaves, and land had been the pursuit of individual conquistadors almost from the beginning of the Spanish discovery of the Americas. (See chap. 16, secs. 2 and 6 for a discussion of Columbus's and Cortés's searches for a sea passage from Spain to Asia.)

Spaniards turned north from the Greater Antilles to the Lucayas as the first alternative source of Indians. Although the Lucayas were the first islands discovered by Columbus in 1492, the Iberian colonists found them too small to be of use when they began settling in the Caribbean. Capturing the natives of the small islands was easy, however, and the islands eventually became the site of systematic Indian enslavement. Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 159–60) notes that between 1509 and 1512 the Spaniards almost completely evacuated the Lucayas of their native population. The Indians were taken mainly to Española and Puerto Rico, where they were made to work as slaves in the Spanish search for gold. According to Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 160), even though the Spaniards probably had a vague notion of a large land mass to the west of the Lucayas as early as 1502, the real discovery of the Florida Peninsula came as the Indians of the Lucayas were becoming scarce. The persistent search for them eventually led the Spaniards to their discovery of the "province" of *Florida*, that is, the North American mainland.

The many small islands of the Lucayas had no geographic counterpart in the Caribbean waters to the south of the Greater Antilles. In that region only a few other small islands presented possibilities for slaving (the most important were the Lesser Antilles and the Bay Islands off the coast of Honduras). Las Casas (*Historia* 3:142–45 [bk. 3, chap. 92]) provides evidence supporting the notion that slave hunting played a key role in the systematic exploration of the Caribbean islands by Spaniards setting out from the settlements of Cuba.

Las Casas describes a slaving expedition sent out by Diego Velázquez in 1516 in which two ships sailed from the port of Santiago de Cuba to the Bay Islands in the Gulf of Honduras. While one of the ships remained at the islands, the other, having taken a cargo of Indians, sailed north along the eastern coast of the Yucatán Peninsula and west around the tip of Cuba to the port of Carenas (modern-day Havana). At port, while the Spaniards were off guard, the natives escaped, took possession of the ship, and sailed it back around the western cape of Cuba and then south to the place where

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the Spaniards of the other vessel had remained. The disturbance caused among the Indians by the return of the others made it necessary for the Spaniards who had remained in the islands in the other ship to escape to the south. According to Las Casas, the Spaniards carved a cross in the bark of a tree, added the inscription "We are going to Darién," and sailed away. Diego Velázquez was forced to send more ships after the one in which the captured Indians had fled from Carenas, and thus he was informed of what had occurred. This account suggests that by 1516 most of the natives of the major islands of the Caribbean had either been enslaved or killed and that slaving probably extended to the Florida Peninsula and to most of the islands of the Caribbean. Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 213–15) gives a historical critique of the anecdote narrated by Las Casas.

4. SPANISH ENTRANCE INTO THE GULF OF MEXICO (1513 TO 1518)

As Oviedo (qtd. above, sec. 2) mentioned, Pánfilo de Narváez and María de Valenzuela managed a large estate and mines in Cuba. Wright (88) locates these holdings in San Salvador de Bayamo. Although Narváez was probably a *vecino* of Asunción de Baracoa or San Salvador de Bayamo when he left Cuba for Spain in 1515 and was even made a *regidor perpetuo* of the latter *villa* in 1518 (Wright 89), it is possible that he also held property in the region of Trinidad and Sancti Spíritis on the southwestern coast of the island, considering that the richest gold deposits were located there. The likelihood that Narváez held land in western Cuba is supported by the fact that he had led the conquest of that part of the island prior to going to Spain.

In spite of his extensive holdings in Cuba and his importance there, Narváez actually spent very little time on the island during the initial period of discovery in the Gulf of Mexico between 1513 and 1518. As we have seen, the reassignment of some of his and María de Valenzuela's Indians at the end of 1514 suggests that the couple had already taken up residence in Cuba by that time. Las Casas (*Historia* 3:103 [bk. 3, chap. 81]) relates that Velázquez sent Narváez to Spain as his advocate in order to acquire the direct governorship of Cuba for him, independent of the jurisdiction of Diego Colón on Española. Although he does not give a specific date for Narváez's departure, it appears from Las Casas's account that Narváez left the island in 1515. Letters from Diego Velázquez and the other officials of Cuba show that Narváez and Antonio Velázquez departed for Spain as advocates of the island community in August 1515 (CDI 11:448–57). Antonio Velázquez seems to have returned to Cuba (Wright 74), probably in about 1517, but, as we will see, Narváez appears to have remained in Spain until early 1519. We take up Narváez's activities in Spain between 1515 and 1519 below (sec. 5).

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4.A. *Unlikelihood of European Exploration in the Gulf of Mexico prior to 1513*

The Europeans' initial entrance into the Gulf of Mexico is the subject of considerable debate. That Amerigo Vespucci traveled the entire length of the coastline of the Gulf of Mexico from the tip of the Yucatán Peninsula to the tip of the Florida Peninsula and then northward along the eastern shores of North America in 1497 has been rejected by most scholars who believe that the voyage described in a letter of disputed authority but claimed to be written by Vespucci even took place; see Gay, Winsor ("Critical"), Morison (*The European Discovery* 2:276–97, 304–12), and Weddle (16–17). Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 109–11) says merely that the Vespucci question has not been resolved. Toussaint (68–71) accepted Vespucci's voyage through the Gulf of Mexico and identified it as the one during which the region of Pánuco was discovered, even though virtually all contemporary chroniclers date these discoveries to 1518.

Sauer's (*The Early Spanish Main* 166–68) claim that Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and Diego de Solís had followed a course along the southern coast of Cuba into the Gulf of Mexico and down the western coast of the Yucatán Peninsula, thereby ending the search for a passage to Asia in the Gulf of Mexico, is unconvincing. The voyage to which he referred was the one of 1508 mentioned above (sec. 3), the one on which Pietro Martire claimed that Pinzón had circumnavigated Cuba. In addition to contradicting Martire d'Anghiera's (*Décadas* 262 [dec. 2, bk. 7]) and Las Casas's (*Historia* 2:334–35 [bk. 2, chap. 39]) accounts of the expedition's route south and east through the southern Caribbean, Sauer's Gulf of Mexico route is inconsistent with the facts that the voyage neither established the absence of a passage to Asia through the Gulf of Mexico, which 1521 *capitulaciones* granted to Francisco de Garay show was determined in 1519 (Navarrete 3:160–65; Toussaint 195–201), nor led to the Spanish discovery of the Mayas or Aztecs. Weddle (36) justly criticizes Sauer's interpretation of the Pinzón/Solís expedition's route through the Gulf of Mexico. For the 23 March 1508 *capitulaciones* to Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and Diego de Solís, see Vas Mingo (152–55) and CDI (22:5–13).

The year 1513 marked the definitive entrance of the Castilians into the Gulf of Mexico. Between 1513 and 1519, the Spanish pilot Antón de Alaminos learned the secrets of sailing in the Gulf of Mexico and opened it to Spanish exploration. Alaminos would make four voyages into the Gulf of Mexico during this initial period of Spanish presence in the region and quickly gained fame as the most knowledgeable pilot of the newly discovered body of water. Weddle (51, 416–18) has collected some of the references pertaining to Alaminos's biography. It is important to note the distinction

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between the leaders of expeditions, captains of ships, military captains, and pilots who went on every expedition in this earliest period of Spanish exploration and conquest. Pilots such as Alaminos were responsible for the technical skill and geographic knowledge that navigation required. Unlike Alaminos, Pánfilo de Narváez was a leader of land expeditions, not a nautical pilot. Oviedo's (*Historia* 3:586ab [bk. 35, chap. 1], 595a–98b [bk. 35, chaps. 3–4]) interpolations to his narrative of the Narváez expedition suggest that expedition leaders commonly had little empirical knowledge about the areas they were going to conquer, an aspect of the conquests that the Spanish chronicler deplored.

Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 189) has argued that by 1509 the Florida Peninsula may already have been sighted by a stray ship passing through the Lucayas and that the Spaniards probably had earlier knowledge of it from native informants. The debates regarding the status of Cuba as an island, the validity and route of the Vespucci voyage of 1497, and Spanish knowledge of the Florida Peninsula as part of a larger mainland are complicated by two early maps. The Juan de la Cosa map is usually dated to 1500 and depicts Cuba as an island, although we have seen that that information was not formally verified until 1508. The Cantino map is dated 1502. In addition to portraying Cuba as an island, it shows what appears to be the Florida Peninsula (rather than an island) protruding from a mainland to the north, a relationship thought not to have been determined until after 1519 (see sec. 7). It has been suggested that this early geographic "knowledge" stemmed from Vespucci's (unlikely) 1497 voyage through the Gulf of Mexico. For a discussion of the La Cosa map, see Winsor ("The Earliest Maps" 106–07), Weddle (34–35), and Nebenzahl (30). For a discussion of the Cantino map, see Winsor ("The Earliest Maps" 107–09), Morison (*The European Discovery* 2:272–76, 303–04), Lowery (*The Lowery Collection* 4–6), and Nebenzahl (34). For color reproductions of both maps, see Nebenzahl (31–33 [pl. 10], 35–37 [pl. 11]). In spite of this possible early information about the Florida Peninsula, it seems that it was on the first of Alaminos's four voyages into the Gulf of Mexico, on the expedition commanded by Juan Ponce de León in 1513, that the actual Spanish discovery of the Florida Peninsula was made and that it was thought by the Spaniards to be an island for some years after its discovery.

4.B. *Juan Ponce de León's Discovery of the Florida Peninsula and Entrance into the Gulf of Mexico*

On 23 February 1512, Juan Ponce de León was granted a patent to go in search of the island of Bimini (Vas Mingo 162–65; CDI 22:26–32). Whether the term

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Bimini originally referred to an island of the Lucayas or directly to a vague notion of the Florida Peninsula prior to Ponce de León's discovery of it is not certain. Reference to the "illa de beimeni" first appeared on Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's (*P. Martyris* f45r) map of the Caribbean. The precise date of this map is uncertain, as it was a late addition to Martire's 1511 *Opera*; for a reproduction of this map, see Nebenzahl (61 [pl. 19]); for a description, see Lowery (*The Lowery Collection* 9–10) and Nebenzahl (60–61).

Antón de Alaminos guided Juan Ponce de León's expedition of discovery from Puerto Rico northwest through the Lucayas until reaching the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula. He then led it south around the Florida Cape, through the Florida Keys and Tortuga Islands, and north along the western coast of the peninsula. On the return voyage to Puerto Rico, the expedition encountered a ship from Española piloted by a certain Diego Miruelo, whom we discuss further below (sec. 10.B.1). Weddle (46–47) hypothesizes that this Miruelo was in the Lucayas either on a slaving mission or to spy on Ponce de León. For the earliest account of Ponce de León's 1513 voyage, see Herrera y Tordesillas (3:317–26 [dec. 1, bk. 9, chaps. 10–11]). For secondary treatment of the account, see Shea (231–34, 283–84), Lowery (*The Spanish Settlements* 131–45), Davis (3–49), Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 189–90), Morison (*The European Discovery* 2:502–13, 529–33), and Weddle (38–47, 50–54).

When Ponce de León discovered the Florida Peninsula—allegedly named by the Spaniards for their discovery of it on Easter Day, or Pascua Florida—he believed it was an island. On the western coast of the peninsula Ponce de León explored a bay, known as the Bay of Juan Ponce (Bahía de Juan Ponce), to which students of the expedition have had difficulty assigning a modern location; see Lowery (*The Spanish Settlements* 441–47) and Weddle (51–52). Despite historical interest, the identification of this bay is not significant for our study of Narváez's 1528 visit to the region, since no reference to the bay discovered by Ponce de León is mentioned in either Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* or in Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition. Significant for the Narváez expedition, however, is that by 1513 the southern tip of the Florida Cape, as well as its eastern and western shores, had been visited by the Spaniards and that one of the entrances into the Gulf of Mexico had been discovered. Furthermore, a toponym of expanding significance—*Florida*—had been applied to the region. Following his initial voyage, Ponce de León was given extended permission on 27 September 1514 to discover and populate the "islands of Bimini and Florida" (Vas Mingo 166–68); the CDI (22:33–37) transcription gives the incorrect date of 26 September 1512. As we will see below (sec. 10.A), Ponce de León did not return to the Florida Peninsula until 1521.

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4.c. *Possibility of Additional Spanish Visits to the Florida Peninsula (1513 to 1517)*

It seems likely that between 1513 and 1517 (the year of the second of Antón de Alaminos's four voyages) exploration of the newly discovered "island of *Florida*" would have continued, if not for the purpose of discovering new lands, then to capture slaves. A royal *cédula* (CDI 11:295–96) granted to Ponce de León on 22 July 1517 described slave raids made by others to the Lucayas and the island of Bimini; whatever the significance of the toponyms, these raids may have extended to the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula. Hoffman ("A New Voyage") has argued that just such a slaving voyage sponsored by prominent *vecinos* of Española and effected by Pedro de Salazar went to the Atlantic coast of southern North America sometime between late August 1514 and early December 1516.

Writing over sixty years after the voyage he describes ostensibly took place, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (14 [bk. 1, chap. 2]) stated that a pilot he called Miruelo went to *Florida* "a few years after" Ponce de León had discovered the region; some historians have suggested that this Miruelo went to the western coast of the Florida Peninsula. According to El Inca, this pilot named Miruelo was blown by a storm onto the "coast of *Florida*, or another land, it is not known to which part," where he traded with the Indians. El Inca says that this Miruelo did not, however, take time to carefully observe and make a record of the land he visited. In the early eighteenth century, Barcia (*Ensayo* 2a–3b [año 1516]), using El Inca's *La Florida* as his source, arbitrarily dated this voyage to 1516 and referred to its pilot as Diego Miruelo, rather than simply Miruelo, as El Inca had done. Thus, scholars such as Shea (236), Morison (*The European Discovery* 2:515), Hoffman ("A New Voyage" 424–25), and Weddle (187, 204) refer to this voyage according to Barcia's "more complete" name of the pilot—"Diego Miruelo"—and his "more precise" date—1516.

Weddle (204) justly criticizes previous interpretation that this voyage by Miruelo went to the western coast of the Florida Peninsula and rejects its association with the name of Miruelo Bay, a legend that appeared on maps of the western coast of the Florida Peninsula beginning in 1536. As we explain below in our discussion of later exploration of the Florida Peninsula (sec. 10.B), El Inca associated the vague place that his "Miruelo" discovered on this voyage with Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's "1524" (*sic*, 1526) attempt to settle on the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula. This association proves that El Inca did not envision his Miruelo to have gone to the western coast of the Florida Peninsula but rather to a place near the province of "Chicoria" on the eastern coast of the peninsula. We show in further consideration of the various Miruelos (see sec. 10.B.1 and chap. 2, sec. 7) that El Inca

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Garcilaso's "Miruelo," whom Barcia transformed into "Diego Miruelo," appears to be El Inca Garcilaso's invention inspired by his reading of Cabeza de Vaca's description in the *relación* of the historical Miruelo of the Narváez expedition, for whom Weddle (204) convincingly argues that Miruelo Bay on the western coast of the Florida Peninsula was actually named. Morison (*The European Discovery* 2:515) simply copied Shea's (236) statement that "Diego Miruelo, a pilot, sailed from Cuba in 1516 on a trading cruise; and running up the western shore of the Floridian peninsula, discovered a bay which long bore his name on Spanish maps, and was apparently Pensacola." This assertion proceeds from the erroneous association of the "Miruelo Bay" of maps dating from 1536 onward with El Inca's late account of his Miruelo's probably invented voyage. Had Shea used El Inca's *La Florida* directly, rather than follow Barcia's *Ensayo*, he would have realized, first, that in El Inca Garcilaso's text this Diego Miruelo was really named only Miruelo, second, that El Inca Garcilaso understood the voyage to have taken place not in 1516 but rather a few years after Ponce de León returned from *Florida* (1513), as well as almost simultaneously to Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's first exploration of the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula (in 1521; see sec. 10.B), and finally, that El Inca described his Miruelo as having gone to the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula, not to its western coast.

Though El Inca did not envision his Miruelo as having gone to the western coast of the Florida Peninsula, much less to Pensacola Bay, there is little reason to doubt that further undocumented and illegal exploration on the western coast of the Florida Peninsula did actually occur once Ponce de León returned from it in 1513. As we have seen, the existence of a bay on the coast had been documented by Juan Ponce de León, and the western coast of the Florida Peninsula as a new site of possible slave hunting, like its eastern coast, would have piqued the interest of many a Spanish landholder in the Caribbean.

4.D. *Discovery in the Southern Gulf of Mexico: Hernández de Córdoba (1517) and Grijalva (1518)*

Three subsequent voyages guided by Antón de Alaminos—the Hernández de Córdoba expedition of 1517, the Grijalva expedition of 1518, and the Cortés expedition of 1519—led to the discovery of the Yucatán Peninsula and the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico at least as far west and north as Cabo Rojo, a protruding point on the northeastern coast of present-day Mexico (see map 8). The navigational knowledge that the Spaniards gained from these voyages helped establish the route of regular travel between the Caribbean and Mexico that was initiated in 1519.

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The Hernández de Córdoba expedition of 1517 is credited with the discovery of the western coast of the Yucatán Peninsula to the Bay of Campeche and the charting of the Yucatán Channel between the peninsula and the western tip of Cuba. Like Pánfilo de Narváez, Francisco Hernández de Córdoba had been active in the conquest of Cuba. According to Bernal Díaz del Castillo (5b [chap. 1], 15b, 16b [chap. 6]), Hernández de Córdoba was a wealthy landowner in the Cuban mining *villa* of Sancti Spíritis. His 1517 expedition consisted of two caravels and a brigantine. In addition to Alaminos, Juan Álvarez and Pedro Camacho went as pilots on this three-ship expedition.

The purpose and intended destination of the expedition have never been sufficiently determined. The most famous expeditionary of the mission, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (4b, 5b, 6b [chap. 1]), maintained that its purpose was from its inception to discover new lands, even though, said Díaz del Castillo, Diego Velázquez had wanted the men to go to the Caribbean on a slaving voyage. Las Casas (*Historia* 3:156 [bk. 3, chap. 96]) claimed that Hernández de Córdoba, who was his friend, and two others had solicited permission from Diego Velázquez to carry out an expedition for the purpose of bringing Indian slaves back to Cuba.

Although the objectives and destination of the expedition at its outset remain uncertain, it seems fairly evident that its discovery of the Yucatán Peninsula was the accidental result of a storm that drove the ships west beyond Cuba into the Gulf of Mexico. Whatever the expedition's intended destination had been, it departed from Santiago de Cuba and ended up sailing across the Yucatán Channel to the coast of the Yucatán Peninsula. The record of the Hernández de Córdoba voyage's discoveries upon arrival there forms the first documented Spanish knowledge of the Mayan peoples and ruins.

It is not surprising that Alaminos was convinced at the time he discovered the Florida Peninsula in 1513 and Yucatán in 1517 that both were large islands rather than parts of a mainland coast. The brief land explorations carried out by Hernández de Córdoba's expeditionaries exposed them to hostile natives, and the harsh treatment that the Spaniards received at the hands of these coastal Mayan peoples eventually forced the group to sail northward away from the coast. Alaminos employed his knowledge of the currents of the Gulf of Mexico gained on his voyage with Ponce de León four years earlier to carry the group to the western coast of the Florida Peninsula, which the pilot had visited in 1513. The ships landed at a bay (perhaps the one called Juan Ponce) that Alaminos recognized from his previous visit. After renewed Indian attacks, made this time by native peoples of the Florida Peninsula, the surviving men made the difficult passage to the port of Carenas on the northern coast of Cuba. Wagner's *The Discovery of Yucatán* is particularly

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important for its treatment of the primary sources of the Hernández de Córdoba expedition. See also Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 213–16) and Weddle (55–65).

Alaminos's first two voyages (with Ponce de León and Francisco Hernández de Córdoba) divided the Caribbean from whatever lay beyond a line extending from the tip of the Yucatán Peninsula, across the Yucatán Channel to the western tip of Cuba, and then across the Florida Straits to the tip of the Florida Peninsula. The artifacts, accounts of the lands and people, and two Mayan Indians — Julián and Melchior — all brought from Yucatán by the Hernández de Córdoba expedition suggested that great wealth lay beyond that line. The prospect of personal gain quickly led to further exploration along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

Diego Velázquez rapidly organized a new expedition to the region of the Yucatán Peninsula led by Juan de Grijalva. According to Weddle (27, 145–46), Grijalva was one of Velázquez's relatives and, like Hernández de Córdoba, a *vecino* of Trinidad in Cuba. Antón de Alaminos, who continued to increase his knowledge of the waters to the west of the Yucatán Peninsula, western Cuba, and the Florida Peninsula, was the logical choice for piloting the 1518 expedition. Graviel Bosque, Juan Álvarez, and Pedro Camacho, the latter two of whom had been pilots on the Hernández de Córdoba voyage, went as the pilots of the other three ships of the Grijalva expedition. In addition to Grijalva, Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso de Ávila, and Francisco de Montejo served as the captains of the four-ship fleet. The expedition also carried Julián, one of the Indians brought by Hernández de Córdoba from the Yucatán region; he served as an interpreter on the Grijalva mission.

On this third voyage along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Antón de Alaminos extended his knowledge of this body of water from the tip of the Yucatán Peninsula to Cabo Rojo, south of the mouth of the Río Pánuco on the western rim of the Gulf of Mexico. From Cuba the expedition traveled first to the island of Cozumel and then to the eastern coast of the Yucatán Peninsula, north and west around Cabo Catoche and south into the Gulf of Mexico. Despite the many people and obvious wealth of the Mexican lands, Grijalva followed Diego Velázquez's orders to found no settlement on any site of discovery, though Velázquez likely gave the order only because this expedition had been sent out to explore and did not carry the necessary royal authorization for settlement. Whether or not Velázquez expected his expeditionaries to comply with this order or to found in his name a settlement (for which he would have immediately applied for royal permission to establish once news of the expedition's activities reached him) cannot be determined. Amid protests from Grijalva's men, who were anxious to enter the land that would come to be known as New Spain, the captain

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turned the expedition back to Cuba after reaching Cabo Rojo, allowing no conquest to take place.

On 24 June 1518, even before the ships had reached Cabo Rojo, Pedro de Alvarado had been forced to turn his ship back along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico to Cuba because of technical problems, and thus his ship returned before the others. Once Pedro de Alvarado arrived in Cuba, Velázquez dispatched a search party led by Cristóbal de Olid to look for the other three ships of the Grijalva fleet. Olid was unsuccessful at finding Grijalva, even though the latter had indeed turned back along the southern rim of the Gulf of Mexico after reaching Cabo Rojo about four days after the Alvarado ship had begun its voyage back to Cuba. Fighting the wind and strong currents that had favored their forward travel, the Grijalva expedition followed its same path back along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico in order to finally return to Cuba. The account of the Grijalva expedition in Oviedo's *Historia* (1:502a–37b [bk. 17, chaps. 8–18]) is believed to have been written directly from Antón de Alaminos's log of the voyage. See Wagner's *The Discovery of New Spain* for a complete treatment of the Grijalva expedition. See also Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 41–46), Toussaint (71–74), and Weddle (66–79).

The return of the Alvarado ship and the rest of the Grijalva expedition was a key event in the exploration of the Gulf of Mexico. The Florida and Yucatán Peninsulas were probably still thought at that time to be islands, but along the western coast of the Yucatán Peninsula, beyond the marshy area believed to be a channel separating the Yucatán Peninsula from lands farther west, lay a vast and wealthy region. By the time Pánfilo de Narváez returned to Cuba from Spain in 1519, Hernán Cortés had already departed from the island as the leader of the expedition that Velázquez had sent to conquer these newly discovered lands.

5. NARVÁEZ AT THE CASTILIAN COURT AS ADVOCATE FOR CUBA (1515 TO 1519)

Narváez probably knew of Ponce de León's discovery of *Florida* when he left Cuba for Spain, since he had been occupied with the conquest of the island during the time that Ponce de León realized his 1512–13 voyage. Once Narváez departed from Cuba in the second half of 1515, however, his diplomatic responsibilities as advocate for Velázquez kept him in Spain until 1519, and he was therefore absent from the island when Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva made the first discoveries of Mexico.

Narváez seems to have had the pursuit of his own interests at court in mind even before he left Cuba, and he obviously departed for Spain intending to

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seek favors from the king for himself, as well as for Velázquez. The beginning of his pursuit of a governorship of his own even as he passed through Santo Domingo on his way to Spain is evidenced by the extract of a 15 September 1515 letter of recommendation that Miguel de Pasamonte, royal treasurer of the Indies from 1508, wrote to King Ferdinand from Española (Arranz Márquez 396–97). Pasamonte stated that Narváez desired to further serve the crown and that he had spoken with him about the possibility of taking an expedition to Santa Marta (the present-day region of Colombia of the same name, which Rodríguez de Bastidas had discovered in 1502) or the lands that "Vicente Yáñez [Pinzón] and [Diego de] Solís had discovered" (those along the Caribbean coast of Central America). Narváez's designs on these places would fade as news of the recently discovered Mexican lands made its way to the court of Castile in 1517–18.

King Ferdinand's death on 23 January 1516 forced Narváez to extend his stay in Spain as he awaited the accession of King Charles I to the Castilian throne (CDU 1:87–88). By the time Charles had assumed the government of Castile, Cardinal Cisneros had already granted many privileges to Diego Velázquez in response to his advocates' lobbying at the Castilian court (CDU 1:65–70; CDI 11:286–89). As mentioned above (sec. 4), Antonio Velázquez, who was Diego Velázquez's nephew, probably returned to Cuba with the cardinal's decrees in 1517, just as the first news of the Hernández de Córdoba expedition reached the island. As we consider elsewhere (chap. 2, sec. 6.B), Antonio Velázquez's separation from Narváez was temporary, for he also met his death in 1528 on Narváez's *Florida* expedition.

As mentioned earlier (sec. 2), one of Narváez's activities while at the Castilian court was to attempt to discredit the claims Bartolomé de las Casas ("Memorial") introduced in 1516 concerning the Spaniards' abuse of the Indians and to persuade the crown that holding the Indians as slaves, rather than setting them free, was in the best interests of the crown. Narváez and Antonio Velázquez had given an early response to Las Casas's claims (CDI 7:12–13), and later, in a document Narváez and a number of other men submitted to King Charles (Marte 211–14), they referred to the agreements they had held with Ferdinand I and argued that many had given up their economic lives in Spain to go to the Indies on the basis of these agreements. The document, which Narváez signed as the comptroller of Cuba, includes the signature of Gonzalo de Guzmán and refers to the "many islands" that Diego Velázquez had recently discovered, which the men said would be of "as much and more profit than those which today are depopulated" (Marte 213). The "many islands" were the lands of Mexico, and the "profit" was the potential for Indian enslavement. As we now consider, Guzmán had brought this information to Spain in late 1517 or early 1518.

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News of the discoveries in the Gulf of Mexico apparently began to arrive in Spain as the new king was taking up the government of Castile. According to Las Casas (*Historia* 3:256 [bk. 3, chap. 124]), in 1518, after the Grijalva expedition returned to Cuba, Diego Velázquez sent Gonzalo de Guzmán to Spain to join Narváez in an effort to secure Velázquez's claim to the *adelantamiento* of Cozumel and Yucatán. At this point in his *Historia*, Las Casas (3:256–59 [bk. 3, chap. 124]) gives a partial transcription of the *capitulaciones* granting this status to Velázquez on 13 November 1518 (Vas Mingo 169–72; CDI 22:38–46).

News of the discoveries evidently reached Spain considerably earlier than Las Casas's observation cited above from his *Historia* suggests. A letter Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 3:324–25 [bk. 31, letter 623]) wrote in Zaragosa on 21 July 1518 demonstrates that the news about Mexico arrived in Spain well before the return of the Grijalva expedition to Cuba and reveals that the first messengers from Cuba carrying information about Yucatán to Spain had departed considerably earlier. A 20 October 1517 letter from Bernaldino de Santa Clara (CDI 11:556–59) to Francisco de los Cobos gives a more focused picture of the situation than the one Las Casas offered in his *Historia*. Santa Clara reveals that by the date of his letter, even before the departure of Grijalva's expedition for the Gulf of Mexico, Gonzalo de Guzmán had already left for Spain with the information of Hernández de Córdoba's discoveries in the Yucatán Peninsula.

Santa Clara stated that he had written to Los Cobos earlier requesting a royal appointment in the government of a large island that had been discovered and that one of the Indians who had been brought back from there to Santiago de Cuba after Guzmán's departure for Spain was now learning to communicate with the Spaniards and was revealing incredible things about that land. The Indian to whom Santa Clara referred was evidently Julián or Melchior, and the "island" was the Yucatán Peninsula. Santa Clara's letter reveals that news of Hernández de Córdoba's discoveries reached Santiago de Cuba before the items and Indians he brought back from Yucatán arrived. Because Guzmán had left for Spain before the implications of Hernández de Cordoba's discoveries could be fully appreciated, Bernaldino Velázquez later went to Spain with more complete information about the 1517 discoveries, carrying Santa Clara's letter of 20 October with him. Santa Clara's letter shows that Guzmán went to Spain a year earlier than Las Casas says. Why Las Casas stated that Gonzalo de Guzmán went to Spain in 1518 after Grijalva's mission returned is not clear, since he reveals in an earlier part of his *Historia* (3:233 [bk. 3, chap. 118]) that Benito Martín carried the information regarding Grijalva's expedition to Spain, a claim that Bernal Díaz del Castillo (33b [chap. 17]) also makes.

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By the time Benito Martín arrived in Spain with news of Grijalva's discoveries in the autumn of 1518, Prince Charles had been crowned King Charles I of Castile and had traveled to the Aragonese city of Zaragosa, where he granted Diego Velázquez the patent to settle in Cozumel and Yucatán that Las Casas later examined as he wrote his *Historia.* Chamberlain (28) has argued that the *capitulaciones* granted to Velázquez were based solely on the news Velázquez's advocates had of Hernández de Córdoba's voyage, since Martín probably contacted Diego Velázquez's advocates (Narváez, Gonzalo de Guzmán, and Bernaldino Velázquez) after the *capitulaciones* had been authorized. King Charles also attended to a number of other issues concerning the Cuban community during this time. On 24 September 1518, he ordered that Diego Velázquez pay Bartolomé de las Casas for two and a half years of service in Cuba (CDU 1:77–78). On the same date he named Bernaldino Velázquez the factor of Cuba (CDU 1:79). On 7 November 1518, Charles granted the *vecinos* of Cuba permission to pursue discoveries beyond the island (CDU 1:81–83), obviously a formality in light of the discoveries they had already made.

About this time Narváez and Guzmán were evidently preparing to return to Cuba, and the king ordered that they be exempted from paying export taxes on the goods they were carrying from Spain to bolster the Cuban colony (CDU 1:83). On 12 December 1518, the king issued a decree permitting the *vecinos* of Cuba to build ten ships for trade with other islands and the mainland (CDU 1:85–86), and on the same date he ordered that Narváez be paid his salary as an advocate of Cuba for the entire period that he had been in Spain (CDU 1:87–88), remarking that Narváez had been required to extend his stay due to King Ferdinand's death and the time it had taken the new king to come to Spain from the Low Countries. Royal decrees that have not come to light but that certainly were issued are those naming Pánfilo de Narváez the comptroller (*contador*) and Gonzalo de Guzmán the treasurer (*tesorero*) of Velázquez's newly discovered lands in Cozumel and Yucatán. It is unlikely that Narváez and Guzmán were obligated to follow Charles I to Barcelona, to which he had arrived by mid-1519. Nevertheless, on their way to Seville to embark for Cuba they could have crossed paths with Juan de Torralba on his way from Jamaica to see the king in Barcelona with news from another sphere of discovery in the Gulf of Mexico, as we discuss below (sec. 7).

6. CORTÉS'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO (1519)

Velázquez's concern for the potential loss of the Grijalva ships had been heightened by the Olid search party's failure to locate them. By the time Grijalva returned to the northern shore of Cuba where he encountered

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Olid's ships (they had returned after abandoning the unsuccessful search), Velázquez had already resolved to send out another party to Yucatán. The governor of Cuba had learned from Melchior, the Mayan boy brought by Hernández de Córdoba who had remained in Cuba when Grijalva took the other one, Julián, on his expedition back to Yucatán, that there were six Spanish castaways living on the peninsula. Not knowing the status of the Grijalva expedition, Velázquez apparently felt he could not wait for its return to effect the castaways' rescue; his anxiety was no doubt intensified by his desire to further explore the Gulf of Mexico, if that, rather than the castaways' rescue, had not been his primary motivation for acting so quickly.

One of the castaways about whom the Mayan Indians had spoken was Jerónimo de Aguilar, and he indeed was rescued by the Cortés expedition that Velázquez sent out. According to Las Casas (*Historia* 2:575–76 [bk. 3, chap. 42], 3:230–31 [bk. 3, chap. 117]), Aguilar had been a passenger on a ship sailing from Panama to Española in 1513 under orders from Vasco Núñez de Balboa and commanded by Juan de Valdivia. The ship ran aground in a shallow area to the south of Jamaica, and the twenty people who embarked in the ship's dinghy, apparently attempting to sail to Jamaica, ended up being carried west by the current to the Yucatán Peninsula, where two still survived six years later as captives among the Indians of Yucatán.

It seems that Grijalva would have been the most qualified candidate to lead another expedition south along the coast. The early sources regarding his return to Cuba and the selection of a leader for the next expedition to the Gulf of Mexico at the end of 1518 vary; whether or not Grijalva arrived in Cuba soon enough to lead the return expedition is uncertain. Oviedo (*Historia* 1:536a–37b [bk. 17, chap. 18]) states that Grijalva had arrived on the northern shore of Cuba in late September 1518 and that by mid-October he had received a letter from Velázquez telling him to return as quickly as possible to Santiago de Cuba for departure on another expedition to the gulf. In his *Historia verdadera*, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (36a [chap. 19]) states that Grijalva returned on 15 November 1518 and that he, like Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, Hernán Cortés, and others, had been a candidate to lead the expedition. As we observe in our Part 1 commentary (chap. 2, sec. 2), Porcallo reappears in Cabeza de Vaca's account of the Narváez expedition. Had Pánfilo de Narváez not been obligated to remain so long in Spain, he would have been in Cuba by this time, and as Velázquez's favorite, he would no doubt have taken Cortés's place as leader of the 1519 expedition rather than of the 1520 expedition that Velázquez sent out to arrest the leader of the conquest of Mexico.

Cortés, Hernández de Córdoba, Grijalva, Porcallo de Figueroa, and Narváez had all been involved in the conquest of Cuba under Diego

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Velázquez, and it is apparent that a very small cohort from Santiago de Cuba and the mining center in the *villas* of Trinidad and Sancti Spíritis in the southwestern part of the island had provided the impetus for the exploration and conquest of the southern Gulf of Mexico. According to Bernal Díaz del Castillo (42b [chap. 22]), Velázquez changed his mind about his selection of Cortés as the expedition leader once the Grijalva ships returned; Díaz del Castillo says that as part of an attempt to stop Cortés, Velázquez actually declared Vasco Porcallo the new captain of the mission to the gulf, but that by then it was too late to stop Cortés, for he had contributed a considerable quantity of his own resources toward the expedition and therefore had a very personal interest in leading it. For discussions regarding Velázquez's organization of a third expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, see Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 107–31), Weddle (80–94), and Wagner (*The Rise* 25–43).

With the news of Grijalva's return to Cuba in the autumn of 1518, Cortés sailed from the port of Santiago de Cuba, stopping at many points along the island's southern coast in order to allow men from Grijalva's recently returned expedition to join him. Included among the many who did so were Grijalva's three captains—Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso de Ávila, and Francisco de Montejo—as well as Grijalva's pilots—Antón de Alaminos, Juan Álvarez, and Pedro Camacho. The Cortés voyage was Alaminos's fourth venture into the Gulf of Mexico and his third along its southern rim. Álvarez and Camacho had accompanied Alaminos as pilots on both the Hernández de Córdoba voyage and the Grijalva expedition.

In February 1519, Cortés's eleven-ship expedition traveled from the western cape of Cuba to the island of Cozumel and then to Cabo Catoche on the Yucatán Peninsula. As mentioned above, on their trip along the coast the Cortés expeditionaries rescued Jerónimo de Aguilar, who gained fame as an interpreter on Cortés's conquest of Mexico. By mid-April the expedition had reached San Juan de Ulúa, slightly south of present-day Veracruz, where Cortés's men originally founded a settlement on the coast called the Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz. The site was not a desirable natural port, and in light of this, Cortés sent Francisco de Montejo and Antón de Alaminos north in search of a better location. Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 51 [chap. 29]) says that "Montejo ran the entire coast to Pánuco without finding a port except for the protection of a crag which jutted out into the sea." The extent of Montejo's voyage is a point of dispute among students of the topic, but it seems unlikely that Montejo sailed as far north as the mouth of the Río Pánuco from San Juan de Ulúa (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 45–46).

Once Montejo and Alaminos returned, the ships sailed north to the protected place that Montejo had discovered at Quiahuiztlán to where the Rica Villa de la Vera Cruz was moved in June 1519 from its original location

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at San Juan de Ulúa (see map 8). Although the *Carta del cabildo* (which generally serves as the replacement for Cortés's supposedly lost or perhaps never written first *carta de relación*) does not record the event, Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 49–65 [chaps. 28–37]) narrates that Cortés and a part of his expedition marched overland to the native settlement of Cempoala before going to Quiahuiztlán to reestablish the *villa* of Veracruz. After Cortés had established contact with Moctezuma and had received the gift of gold, silver, precious stones, plumes, and cotton cloth, among other items, from the Aztec leader as described in the *Carta del cabildo* (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 150–58), he sent messengers to his sovereign in Spain to secure Mexico as his own possession, in spite of the fact that he had been sent to the southern and western coasts of the Gulf of Mexico to take possession of the region for Diego Velázquez.

The ship carrying Cortés's first advocates, Francisco de Montejo and Alonso Hernández Puertocarrero, as well as Moctezuma's gift to Spain was piloted by Antón de Alaminos and departed from the Mexican coast in mid-July 1519. Following the departure of his envoy to Spain, Cortés set out with his troops for the interior of Mexico. En route to Cempoala, however, he was forced to return to the coast because unidentified ships had arrived at Veracruz from the north. These ships, which must have arrived at the reestablished Veracruz at Quiahuiztlán in about August 1519, were part of a second, little-known Spanish initiative to explore the Gulf of Mexico, and their arrival there closed the initial period of its exploration. For Cortés's 1519 expedition and his establishment in Mexico, see especially Wagner (*The Rise* 25–137). See also Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 44–46), Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 131–206), and Weddle (111–16, 126–27).

7. Francisco de Garay's Exploration of the Northern Coast of the Gulf of Mexico (1518 to 1519)

The ships that arrived at Veracruz in the second half of 1519 had been sent out by Francisco de Garay from Jamaica. Garay had come to Española in 1493 on Columbus's second voyage, and in 1515 he replaced Juan de Esquivel as the first royally appointed governor of Jamaica (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 180). He had grown wealthy in the Indies, particularly due to his mineral discoveries in the Caribbean. Las Casas (*Historia* 2:216 [bk. 2, chap. 3]) gives the account of how in 1502 an Indian woman working for Garay and Miguel Díaz de Aux in a mine on the island of Española discovered a gold nugget weighing thirty-five pounds and having a value of 3,600 *pesos de oro* (about one fourth the value of all the gold that Oviedo said María de Valenzuela's slaves collected during the four or five years that

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Cortés held Narváez prisoner in Mexico). Since Jamaica seemed to possess little or no gold, Garay's prospects for wealth there did not go beyond livestock production, and the economic opportunities in the Gulf of Mexico that Francisco Hernández de Córdoba's and Juan de Grijalva's discoveries foreboded in 1517 and 1518 incited him to explore and claim the northern coastline of the Gulf of Mexico between the region of Diego Velázquez's discoveries in the southern part of the gulf from the Yucatán Peninsula up to Cabo Rojo in the western gulf and Ponce de León's territories on the western coast of the Florida Peninsula in the eastern gulf.

The voyage made by the men who arrived to Veracruz at Quiahuiztlán after Cortés had settled there in the summer of 1519 has invariably been considered the first reconnaissance mission of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico between Cabo Rojo and the Florida Peninsula. Contrary to previous analysis, however, the primary sources indicate that this 1519 expedition had come to settle on the northwestern coast of the Gulf of Mexico and that it had been preceded by at least one earlier exploratory voyage into the Gulf of Mexico that Garay had sponsored around the time of or shortly after Grijalva's expedition in mid-1518. Garay seems to have sent the 1519 expedition both to continue exploration of the northern coast that he had begun the previous year and to establish a settlement from which he could seize a piece of Mexico's suspected wealth from his Caribbean rival, Diego Velázquez. Cortés's emerging defiance of Velázquez put him in direct competition with both of the island governors for control of the newly discovered lands beyond the Caribbean. For further biographical information on Garay, see Meade.

7.A. *Accounts of the Confrontation between Cortés and Garay's Men at Veracruz (August 1519)*

In order to determine the time frame and extent of Garay's activities along the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, we look first at the accounts of this confrontation between Cortés and Garay's men at Veracruz in the second half of 1519. Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 165–68 [second letter]), Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 73–74 [chap. 43], 140 [chap. 88]), Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 442–43 [dec. 5, bk. 1]), Oviedo (*Historia* 3:261a–63b [bk. 33, chap. 2]), and Díaz del Castillo (112b, 113b [chap. 60], 442b, 443b [chap. 162]) all record the Garay expedition's encounter with Cortés's men at Veracruz in August 1519. Although these accounts of the exchange that took place between the two groups at Quiahuiztlán in the summer of 1519 vary, they provide strong evidence that Garay's men were planning to found a settlement somewhere

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to the north of Veracruz in August 1519, or that by that time they had already begun to do so.

According to Cortés's second letter (*Cartas de relación* 165–68), dated 30 October 1520, four ships sailed past Veracruz at Quiahuiztlán and then returned to the port but did not enter it. Near there, three men, one of whom was a notary, disembarked and came ashore to fix the border between the territories of Cortés and Garay, since Garay's men were planning to found a settlement "five leagues down the coast" [cinco leguas la costa abajo] from the native settlement of Nautecal (Nautla). For Cortés, the phrase "down the coast" meant that the Garay expedition planned to found a settlement to the north of Quiahuiztlán in the direction of the Florida Peninsula. Cortés located Nautla twelve leagues beyond (i.e., north of) the *villa* of Almería, which, as we will show below, was founded in mid-1520; it is important to note that at the time of the encounter between Cortés's and Garay's men in mid-1519, Cortés and his men had not yet visited Nautla nor had they founded the *villa* of Almería.

In his letter, Cortés informed the emperor that he had learned from the men of Garay's 1519 expedition whom he captured that the expedition had already spent considerable time on the Río Pánuco to the north, trading there with the Indians for food and gold, although he says Garay's men had not gone on land. Cortés related that when he refused to recognize Garay's claim to the land, the fleet sailed north. He claims further that he initiated contact with the native lord at the Río Pánuco and was later informed by him when more of Garay's ships arrived there, apparently later in 1519 or in early 1520, as we will see below.

Cortés seems to make it very clear that at the time he confronted the handful of men who came ashore from Garay's ships, they had already spent time at the Río Pánuco trading with the Indians but that they had not gone ashore. We must keep in mind, however, that it would have been very much in Cortés's interest as he wrote to the emperor in October 1520 to downplay or outright deny any attempts that Garay's men had made to settle at the Río Pánuco in 1519 since they could easily form the basis for Garay's legal rights to the area. Cortés's account of his confrontation with Garay's men at Veracruz in the summer of 1519 reveals that Garay's 1519 expedition had at least intended to found a settlement on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 73 [chap. 43]) gives an account similar to the one by Cortés and names Pedro de Ircio as the captain in command at Veracruz who accompanied Cortés in the search along the coast north of Veracruz for Garay's men. Gómara says that Garay's contingent wished to fix the border "because it wanted to settle and populate on that coast, twenty

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leagues from there, toward the west, near Nauhtlan [Nautla], which now is called Almería." As we will show below, Bernal Díaz's account and other sources reveal that Gómara collapsed the arrival of Garay's 1519 expedition at Veracruz into the arrival there the following year of the remnant of Garay's destroyed colony founded at Pánuco. Gómara used the term "poniente" (west) to describe the coast to the north beyond Veracruz toward the Florida Peninsula, rather than "la costa abajo" [down the coast], which Cortés had used to refer to the same direction. We discuss the use of this terminology below (sec. 7.G).

Sometime between 1521 and 1523, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 443 [dec. 5, bk. 1]) recorded that when Cortés refused to establish a border with Garay's men of this 1519 expedition, they went in search of other lands. Martire adds the important details that Garay "would have liked to found a colony named Santa Cruz not far from the one of Cortés [Veracruz] but Cortés prevented him from doing so, establishing in the same place the one called Almería," and that in the previous year, Garay had realized lengthy sea voyages along the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Oviedo (*Historia* 3:262a–63b [bk. 33, chap. 2]) appears to have written his account of the confrontation between Cortés and Garay's men from Cortés's second letter.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo (110b [chap. 58], 112b, 113b [chap. 60]) names Juan de Escalante as the captain in charge at Veracruz who went along with Cortés to determine why Garay's expedition had come to Cortés's first settlement in 1519, here criticizing Gómara for saying that Pedro de Ircio had been the one in charge at Veracruz. Although Bernal Díaz did not realize it, he was calling attention to Gómara's collapsing of two different periods into one, as Toussaint (88–89) has pointed out. Bernal Díaz says that Garay's expedition came in three ships rather than four, as Cortés had claimed and that Cortés and Escalante encountered four of Garay's men rather than three. Díaz del Castillo claimed that because Garay had favorable status with the bishop of Burgos, the *licenciado* Zapata, the *licenciado* Vargas, and the secretary Lope de Conchillos, his advocate, Juan de Torralba, had been able to secure "decrees in order that [Garay] be the *adelantado* and governor from the Río San Pedro y San Pablo, and everything that he discovered," that is, everything along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico beginning from a point somewhere between San Juan de Ulúa (modern-day Veracruz) and Cabo Rojo (Oviedo, *Historia* 2:142a [bk. 21, chap. 8]) and continuing in the direction of the Florida Peninsula. Finally, he explicitly stated that Garay's men were already founding a settlement on the Río Pánuco seventy leagues from Veracruz when Cortés captured the intruders on the coast and that the four men whom he captured had come to fix the border with Cortés.

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7.B. *Garay's Pursuit of Legal Rights to the Northern Coast of the Gulf of Mexico (December 1519)*

Whether or not Garay's men truly brought royal *capitulaciones* from Spain with them to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in August 1519, as Bernal Díaz claimed, is uncertain, but it seems unlikely. Las Casas (*Historia* 3:233 [bk. 3, chap. 118]) claimed that by the end of 1519, prior to the emperor's departure from Barcelona (January 1520), Francisco de Garay received permission to found a settlement on the Río Pánuco on the basis of a voyage of discovery that Diego de Camargo had made for one hundred leagues north of Cabo Rojo along the coast of the western Gulf of Mexico:

> The third item which can conveniently be said here is that when the discovery and riches of the land that Juan de Grijalva had skirted became known, Francisco de Garay . . . resolved to send an hidalgo named Diego de Camargo to advance the exploration that Grijalva had realized, with one or two ships; he discovered the province of Pánuco, or, more precisely, he began where Grijalva had turned back, which was from Pánuco, and went sailing along the coast one hundred leagues toward *Florida*, and finally, the exploration from the province and river of Pánuco was attributed to his discovery; and when Diego de Camargo had returned to Jamaica, Francisco de Garay sent to Castile, petitioning that the king favor him in the governance of that land and that at his own cost he would conquer and populate those provinces. He asked that he be given the title of *adelantado* and a certain number of leagues of land, with or without jurisdiction over it, and other favors; and the king granted them in [1]519, while in Barcelona, already having been elected emperor and ready to depart to receive his first crowns.

If Garay's men truly carried the royal papers that Bernal Díaz claimed they did, they must have been acquired before the ones Las Casas says were secured in Barcelona at the end of 1519, since by that time Garay's men and Cortés's had already had their first conflict.

Las Casas and Oviedo were both in Barcelona at the end of 1519 (Turner xii), as was Pietro Martire, and all three offer evidence regarding Garay's activities at Pánuco during this time. Francisco de Garay's advocate, Juan de Torralba, did indeed appear at the Spanish court in Barcelona at the end of 1519, and Muñoz (Real Academia de la Historia 1:328 [entry 543.13]) examined royal orders to pay both Oviedo and Juan López de Torralba their salaries in 1519; Torralba is identified in this document as the comptroller of the island of Santiago (Jamaica).

Like Las Casas, both Oviedo and Martire make references to Garay and the Jamaican colony regarding events that took place during this time. It is no surprise that Oviedo (*Historia* 1:582a [bk. 18, chap. 1]) remarks in his

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brief treatment of the history of the island of Jamaica that in "the year 1519, Francisco de Garay sent his servant (*criado*) Juan López de Torralba to the Caesarean Majesty the emperor in Barcelona with certain samples of gold, which had never before been discovered on that island [Jamaica]," and that the emperor made Torralba the comptroller of the island.

Oviedo seems to suggest that the gold had come from Jamaica, but evidently it had not; Torralba's samples were most likely the products of a voyage to Pánuco made by Camargo in the second half of 1518, which Las Casas had described. From Oviedo's comment it seems that he was completely unaware of the origin of the gold and Garay's efforts to explore the northern coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, and this suggests that there had been some effort to conceal the origin of the gold that had been brought to court. This is corroborated by a 1 December 1519 letter written by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 3:373–74 [bk. 32, letter 649]), in which Martire claimed that at that date Garay was only planning to begin exploring islands near Jamaica. The fact that Garay's men had already entered into direct conflict with Cortés's men by August 1519 as they investigated the possibility of founding a settlement on the coast calls attention to the disparity between what Torralba must have said at court in Barcelona in December 1519 and what was actually going on on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

Martire further claimed that "[the Spanish settlers of Jamaica] dedicate themselves to agriculture rather than gold hunting, even though gold is found there." This curious and improbable observation, prompted no doubt by Torralba's presentation of gold samples at court, suggests that the samples had most likely come from somewhere other than Jamaica, that is, that by December 1519 Garay had already completed some exploring outside of Jamaica. Sometime between 1521 and 1523 Martire wrote his account of the conflict between Garay's men and Cortés on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in 1519 in his *Décadas*, as we have already seen above, and must have realized by then that Garay had been doing much more than simply thinking about exploring lands near to Jamaica by 1 December 1519.

The exploratory voyage to the northern Gulf of Mexico made by Diego de Camargo that Las Casas claimed to have served as the grounds upon which Juan de Torralba acquired royal permission at Barcelona in December 1519 for Francisco de Garay to settle in the region was obviously not the one that encountered Cortés's men at Veracruz in August 1519 but a previous one. Camargo most likely made his first voyage sometime in the second half of 1518, and Juan de Torralba must have departed for Spain with knowledge of Camargo's discovery after Camargo returned to Jamaica, perhaps in late 1518 or early 1519. At this same time, Garay would have sent out the expedition that encountered Cortés and his men on the coast of the western Gulf of

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Mexico. For temporal reasons, it therefore seems nearly impossible that this second Garay expedition carried royal permission from Spain to settle in the region, as Bernal Díaz claimed. If Garay's men carried any official permission for exploration and settlement when they met Cortés's men in August 1519, it could only have come from the royal officials on Española. As we will see below, at the same time Garay sent Torralba to Spain he appears also to have gained permission from the Hieronymite friars on Española to carry out exploration, and this was probably the only permission his men took to the coast in 1519.

7.c. *Camargo's 1518 Exploratory Expedition to the Northern Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*

Other than the information about the 1518 Camargo voyage provided by Las Casas regarding royal permission granted to Garay at the end of 1519 to settle on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, there is no direct account of this first exploratory voyage sent by Garay to the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Nevertheless, more general reference to Francisco de Garay's exploration of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico can be found in the sixteenth-century writings of Pietro Martire, Gómara, and Juan López de Velasco.

As we have already mentioned, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 443 [dec. 5, bk. 1]) asserted in writing about the confrontation that occurred between Garay's men and Cortés's in August 1519 that Garay had begun his explorations in the Gulf of Mexico the previous year (1518): "Garay did not force the issue and departed in search of other lands on the same coasts, since from Jamaica, of which he was the governor, he had realized long sea voyages in the previous year through the land that Ponce de León, of whom we have spoken at length in the first decade, was the first to discover." Martire's observation, made sometime between 1521 and 1523, demonstrates that Garay's 1519 expedition was not the first one he sent to that region.

Gómara's (*Historia general* 69–70 [chap. 47]) later account is vague and reveals the general confusion about Garay's activities on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico that has prevailed ever since:

> Francisco de Garay outfitted three caravels in Jamaica in the year 1518 and went to explore *Florida*. . . . He returned to Jamaica, repaired his ships, replenished the fleet with people and supplies, and then returned the following year of [15]19 and it turned out worse for him than the first time. Others say that it was not more than one time, but that since he was there a long time, they count it as two.

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As we have shown, Garay did indeed send at least two expeditions to the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, one in the second half of 1518 and another that encountered Cortés's men at Veracruz in August 1519.

Writing a number of years after Gómara, Juan López de Velasco says the following about the discovery of the province of Pánuco in his *Geografía y descripción universal* (197): "[t]he first to discover it was Francisco de Garay in the year 18 (1518), and he arrived there coming defeated from *Florida*, where he went from France [*sic*, apparently for Jamaica], and having gotten lost this time and another, since he returned the following year, and with all the Spaniards who had gone with him dead, their skins were put in the temples (by the Indians)." As we will see below, López de Velasco conflated the entire history of Garay's earliest attempt to explore and settle at the Río Pánuco between 1518 and 1520.

7.D. *Camargo's 1519 Settlement Expedition to Pánuco*

The only narration of the actual voyage made by the Garay expedition that encountered Cortés and his men at Veracruz in the second half of 1519 is narrated in the 1521 *capitulaciones* (Navarrete 3:160–65; Toussaint 195–201) granted to Garay by the cardinal of Tortosa, Adrian of Utrecht, who served as the regent of Spain in the emperor's absence from the country beginning in January 1520. It is important to note that these *capitulaciones* are *not* the same ones that Las Casas says were obtained for Garay from the emperor himself at Barcelona at the end of 1519 on the basis of Diego Camargo's 1518 exploratory voyage. At present, these earlier *capitulaciones* to which Las Casas referred have not come to light.

In spite of Las Casas's claim that Garay was granted permission to settle on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico on the basis of Camargo's exploratory voyage of 1518, we have seen above that the other chroniclers suggest that Juan de Torralba said little or nothing about that voyage at court in Barcelona at the end of 1519 and almost certainly knew nothing of its fate. Instead, he seems to have been there solely to ask for permission for Garay to go out exploring lands that, unbeknownst to the emperor, he had already explored. The 1521 *capitulaciones* display a similar phenomenon. Although the accounts of the conflict between Garay's men and Cortés on the Gulf Coast suggest that Garay was there to found a settlement or had already begun to do so, the summary of the 1519 expedition described in the 1521 *capitulaciones* makes no mention of founding a settlement but instead includes a request for permission to settle; by the time the permission was granted, Garay's colony at Pánuco had already been destroyed.

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The summary of the expedition given in the *capitulaciones* relates that with the permission of the Hieronymite friars, Garay sent out an expedition of four ships in 1519 that spent eight or nine months looking for a "certain gulf or strait" that it did not find. The expedition is said to have encountered "la tierra florida" that Ponce de León had discovered. After following the coast in the direction of the rising sun, the expedition discovered that the land ended and thus was forced to travel along the coast in the opposite direction. Going west ("poniente"), the four ships ran the entire northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico for three hundred leagues until they encountered Cortés's men, with whom they set a border and then returned to the north. The summary in these 1521 *capitulaciones* describes how the four ships entered six leagues up a river to the north of Veracruz, where they spent forty days careening their ships and exploring the region and where they found forty settlements of Indians living on both sides of the river. This river was the Pánuco.

The account given in these *capitulaciones* is not unlike the one Cortés gave of his encounter with Garay's men. Whereas Cortés claimed that the expedition sent by Garay had spent considerable time on the Río Pánuco before arriving at Veracruz, the 1521 *capitulaciones* describe this as having occurred afterward. Contrary to Bernal Díaz's claim that Garay's men who came to Veracruz had carried permission from Spain to settle on the coast, the 1521 *capitulaciones* reveal that prior to the 1519 voyage only the governing body on Española had granted Garay permission to explore along the coast.

Apparently in early spring of 1519, after Diego de Camargo had returned from his initial 1518 exploratory voyage to the northern gulf, Francisco de Garay sent Juan de Torralba to Spain with the samples of gold that Camargo had collected and at the same time acquired permission from the Hieronymite friars on Española to send out another expedition. He evidently sent the four-ship expedition described in the 1521 *capitulaciones* north from Jamaica around the western end of Cuba and into the Gulf of Mexico to its northern shore. Sailing east in search of the mentioned strait, the fleet found the "lands that Ponce de León had discovered" (see map 11).

The *capitulaciones* record that as the expedition continued, evidently east and south along the coast in order to sail beyond Ponce de León's discoveries and explore the coast farther on, the land "left them in the direction of the rising sun." Apparently reaching the southern end of the Florida Peninsula and unable to sail against the currents and wind, the ships turned back and sailed in the opposite direction along the coast, traveling over three hundred leagues along the entire northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico until encountering Cortés's men at Veracruz. Weddle's (99) suggestion that the expedition was searching for a passage that separated the island of Bimini (the Florida Peninsula) from the rest of the coast is plausible, given that the

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capitulaciones emphasize that Garay's 1519 expedition had proven that the whole region discovered by Ponce de León, Francisco de Garay, and Diego Velázquez formed one continuous coast.

The summary of the 1519 voyage found in the 1521 *capitulaciones* says only that good pilots went on Garay's expedition, but it gives the names of none of them. Although Bernal Díaz del Castillo (112b [chap. 60]) identified "Alonso Álvarez Pineda" or "Pinedo" as the captain of the expedition sent by Garay that encountered Cortés's men at Veracruz in mid-1519 (information that Shea [237] canonized by including it in his "Ancient Florida"), Alonso García Bravo's *probanza de méritos y servicios* shows that Diego de Camargo, the same individual named by Las Casas to have led the 1518 exploratory voyage, had also been the leader of Garay's second expedition to the region of the Río Pánuco in 1519. The fourth question of a 1555 *interrogatorio* recorded in this *probanza* and carried out in México-Tenochtitlán inquired whether Alonso García Bravo arrived in Pánuco with the captain Diego de Camargo "very shortly after the said marquis [Hernán Cortés] had arrived in this land [Mexico] and before the captain Pánfilo de Narváez came to it" (Mantecón 64), in other words, between June 1519 and May 1520. The second and third questions of the 1561 *interrogatorio* of a *probanza* related to the one of 1555 suggest further that Alonso García Bravo went to the Río Pánuco with Diego de Camargo in late 1518 or early 1519 (Mantecón 32).

Because he misinterpreted the account Las Casas had given of Diego de Camargo's 1518 voyage to be the same one that encountered Cortés's men at Veracruz in 1519 rather than an earlier one, Toussaint (85) understood Garay's 1519 voyage to be the initial exploratory expedition to the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Toussaint's (86–87) wholesale acceptance of Bernal Díaz's claim that Garay's 1519 expedition to Pánuco had been led by an unidentifiable Alonso Álvarez Pineda caused him to argue without evidence that the year of the voyage stated in Alonso García Bravo's *probanzas* (1518 or early 1519) was incorrect and that the reference in the *probanzas* actually pertained to a voyage Camargo made to Pánuco in January 1520 carrying supplies to the colony. This supply mission, led by Diego de Camargo and departing from Jamaica in early 1520, was conceived to accommodate Bernal Díaz's claim about the identity of the leader of the 1519 expedition and originates in late-nineteenth-century Mexican historiography (e.g., Orozco y Berra in Dorantes de Carranza 393); Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 51) and Weddle (102, 420) both repeat it.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo's (443b [chap. 162]) own account states that the supposed Álvarez Pineda expedition had come to Pánuco in three ships and that after numerous conflicts with the Indians of the region Camargo led the remains of the colony in one of those ships from Pánuco to Veracruz. The

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answers given by two witnesses to the questions of Alonso García Bravo's *interrogatorios* prove, however, that Camargo, not Alonso Álvarez Pineda, had been the leader of the expedition to Pánuco and that he departed from Jamaica in late 1518 or early 1519 and remained at the settlement for nearly a year before abandoning the site and sailing to Veracruz in 1520.

Juan de Ledesma testified that when Alonso García Bravo arrived in Jamaica from the colony of Tierra Firme (Panama) "about two years before New Spain was won," he, Ledesma, had been present with Francisco de Garay on the island. He says that a certain length of time after the men from Tierra Firme had been in Jamaica, Garay sent Diego de Camargo as the captain of a 150-man expedition to "conquer and populate and win the province of Pánuco" (Mantecón 54). Juan de Morales Coronel testified that he had gone to Pánuco with Diego de Camargo and Alonso García Bravo and that they were there "almost a year" before they abandoned the site and went to Veracruz (Mantecón 91). The two eyewitnesses reveal that they and Alonso García Bravo all went with Camargo to Pánuco in late 1518 or early 1519 and that they were there continuously until being forced to abandon the colony in mid-1520. The expedition of which these men spoke was evidently the same one described in the 1521 *capitulaciones* to Garay and the one Díaz del Castillo erroneously said Álvarez Pineda had led. Perhaps Bernal Díaz's "Álvarez Pineda" did lead the ships to Veracruz from the Río Pánuco in order to establish the border between Cortés's and Garay's territories while Camargo and the rest of his men were founding a settlement in mid-1519; Camargo, nevertheless, had been the leader of the 1519 expedition and remained in control there until the site was abandoned in mid-1520. There is no reference in García Bravo's *probanzas* to Camargo's original exploratory voyage to Pánuco in mid-1518, which we have here argued took place prior to the 1519 colonizing expedition on which García Bravo and his witnesses went.

7.E. *Synthesis of Garay's Activities in the Northern Gulf of Mexico (1518 to 1519)*

According to Bernal Díaz del Castillo (112b [chap. 60], 442b [chap. 162]), Antón de Alaminos and other pilots who had been on the Hernández de Córdoba (1517) and Juan de Grijalva (1518) expeditions along the southern rim of the Gulf of Mexico were responsible for encouraging Garay's involvement in exploration of the Gulf of Mexico. Díaz del Castillo explains that upon return from the Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva expeditions, Alaminos and other pilots assured Garay that land to the north of Cabo Rojo remained to be discovered, and this could have prompted Garay to send out the 1518 exploratory mission under Camargo that Las Casas described and to

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which other chroniclers vaguely alluded. If Alaminos had actually hurried across Cuba after returning from the Grijalva expedition at the end of 1518 to join Cortés, as we have discussed above (sec. 6), it seems that he would have had little opportunity to do as Bernal Díaz claims he did.

Garay apparently outfitted the first exploratory expedition led by Diego de Camargo to the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico in mid-1518, perhaps after Pedro de Alvarado returned from Yucatán; according to Las Casas's claim, the discoveries made on Garay's 1518 voyage commenced where Grijalva's expedition had turned back and extended one hundred leagues beyond in the direction of the Florida Peninsula. As mentioned above, Juan de Ledesma did not refer to this first exploratory voyage by Camargo in Alonso García Bravo's *probanza*, and thus it remains as conjecture until solid documentary evidence that it took place is discovered.

Once Camargo returned to Jamaica from this initial voyage, Garay apparently sent Juan de Torralba to Spain with the samples of gold Camargo had collected along the northwestern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and these items engendered the comments pertaining to December 1519 about gold in Jamaica that Oviedo and Martire wrote. In addition, Garay must have acquired permission from the Hieronymite friars on Española for further exploration along the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico and put together the second, larger expedition in late 1518 or early 1519; his plan was evidently to found a settlement on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. This second expedition was also led by Diego de Camargo, not Alonso Álvarez Pineda. Three of the expeditionaries on this voyage were Alonso García Bravo, Juan de Ledesma, and Juan de Morales Coronel, and the only summary of the voyage other than the testimony that these men gave in Alonso García Bravo's *probanzas* is found in the 1521 *capitulaciones* granted to Garay to settle in the region.

It is reasonable to assume that although there is no mention of founding a settlement at the Río Pánuco in the summary of the 1519 expedition found in the *capitulaciones* granted to Garay in 1521, settlement at Pánuco did indeed take place, as the men who went on the expedition affirmed. Because the purpose of the *capitulaciones* was to authorize Garay to settle, the report of the voyage that was sent to Spain from Pánuco via Jamaica sometime in late 1519 or early 1520 could not describe settlement that was already occurring. The situation typifies the lag between the conquistadors' actions in the Americas and their solicitation of after-the-fact "permission" to carry them out. Cortés's denial in his 30 October 1520 letter that the expedition had realized any land exploration or settlement on the 1519 voyage is consistent with his probable intention to discredit any rights to the territory that Garay might have claimed based on occupation of the land simultaneous to his

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own arrival there. The name of the region of Garay's discoveries given in the 1521 *capitulaciones* is Amichel.

If Camargo had already visited the Río Pánuco once before, on his first voyage in the second half of 1518, one might wonder why the expedition realized the long voyage to Pánuco described in the 1521 *capitulaciones.* The answer to this question reveals that on his second voyage, Camargo may have committed the same error that Pánfilo de Narváez would repeat in 1528. On his first voyage in the Gulf of Mexico, Camargo apparently sailed along the southern rim of the Gulf as Francisco Hernández de Córdoba and Juan de Grijalva had done. Reaching Cabo Rojo, where Alaminos had turned the Grijalva expedition back, Camargo continued on for one hundred leagues, according to Las Casas. During this time he would have discovered the Río Pánuco, where he must have traded with the Indians and brought back the gold samples that Juan López de Torralba presented at court in Barcelona at the end of 1519.

By the time Garay sent Camargo back to conquer the region at the end of 1518 or early 1519, Diego Velázquez was already sending Cortés to Mexico. In an extract of a 24 May 1519 letter from Velázquez to the king (CDU 1:92–93), the governor of Cuba requested that all voyages to the mainland coast of the Gulf of Mexico sponsored by other individuals be prohibited, in light of the Indians having been scandalized when two ships had gone from Española to trade in those lands with the permission of the Hieronymite friars. The document granting this permission has not come to light, but Velázquez's description is similar to Las Casas's description of Camargo's original exploration with one or two ships in the Gulf of Mexico in the second half of 1518. Velázquez also alluded in the 24 May letter to "some persons" who were preparing expeditions to the lands he had discovered. Francisco de Garay must have been among these; as we have seen, Diego de Camargo's second expedition to Pánuco probably left Jamaica about the time that Cortés departed from Cuba, that is, in late 1518 or early 1519, carrying permission from the Hieronymite friars to explore in that region.

With Cortés likely to be in the southern Gulf of Mexico and Velázquez seeking to have all exploration there by others prohibited, Camargo must have been forced to sail directly across the Gulf of Mexico to reach Pánuco rather than travel along the gulf's southern rim. When he reached the coast on his second voyage, Camargo evidently thought he had landed to the south of the river he had previously visited (the Pánuco), rather than to the north and east of it. Thus he sailed in the direction of the Florida Peninsula until he reached Ponce de León's jurisdiction. Perhaps realizing he had sailed in the wrong direction along the coast when he saw the land disappear as he reached the tip of the Florida Peninsula, Camargo turned the fleet back along

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the coast until he rediscovered the mouth of the Río Pánuco and, beyond it, Cortés at Veracruz.

It is difficult to prove from the extant accounts that Camargo's men were already founding their colony at Pánuco when his ships appeared at Veracruz. It perhaps seems unlikely, since Camargo would probably have wanted to fix his border with Cortés prior to founding a settlement. The existence of the 1521 *capitulaciones* proves that information regarding Garay's second expedition in 1519 reached Spain in 1520, and from this it is evident that once Camargo began establishing the colony at Pánuco, at least some of his expeditionaries or navigators returned to Jamaica carrying to Garay an account of the 1519 voyage and encounter with Cortés. As we will discuss below, Garay was evidently the first to send geographic information about the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico back to Spain.

7.F. *Cortés's Capture of Some of Garay's Men*

In Cortés's (*Cartas de relación* 166–67 [second letter]) own account of his confrontation with Garay's men at Veracruz in August 1519, he claims that he captured seven of Garay's men. Three (a notary and two witnesses) had come ashore to establish the boundary between Cortés's and Garay's jurisdictions. Cortés took their clothing and had three of his men put it on in order to lure Garay's four ships to come to port near Veracruz. The captain of Garay's ships sent out a small boat with ten or twelve men. Four of these, one of whom was the *maestre* of one of the four ships, came ashore and were captured. Cortés claimed that the other eight took to the sea but that the ships did not wait for them to return in their boat. Cortés does not reveal their fate or the fate of the four ships.

Evidently the ships returned to the Río Pánuco, where Garay's settlement had already been started by Camargo or was subsequently started, and from there the pilots and mariners apparently returned to Jamaica with the information of their voyage that appears in the 1521 *capitulaciones.* Answers given by some of the returnees from Narváez's expedition to Mexico in 1520 to question 76 of a *probanza* that Diego Velázquez had prepared in Santiago de Cuba in mid-1521 (CDI 35:370–71, 478–79) reveal that the men who had come ashore from Garay's ships were taken to Cempoala and inland as prisoners.

Despite the fact that Garay's four ships all appear to have escaped to the north after the Garay expedition's original confrontation with Cortés in August 1519, the Audiencia of Santo Domingo recorded on 24 December 1519 that sometime prior to that date Cortés had seized a ship belonging to Garay and sent it back to Jamaica with a minimal crew (CDI 35:7, 43). We will

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consider this in more detail below, for it may be the arrival of Garay's empty ship in the Caribbean that confirmed Diego Velázquez's concerns that Cortés was not following the orders he had given him when he departed from Cuba in early 1519.

7.G. *First Geographic Knowledge of the Northern Coast of the Gulf of Mexico*

Of all the commentary on Garay's exploration of the northern rim of the Gulf of Mexico, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's (*Décadas* 443 [dec. 5, bk. 1]) discussion, dating to between 1521 and 1523, most clearly portrays the Spanish perception of the shape of the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, as determined by Garay's discoveries:

> Garay, explorer of those coasts after the death of Ponce [de León (1521)], confirms that *Florida* is not an island, but rather that along a lengthy, roundabout course it is connected to this land of Tenustitán [Mexico]. . . . Thanks to a map brought by Garay's draftsmen, [we know that] the mentioned region tends to form an arc, such that moving away from Tenustitán, always toward the west, one is directed toward the protruding part of the other [land, i.e., *Florida*]; afterward it inclines again mildly to the south, in such a way that if a line is drawn from the Tenustitán coast toward that part of the land that Juan Ponce first traversed on the northern side of the island of Fernandina [Cuba], it would nearly form the string of the bow [arc].

As we will explain in greater detail below, moving west ("poniente") for Martire meant moving clockwise around the Gulf of Mexico from the Yucatán Peninsula to the Florida Peninsula.

Like Martire's text, the 1521 *capitulaciones* also mention a map that Garay sent to the emperor along with the relation given to him by those who returned from Pánuco after the 1519 expedition to the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. It is reasonable to suspect that the map Martire describes and the one mentioned in the 1521 *capitulaciones* were of the same provenience as the one that Navarrete discovered with a copy of the *capitulaciones* and from which a tracing was published in the Guaranía edition of Navarrete's *Colección* (3:facing 176) as the "Traza de las costas de tierra-firme y de las tierras nuevas" [Outline of the coasts of the mainland and the new lands] (fig. 11). For photographic reproductions of the manuscript of the 1519 map, see Delanglez (pl. 1) and Weddle (101, fig. 4).

This first known map of the Gulf of Mexico and surrounding regions, showing the general shape of the coast very roughly as it is depicted on modern maps, has come to be known as the Pineda map. As we have shown above, the attribution of Garay's second expedition in 1519 to Alonso

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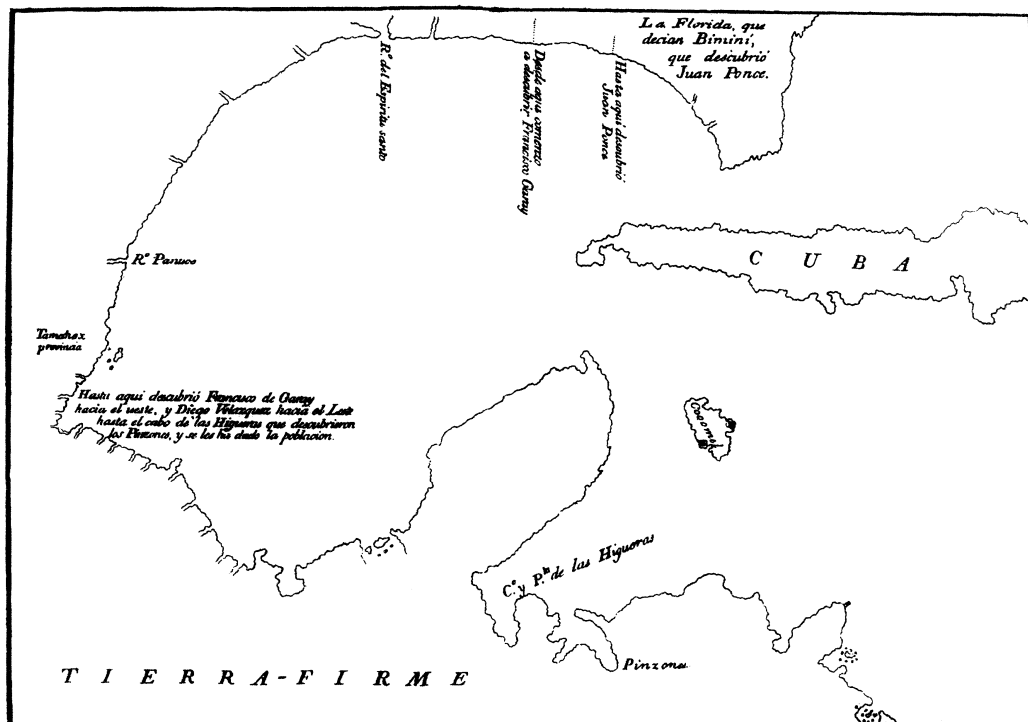

Figure 11. Earliest Spanish map of the Gulf of Mexico (c. 1519), discovered by Fernández de Navarrete with the 1521 patent granting the northern coastline of the Gulf of Mexico to Francisco de Garay. Known as the Alonso Álvarez de Pineda map. AGI, Patronato 1-1-1/26-16. Reproduced from redrawing in Fernández de Navarrete (3:facing 176).

Álvarez Pineda rather than to Diego de Camargo stems from Bernal Díaz's account, and at present nothing else is known about Álvarez Pineda (Weddle 107). As mentioned above, it is possible that before Camargo's expedition encountered Cortés's men, Camargo had already founded the settlement at Pánuco and that he had remained there while this Álvarez Pineda led the ships farther down the coast in order to fix a border with Cortés, thereby explaining Bernal Díaz's identification of the captain of Garay's expedition as someone other than Camargo himself. The map might be an original drawing from the 1519 voyage on which Garay's men had run the northern coast before settling at Pánuco or one prepared for and sent to Charles V in Spain along with the request made by Garay for permission to settle the region discovered. These were evidently the documents upon which the information contained in the 1521 *capitulaciones* is based.

The above discussion and the Pineda map reveal a number of important initial pieces of historical and geographic information necessary for understanding later developments in the Gulf of Mexico and ultimately Pánfilo de Narváez's 1528 attempt to sail from Havana to the Río de las Palmas. Perhaps most noteworthy is the possible difficulty and confusion Camargo

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experienced as he attempted to return from Jamaica to the Río Pánuco on his second voyage in 1519. Quite possibly it was the misfortune of missing his mark that led him inadvertently to explore the entire northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico in search not of a passage separating the Florida Peninsula from the mainland of North America, as Weddle (99) has reasonably argued, but rather the mouth of the Río Pánuco.

The so-called Pineda map shows that by the date of its composition (probably 1519), the coastline of the Gulf of Mexico had been divided into three regions pertaining to three different discoverers, all named on the map. The easternmost section was the Florida Peninsula, to which the legend on the map reads, "Florida, which is called Bimini, which Juan Ponce discovered." Two separate lines—one labeled "Until here Juan Ponce discovered" and the other "From here Francisco [de] Garay began to discover"—divide the jurisdictions of the two explorers; because the precision of their location on the map and of the map in general is minimal, they have little quantitative significance. The third division of the coast lies in the region that corresponds approximately to present-day Cabo Rojo and is labeled "Until here Francisco de Garay discovered toward the west, and Diego Velázquez toward the east to the Cabo de las Higueras which the Pinzóns discovered, and to whom the population has been given." This last region, discovered by Yáñez Pinzón and Diego de Solís in 1508, was one of the two to which Narváez had proposed to Miguel de Pasamonte in 1515 that he might take an expedition.

The divisions of the Pineda map are easily understood, but the references to east and west are not so clear. According to the labels, to the west of Cabo Rojo lay the jurisdiction of Garay, and to the east lay those of Velázquez and the Pinzóns. At Cabo Rojo the coast deviates only slightly from a north-south axis, and, therefore, west and east do not follow the coast at all but rather run perpendicular to it. Pietro Martire seems to have employed directions analogous to those labeled on the map when he says that departing from "Tenustitán" (the area of Velázquez's jurisdiction at Cabo Rojo) and continuing to the west ("hacia poniente") and then slightly to the south ("a mediodía"), one strings the bow formed by the coastline corresponding to Francisco de Garay's territory on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Martire's description becomes comprehensible only if we substitute east for west. Thus departing to the east from "Tenustitán" to the Florida Peninsula, we string the bow formed by the northern arc of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

The problem was not one of directional orientation but rather one of describing directional movement along a circle. The Spanish had begun to discover the circular Gulf of Mexico by traveling clockwise, south and west

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along the western coast of the Yucatán Peninsula. Lands that lay beyond their discoveries were said to be farther west ("ueste" or "hacia poniente") along the coast or farther down the coast ("abajo"). The adoption of a directional convention such as west was merely a product of the historical process of discovery along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico that no longer applied once the coast turned back on itself along its northern side. Thus, to the "west" of Cabo Rojo lay Francisco de Garay's and Ponce de León's discoveries and to the "east" of Cabo Rojo lay those of Diego Velázquez only because the southern coast had been explored first. By the time Oviedo (*Historia* 3:579 [bk. 35, introduction]) wrote about the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico (sometime after 1540), he correctly referred to points beyond the Río Pánuco, such as the Río de las Palmas, as lying to the east of it.

As we observe about Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* and Oviedo's account of the Narváez expedition (chap. 3, sec. 2; chap. 4, sec. 1), by the time Narváez entered the Gulf of Mexico the establishment of a permanent settlement at the mouth of the Río Pánuco had led to the development of more specific conventions for describing travel along the expanse of northern coast between Pánuco and the Florida Peninsula. In these narratives, "the way of *Florida*" [la vía de la Florida] refers to travel toward the Florida Peninsula, and "the way of Pánuco" [la vía de Pánuco] or "the way of las Palmas" [la vía de las Palmas] refers to travel in the opposite direction. Terms used in the accounts such as "adelante" (ahead) and "atrás" (behind), like Cortés's "la costa abajo" [down the coast], are relative, the meanings of which must be worked out within the context of the narrative in which they are used.

Two legends identifying rivers on the Pineda map fall within Francisco de Garay's jurisdiction: one is the Río Pánuco on the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and the other is the Río del Espíritu Santo on the northern coast. The Pánuco, located near present-day Tampico, Mexico, was the one on which the 1519 Camargo expedition settled, and it has been known by that name ever since. The identification of the river that, according to the 1521 *capitulaciones*, the ships of the 1519 expedition supposedly entered for careening as well as the Río del Espíritu Santo has persisted as a difficult problem in the historical geography of the Gulf of Mexico. Having shown that Garay's 1519 expedition did indeed settle on the Río Pánuco in 1519, it becomes obvious that the river they entered was the Pánuco. By the time Narváez left Cuba for the Río de las Palmas in 1528, the Río Pánuco at its location north of Quiahuiztlán was well known to the Spaniards; as we show below (sec. 9.D), Narváez may even have sailed to Cuba from Pánuco in 1524. The *villa* of Santisteban del Puerto had been founded there by Cortés in the first half of 1523, and the region had been granted to Nuño de Guzmán as a separate jurisdiction from New Spain in November 1525.

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The Río del Espíritu Santo was evidently known as a major landmark within Garay's jurisdiction; as we examine in our Part 5 commentary (chap. 6, sec. 7.B), its description but not its precise location was known to the Narváez expeditionaries when they departed from Cuba in 1528. We consider the potential correlation of this toponym to present-day rivers in our Part 4 commentary (chap. 5, sec. 7).

Discovery in the Gulf of Mexico can in large part be credited to the technical innovation of Antón de Alaminos. Between 1513 and 1519 he carefully studied sailing in the Gulf of Mexico. The 1513 voyage under Ponce de León to the Florida Peninsula and the 1517 voyage under Hernández de Córdoba to Yucatán partially delimited the newly discovered body of water. In addition to defining the southern rim of the Gulf of Mexico, the 1517 voyage as well as Grijalva's 1518 voyage brought news of the riches of Mexico to Cuba, Jamaica, and Spain. That information, coupled with Alaminos's belief that more land lay beyond Cabo Rojo, incited Francisco de Garay to send Diego de Camargo to explore the region of the northwestern Gulf of Mexico beyond Cabo Rojo in 1518. The period of discovery drew to a close and a period of settlement in the Gulf of Mexico began in mid-1519 when Diego Velázquez sent Hernán Cortés along its southern rim to explore the Mexican interior and Francisco de Garay sent Diego de Camargo back to its northwestern shore to found a settlement on the Río Pánuco.

8. Struggle for Control of the Gulf of Mexico and the Mexican Mainland (Summer 1519 to December 1521)

The competition between Cortés, Velázquez, and Garay for possession of the western Gulf of Mexico played itself out legally among the men's advocates and allies at the court of Castile and militarily among their soldiers on the coast of the gulf. From 1515 to the end of 1518 Pánfilo de Narváez had served as court advocate for Diego Velázquez, and afterward he returned to the Caribbean to serve as the military captain who would confront Cortés at Veracruz in the Cuban governor's stead.

Narváez and Gonzalo de Guzmán must have returned to Cuba soon after Hernán Cortés departed from the island in February 1519. As they were preparing to go to Mexico to assume their duties as members of the royal treasury in Velázquez's new jurisdiction, word arrived from the *vecinos* of San Cristóbal de la Habana to Diego Velázquez in Santiago that Cortés's advocates had stopped briefly near their *villa* on 23 August with an enormous quantity of gold and had then sailed away along the northern shore of Cuba; the residents of San Cristóbal supposed that the ship was on its way to Spain or some unknown foreign land. On 11 September 1519,

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Juan de Rojas wrote to Velázquez informing him of what his neighbor and friend, Francisco de Montejo, one of Cortés's captains on the 1519 expedition and soon to be his advocate at court, had done (CDI 12:155–60); a copy of that letter appeared in the 7 October 1519 investigation of the incident that Narváez and Guzmán carried out on the island of Cuba as officials of the royal treasury of the province (the future New Spain) from which the gold had come. As comptroller and treasurer of the new lands, Narváez and Guzmán appeared before the governor of Cuba in the *villa* of Santiago on 7 October 1519 and officially demanded that he investigate the activities of Montejo, Puertocarrero, and Alaminos with respect to the ship full of gold that Alaminos was rumored to have sailed through the Lucayas (CDI 12:151–204).

From their investigation they concluded that the men in the ship that had passed by Cuba should be arrested, and the officials appear to have believed that those men had stolen the gold, in spite of the fact that Juan de Rojas specifically stated that Montejo had claimed in a letter he had left for Rojas while he was in Cuba that Cortés was sending the men to Castile. The investigation seems to have been inconclusive regarding the situation in Mexico. Velázquez still had not heard from Cortés in October 1519 and could not be certain what Cortés knew about the treasure ship that had appeared at San Cristóbal de la Habana. To remedy the situation on both fronts, Velázquez sent Gonzalo de Guzmán to Spain after Alaminos's ship and began to contemplate sending Narváez to Mexico to investigate what had actually occurred there; two 12 October 1519 letters relating these details are extant, one that Velázquez alone signed (CDI 12:246–51; Martínez, *Documentos* 91–94) and another that Narváez and Guzmán also signed (CDI 11:435–38). Muñoz (Real Academia de la Historia 1:323 [entries 537, 538], 330 [entry 547.5]) identified the Señor de Xevres as the addressee of these letters; Martínez identifies the "muy ilustre señor" to whom the letters were directed as Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, the bishop of Burgos, who since Columbus's return from his first voyage had become the principal overseer of Indies affairs (see below).

Before following Narváez on his journey to Mexico, we will first return to Spain to consider the legal repercussions brought on by the arrival there of Francisco de Montejo, Alonso Hernández Puertocarrero, Antón de Alaminos, and Gonzalo de Guzmán at the end of 1519 and the beginning of 1520.

8.A. *Cortés's Advocates and Enemies in Spain*

The ship carrying the gift from Moctezuma that Cortés had sent to Spain with his advocates had indeed stopped on the island of Cuba as the *vecinos*

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of San Cristóbal de la Habana had reported to Diego Velázquez. In spite of Cortés's orders to Montejo and Hernández Puertocarrero not to touch Cuban soil on their way to Spain (Martínez, *Documentos* 77–85), the fleet had stopped briefly on the western shore of Cuba at Montejo's estate. From there Cortés's messengers sailed north through the Lucayas to Bermuda and Seville. Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 216) explains that this new course of sailing led to the relocation in 1519 of the *villa* of San Cristóbal de la Habana from the southern coast of Cuba to the port of Carenas, its present-day site; Sauer says the *villa* became a port of call for ships sailing to Spain both east from Mexico and north from Darién in present-day Panama.

Francisco de Montejo and Alonso Hernández Puertocarrero arrived in Seville in autumn 1519 to learn that their sovereign had been elected Holy Roman emperor. Santa Cruz (1:195 [pt. 2, chap. 7 (*sic*, 8)]) translated a letter of 24 July 1519, written originally in French, notifying King Charles I of his election and records that the king had received the letter in the city of Barcelona, where he had resided since leaving Zaragosa the previous January; it had been from Zaragosa that Pánfilo de Narváez and Gonzalo de Guzmán had taken leave of their king at the end of 1518 to return to Cuba. According to a letter written by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 3:364–65 [bk. 32, letter 643]), Charles was elected on 28 June 1519 in Frankfurt; Martire observed that by way of "rapid couriers who fly upon the swiftest of horses," particularly in matters of such importance, the news had arrived in Barcelona already by 15 July 1519.

Although Cortés's advocates' stop in Cuba seems to have led Velázquez to believe that they had stolen a great quantity of gold from Cortés's (ultimately Velázquez's) expedition, the secret that they were acting under Cortés's order to obtain legal rights to the lands that would come to be known as New Spain and simultaneously exclude Diego Velázquez from any subsequent discovery appears not to have been clearly revealed in Cuba when Gonzalo de Guzmán departed from the island toward the end of 1519. On 13 October 1519 in Santiago de Cuba, Velázquez requested "one, or two, or more" official copies of his 23 October 1518 instructions to Cortés (CDI 34:516–44), and Guzmán must have departed for Spain shortly after that date. When Guzmán arrived in Seville, probably in the last days of 1519, with a copy of the investigation he and Narváez had carried out regarding the "stolen" treasure, the 12 October letters that Velázquez, Narváez, and he had written, and most likely a copy of the instructions to Cortés mentioned above, he must have been one of the first men to realize the gravity of a situation that would remain unresolved until October 1522.

The treasure that Cortés's advocates brought from Mexico was received by the Casa de la Contratación on 5 November 1519 (Cortés, *Cartas de*

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relación 150n236). Las Casas (*Historia* 3:255 [bk. 3, chap. 123]) says that when Montejo, Hernández Puertocarrero, and Alaminos arrived in Seville with the gift Cortés had sent to the emperor, the Casa de la Contratación seized it from them and sent it to Valladolid. The emperor would be going to Valladolid after passing through Burgos on his way to Tordesillas, Santiago, and finally La Coruña, where he would embark for England and the Low Countries to be crowned emperor (Santa Cruz 1:221–29 [pt. 2, chaps. 14–15]). The gift was confiscated, according to Las Casas, because Benito Martín, the same one mentioned above who carried news of the Grijalva expedition to Spain in late 1518 (see sec. 5) and who had recently been named abbot of Cuba, learned that Cortés was attempting to claim Mexico for himself. Las Casas also says that Benito Martín and the officials in Seville wrote to the bishop of Burgos, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, who was already in La Coruña preparing for the emperor's departure. Las Casas says that when Fonseca received word from Martín he wrote a letter against Cortés to the emperor in Barcelona. Although this letter from Benito Martín to the bishop has not been discovered, another one that Martín sent directly to the emperor accusing Cortés of turning against Velázquez is still extant (CDI 34:332–36; Martínez, *Documentos* 95–97).

Martínez's dating of Benito Martín's letter to October or November 1519 is perhaps too early, and his annotation is somewhat incorrect. If Martín wrote the letter after Gonzalo de Guzmán arrived in Spain, as Martínez surmises, it could not have been written until mid-December, since Guzmán carried Diego Velázquez's 12 October 1519 letter to Spain and could not have arrived in Spain much before the end of November. Benito Martín's letter most likely dates therefore to December 1519 or early 1520, unless he wrote it solely on the basis of what Cortés's advocates had revealed in Seville, prior to Gonzalo de Guzmán's arrival. The content of the letter would not make this impossible.

Martínez annotates Benito Martín's mention of the supply ships that Velázquez said he sent to Cortés with a reference to the governor's plans to send Narváez's 1520 punitive expedition to Mexico. Velázquez apparently did send a number of supply ships to aid Cortés between May and November 1519. According to the extract from a letter he wrote to the king on 23 May 1519 (CDU 1:92–93), he sent two caravels and a brigantine to Mexico in May after Cortés's ships had departed. In the 12 October 1519 letter of which Velázquez is the lone signatory, he reveals that in addition to supply ships he sent to Mexico before Gonzalo de Guzmán and Narváez returned to Cuba, he also sent two or three more ships of provisions that his advocates had brought when they returned from Spain, evidently in mid-1519. Besides being anachronistic, Martínez's note concerning Narváez's expedition of 1520 at this point in his edition of Benito Martín's letter

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suggests that he discredits Velázquez's claim that he sent supply ships to Cortés in mid-1519 and that he assumes Velázquez was already certain of Cortés's disobedience to him when he sent Gonzalo de Guzmán to Spain in October. The documentation does not support either assumption. As we will see below, when Velázquez wrote a letter to Rodrigo de Figueroa at the Audiencia of Santo Domingo on 17 November 1519 notifying him of his plans to take a fleet to Mexico, he seems still to have been uncertain of Cortés's activities there. The tendency to exaggerate Velázquez's suspicions about Cortés's conduct during the period between May and December 1519 is a product of modern historians' reliance on pro-Cortés sources, such as Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Francisco López de Gómara, which seek to defend Cortés's actions and are unfavorable to Velázquez. Such sources give a distorted view of the Caribbean perspective.

On the eve of his departure for Valencia, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 3:374–75 [bk. 32, letter 650]) wrote from Barcelona about the treasure sent to Spain by Hernán Cortés, thereby documenting the arrival in Barcelona of news that it was in Seville somewhat before the 2 December 1519 date of his letter. According to Las Casas (*Historia* 3:255 [bk. 3, chap. 123]), once Cortés's advocates had surrendered the treasure at Seville they went to Medellín, where they picked up Cortés's father, Martín Cortés de Monroy, and then departed for Barcelona to address the emperor. Las Casas says that the men learned along the way that the emperor had departed from Barcelona, and thus they met him as he made his way to La Coruña and traveled there with him; Las Casas claims also to have met the men during this time. Santa Cruz (1:221–22 [pt. 2, chap. 14]) implies that Charles V departed from Barcelona shortly after 8 January 1520 and states that he embarked for England on 20 May 1520 (Santa Cruz 1:229 [pt. 2, chap. 15]). According to Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 182), Cortés's advocates met with the emperor in Tordesillas in March 1520. Martínez hypothesizes that the emperor would have seen the gift that had been seized in Seville by the Casa de la Contratación in Valladolid at the beginning of April, as claimed in a statement added to the end of the *Carta del cabildo* (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 158). Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:17–18 [bk. 33, letter 665]) had already seen it in Valladolid by 14 March 1520.

When the emperor departed from La Coruña, the rivalry between Velázquez, Cortés, and Garay does not seem to have been resolved. Thanks to Narváez and Guzmán, Velázquez had already been granted the rights to Hernández de Córdoba's discoveries in November 1518 and, by extension, Grijalva's as well. Through Juan López de Torralba's lobbying, Garay had been granted everything beyond them to the north by the end of 1519, all before the emperor had heard Cortés's advocates in March 1520. Cortés had

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acted illegally and had few friends at court. Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, the powerful bishop of Burgos who had overseen all activities of the Castilian court regarding the Indies since Columbus's discoveries and who had been officially assigned to such matters since December 1507 (Keniston 13), was partial to Diego Velázquez. Many years later Bernal Díaz del Castillo (479b [chap. 167]) claimed that this was because he had wished to marry his niece, Doña Petronila de Fonseca, to Velázquez or to Cristóbal de Tapia (see below).

In the months during the emperor's absence from Spain (May 1520 to July 1522), during which the Comunero rebellion took place, little official action seems to have been taken to resolve the dispute between Velázquez and Cortés over the lands beyond the Yucatán Peninsula. To the governors of Castile, and particularly to Bishop Fonseca, Cortés's claim to Mexico was a nonissue. In 1546, Francisco Núñez recalled in his summary of his activities on Cortés's behalf that Cortés's advocates had come from Seville to Barcelona and that serving as another of Cortés's advocates, he had been with them in the years 1520, 1521, and 1522 in Barcelona, Valladolid, and La Coruña, as well as in Vitoria with the governors of Castile. Núñez evidently traveled with Cortés's advocates from Barcelona to Valladolid to La Coruña between January and May 1520, when the emperor departed from Spain, and later to Vitoria, where the Council of Castile was residing when the emperor returned to Spain in July 1522. Sometime in late 1521 or early 1522 Diego de Ordaz and Alonso de Mendoza carried Cortés's second letter to Spain and at court also joined the legal battle for Mexico on Cortés's behalf (Chamberlain 47).

Two events not in Cortés's favor that took place during this period of the emperor's absence from Spain are of considerable importance. First, Cristóbal de Tapia was named the governor of New Spain on 11 April 1521 (CDI 26:37–43) by Bishop Fonseca and Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, the regent of Spain in the emperor's absence. Sometime after that date Adrian authorized the 1521 *capitulaciones* granting Garay permission to settle the province of Amichel. According to these *capitulaciones* (Navarrete 3:161), Tapia was to go to the gulf to determine the boundaries between the territories of Velázquez, Garay, and Ponce de León and afterward was to assume the governance of New Spain. By the time Tapia finally arrived at Veracruz on 24 December 1521, however, the legislation promulgated in Spain seemed not to apply. Events of the nearly two and a half years that separated Tapia's visit to Mexico from the establishment of Veracruz and Pánuco in August 1519 had significantly shifted the balance of power on the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico in Cortés's favor. For the most complete, although decidedly Cortesian, account of this period, see Chamberlain (35–48).

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8.B. *Cortés and His Enemies in the Indies*

8.B.1. *Events at Veracruz and Pánuco (August 1519 to Spring 1520).* If it seemed that Cortés's advocates had lost the battle for control of Mexico at court while the emperor was absent from Spain and Bishop Fonseca dictated the affairs of the Indies, the situation on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico was quite different. Once Camargo's three or four ships disappeared to the north at the end of August 1519, Cortés resumed his plans to enter the interior to confront Moctezuma, leaving Juan de Escalante in charge at Veracruz.

As we mentioned earlier, Gómara and Bernal Díaz disagree on Cortés's efforts to move toward Pánuco in 1519 and 1520. Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 140 [chap. 88]) says that before Cortés departed he ordered Pedro de Ircio to found a settlement called Almería to the north of Veracruz at Nautla where Garay's men had wanted to settle. According to Gómara's account, correspondence between Ircio and the native lord of the region, Qualpopoca, resulted in Ircio's sending four Spaniards north to the native settlement from Veracruz. Two were killed and the other two returned. Pedro de Ircio wrote to Cortés at Cholula, informing him of these events. In November 1519, shortly after Cortés had taken Moctezuma prisoner, he had the Aztec leader summon Qualpopoca to México-Tenochtitlán, and there Cortés had him burned for the murders of the Spaniards.

Cortés's interest in Pánuco had undoubtedly been heightened by Garay's assumed presence there, but Bernal Díaz del Castillo (34a [chap. 18], 109b, 110b [chap. 58], 199b, 200b, 201b [chap. 94]) criticizes Gómara's account of the events concerning the founding of Almería and the skirmish at Nautla. He explains that when Cortés moved inland only the sick and the mariners were left at Veracruz and that there certainly were not enough soldiers there to carry out any expedition of conquest in the direction of Nautla. As mentioned above, Díaz del Castillo claimed that the commander at Veracruz was Juan de Escalante. He also said that the conflict at Nautla had been the result of a political conflict between the Totonacs and the Mexica of the region. According to Díaz del Castillo's account, Juan de Escalante and six other men were killed in the conflict as they were driven back to Veracruz by the natives. One of the native lords responsible for the conflict, Quetzalpopoca (Qualpopoca), was later sent to México-Tenochtitlán, where he was burned as punishment for the deaths (Castillo 204b [chap. 95]). Bernal Díaz insists that in no way was the episode an initiative by the men at Veracruz to conquer Pánuco. As we will show below, the *probanza de méritos y servicios* of Alonso García Bravo reveals that in this case Bernal Díaz's criticism of Gómara was somewhat warranted, since Gómara appears to have collapsed the events that took place at Veracruz in 1519 into those that occurred there in 1520.

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Keeping Garay out of New Spain was one reason Cortés was interested in the Río Pánuco. Another was his desire to find a natural port on the Gulf of Mexico. We have already seen how Francisco de Montejo explored the coast upon the expedition's arrival in the spring of 1519 and found no desirable port, supposedly between San Juan de Ulúa and the Río Pánuco, save the crag at Quiahuiztlán to which Veracruz had been moved in June 1519. At México-Tenochtitlán Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 222; Pagden 94) continued his inquiry into the geography of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, explaining in his second letter that while he held Moctezuma prisoner he questioned him about the coast of the Gulf of Mexico specifically to find a favorable place for a port:

> Likewise I asked Mutezuma to tell me if there was on the coast any river or cove where the ships that came might enter and be safe. He replied that he did not know, but would have them make a map of all the coast for me with all its rivers and coves . . . and so it was done. On the following day they brought me a cloth with all the coast painted on it, and there appeared a river which ran to the sea, and according to the representation was wider than all the others.

As we will see below (sec. 9.D), the information Moctezuma provided sometime in late 1519 about the Gulf of Mexico made its way to Spain by late 1522 and was first published in 1524. From his questioning of Moctezuma, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 222n233 [second letter]) says he discovered the port of "Quacalcalco" (on the Río Coatzacoalcos), the only desirable location for a port between the Río San Antón in the southern Gulf of Mexico and the Río Pánuco (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 224 [second letter]). Cortés would maintain a persistent interest in conquering the Río Pánuco region both to force Garay's men out of Mexico and to gain a superior port on the northwestern coast of the gulf.

While Cortés left only a small contingent at Veracruz and took the majority of his men inland to México-Tenochtitlán, Diego de Camargo apparently remained on the Río Pánuco with the majority of his soldiers. Alonso García Bravo's *probanza* (Mantecón 32, 54) verifies that he, García Bravo, oversaw the building of a palisade at the Río Pánuco to protect the colony from the hostile Indians of the region. Camargo must have sent his ships and pilots home to Jamaica with the Pineda map discussed above (sec. 7.G), and from there Garay evidently sent it to Spain with an account of his men's discoveries. With the account and map in hand, Torralba evidently reinforced Garay's legal right to the Pánuco region of the gulf by acquiring the 1521 *capitulaciones* during the time when the emperor was absent from Spain and the political climate there was decidedly not in Cortés's favor.

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8.B.2. *Narváez's Expedition to Veracruz (Spring 1520).* While Diego de Camargo, Alonso García Bravo, and the rest of Garay's men were trying to defend themselves from the Indians at the Río Pánuco, Velázquez's possible suspicion that Cortés was attempting to circumvent his claim to Mexico set the stage for a major conflict at Veracruz. As we have mentioned regarding Benito Martín's letter to the king informing him of Cortés's disobedience to Velázquez, the impression Velázquez held of the situation in Mexico when he finally sent Narváez there in the spring of 1520 is unclear. His first information about Cortés's activities came in the form of the 11 September 1519 letter from Juan de Rojas at San Cristóbal de la Habana, from which he learned that the lead ship of the expedition he had sent into the Gulf of Mexico at the beginning of that year had passed by the western tip of Cuba with a cargo of gold, only to take an untraveled route out of the Caribbean to the north in late August 1519.

Evidently Rojas's letter from San Cristóbal de la Habana did not arrive in Santiago until early October, at which time it prompted Velázquez, Gonzalo de Guzmán, and Narváez to investigate the situation and respond to it. Velázquez alluded to sending Narváez to Mexico in his 12 October letters, and even in their 7 October 1519 investigation of the treasure ship, Narváez and Guzmán mentioned that they were preparing to go to Mexico to exercise their royal commissions as comptroller and treasurer of Cozumel and Yucatán (i.e., the lands discovered by Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva that Cortés was conquering) when word of Cortés's treasure ship arrived in Santiago de Cuba.

Another month passed, however, before Velázquez resolved to prepare a large expedition in Santiago to go to Mexico, and on 17 November 1519 he wrote to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo informing the officials there that he was departing that very day from Santiago for the Cuban *villa* of Trinidad (CDI 35:18–26; Martínez, *Documentos* 98–101; García Icazbalceta 1:399–403). This letter was preserved in the lengthy proceedings of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo on the subject of the conflict between Velázquez and Cortés, in which the officials of the Audiencia resolved to send the *licenciado* Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón to Cuba to prohibit Velázquez from sending such a large armada to Mexico (CDI 35:5–199). (In García Icazbalceta and Martínez, the latter of which appears to be a transcription of the former, this CDI document appears separately, although the docketing transcribed at the end of it suggests that it, like the CDI transcription, was done from the Audiencia copy, rather than from Velázquez's original letter.) The officials in Santo Domingo decided to send Ayllón to Cuba because they feared that the island would be left depopulated once Narváez's expedition departed, and because they knew a civil war between Spaniards in Mexico would

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undermine Spanish authority there, set a bad example for both Spaniards and Indians, and be a disservice to the king.

As we mentioned earlier with respect to the skirmish between Cortés's and Diego de Camargo's men at Veracruz in 1519 (sec. 7.F), the proceedings of the Audiencia suggest that by 24 December 1519 some of the ships Garay had sent to the Río Pánuco had been returned nearly empty by Cortés to Jamaica. The *licenciado* Juan Carrillo related to the Audiencia not only that Garay's ships had been returned nearly empty but also that Cortés had treated the natives of Mexico cruelly. Carrillo presented three letters—two from Velázquez and one from Francisco de Santa Cruz—as further evidence on the subject (CDI 35:18–37). One of these was Velázquez's 17 November letter to Rodrigo de Figueroa, and another with almost exactly the same text was his letter to Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón (see below). In each of these letters Velázquez seems to suggest that he was aware of some sort of mistreatment of the Indians by Cortés.

It is impossible to know if the ships that apparently returned to Jamaica were some of the ones that had sailed past Veracruz in mid-1519 or some that Garay had subsequently sent to the gulf to bolster his colony at the Río Pánuco (see below). It is also impossible to know if Velázquez himself was aware that these ships had been returned to Jamaica. If he was, it is possible that informants arriving on those ships brought news of Cortés's mistreatment of native peoples and confirmed Velázquez's possible suspicions that Cortés was attempting to circumvent his claim to Mexico.

When Velázquez wrote to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo on 17 November 1519, he was uncertain if he himself would go to Mexico or if he would send Pánfilo de Narváez, assigning him the lieutenant governorship of the territory. Having learned of Velázquez's intentions, the authorities on Española sent the *licenciado* Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón to prohibit Velázquez from sending the fleet. Velázquez's letter to Ayllón on 27 (*sic*, 17) November 1519 (CDI 35:29–37) and one from Ayllón to the king on 8 January 1520 (CDI 35:241–44) show that Ayllón had been preparing to return to Spain just as he was ordered to go to Cuba. Velázquez had written to Ayllón hoping that he would lobby in his favor at the Castilian court, but instead Ayllón's trip to Spain was delayed, and he was ordered to go to Cuba to stop Velázquez from sending Narváez to Mexico. Ayllón confronted Velázquez at Guaniguanico, but Velázquez refused to recognize Ayllón's authority and sent Narváez to Mexico in spite of the Audiencia's ruling.

Narváez's 1520 expedition to Mexico was made up of eighteen ships, eight hundred soldiers, and eighty horses (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 259, 259n29). On 4 March 1520 Ayllón wrote to the emperor informing him that he was departing for Yucatán to head off the clash between Narváez and Cortés

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(CDI 11:439–42). When Narváez arrived on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, Cortés was forced to leave Tenochtitlán in order to deal with him personally at Veracruz. Despite Narváez's military advantage, he was defeated by Cortés at Cempoala, lost an eye in the battle, and was subsequently imprisoned at Veracruz on 27 May 1520. Cortés conveniently put to use in his continuing conquest of Mexico the arms, supplies, and men that Narváez brought. Before his confrontation with Cortés, Narváez had had Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón imprisoned on his own ship and sent back to the Caribbean. For the Cortés/Narváez confrontation, see Wagner (*The Rise* 258–62) and Vigil. For a discussion of Narváez's 1520 voyage, see Vigil, Weddle (111–29), and Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 258–62, 342–43). For Ayllón's attempt to stop Narváez and his subsequent imprisonment and charges against Narváez, see CDI (35:5–199, 241–44, 13:332–48, 1:416–17) and Vigil.

8.B.3. *Events at Pánuco, Veracruz, México-Tenochtitlán, and Cuba (May 1520 to December 1521).* After Narváez's defeat in late May 1520, ships continued to arrive at Veracruz. Pedro Barba, a messenger sent to Narváez by Velázquez, arrived with one ship sometime between July and October. Question 5 of an *interrogatorio* contained in Alonso García Bravo's *probanza de méritos y servicios* (Mantecón 32) and answers to it (Mantecón 54, 92) document the arrival of the remains of Garay's Pánuco settlement to Veracruz shortly after Cortés defeated Narváez's expedition. It might have been Narváez's arrival at Veracruz and the subsequent dispute between him and Cortés that provided the catalyst for the Indian attack on Pánuco and the consequent expulsion of Garay's settlement from there. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (305b, 306b [chap. 133]) recalled that Garay, knowing nothing of the destruction of his settlement at Pánuco, had continued to send supply ships from Jamaica after Camargo came to Veracruz. First Miguel Díaz de Aux, Garay's long-time partner in the Indies, and later Ramírez "el viejo" arrived at Pánuco, only to find that the settlement had been destroyed by the Indians. When they discovered that Garay's colony had perished, each captain sailed south to Veracruz, where his forces and supplies went to Cortés's benefit at Garay's expense. Diego Dávila, who had gone to Mexico on Narváez's 1520 expedition and who returned to Cuba in mid-1521, verified the arrival of both Camargo and Miguel Díaz at Veracruz (CDI 35:370). Finally, in addition to these ships, which arrived from the Caribbean to Veracruz, Juan de Burgos brought a load of supplies directly to Cortés from Seville, initiating direct commerce between Mexico and Spain.

Once Cortés had defeated Narváez, he again directed his attention to the conquest of Mexico. Díaz del Castillo (267b, 268b [chap. 124]) says Cortés ordered Juan Velázquez de León to take one hundred of Narváez's soldiers

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and twenty of those that had come to Mexico with Cortés to settle at the Río Pánuco. This initiative ended when Cortés was forced to recall the contingent because of the uprising in México-Tenochtitlán, where Velázquez de León was later killed. It was apparently at the same time Cortés sent Velázquez de León to Pánuco that he ordered the conquest of Nautla that Gómara had confused with the skirmish there between the Indians and Juan de Escalante's men at Veracruz from the previous year. The sixth question of the 1561 *interrogatorio* of García Bravo's *probanza* (Mantecón 32–33) and responses to it (Mantecón 54–55, 92) demonstrate that after Camargo's men arrived in Veracruz, Pedro de Ircio led an expedition of conquest to "Tapacoya, Almería, and Micante [Misantla]." Question 7 shows that shortly after this conquest, Gonzalo de Sandoval arrived in Veracruz to enlist aid in the combat of the uprising at México-Tenochtitlán. Despite his desire to go on the conquest, García Bravo was ordered to remain at Veracruz, where he was to oversee the building of a fort (Mantecón 33).

During the time that Cortés was occupied with the second conquest of México-Tenochtitlán, the events that occurred at Veracruz are less clear. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (311b, 312b, 313b [chap. 136]) recalled that it was during the time just prior to the siege of México-Tenochtitlán (May–August 1521) that Cortés allowed many of the captains who had come to Mexico with Narváez to return to Cuba and that at the same time he also sent ambassadors to Santo Domingo, Jamaica, and Spain.

Two of the men Díaz del Castillo says departed for Cuba are Andrés de Duero and Juan Bono de Quexo, and it is no surprise that these men appeared on 28 June and 6 July 1521, respectively, to give testimony on what had occurred between Cortés and Narváez in Mexico in a *probanza* that Pero Pérez initiated under Diego Velázquez's power of attorney in the city of Santiago de Cuba (CDI 35:257–500). The CDI version of this *información* appears to be a partial transcription of the copy of the proceedings made for Diego Velázquez by the notary, Vicente López, on 19 March 1522, almost a year after the testimony had been taken. (Martínez [*Documentos* 170–209] seems to have transcribed the CDI text, adding a misleading introductory note; his claim that only three witnesses testified at the hearing proceeds from his failure to recognize that the original CDI version is a partial transcription.) In his answer to questions 76 and 77 of this *probanza*, another witness, Diego Dávila, testified to the arrival of Camargo and later Miguel Díaz at Veracruz, as well as Cortés's sending of Camargo to Jamaica (CDI 35:370–71). Juan Álvarez named Diego de Camargo, the pilot Juan de la Puebla, and the helmsman Cristóbal Lizarabaca as the three men whom Cortés evidently sent to Jamaica in a somewhat unseaworthy brigantine sometime after their arrival at Veracruz in mid-1520 (CDI 35:479).

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Narváez was held prisoner in Veracruz from May 1520 apparently until at least the end of 1521. Alonso Pérez de Zamora, a witness for García Bravo's *probanza*, said he had seen Narváez "shackled and in chains" in Cempoala (Mantecón 39). Narváez seems still to have been held under fairly tight security in February 1521. In an investigation carried out at Veracruz between 10 and 16 February, Diego Díaz was sentenced to death for complicity in Narváez's plot to buy or steal a ship that was anchored in the port in order to sail to Cuba (CDI 26:287–97). The investigation reveals that Narváez was being held in confinement at that time. The notary, Jerónimo de Alaniz, who had evidently gone to Mexico with Narváez in 1520 and who would again join Narváez in Cuba in 1528 to go as the notary of his *Florida* expedition, participated in the recording of these legal proceedings.

In August 1521, Cortés's siege of México-Tenochtitlán ended and he took control of the city, after which he initiated another wave of expeditions into southern Mexico and to Pánuco. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (419b [chap. 157]) states that Cortés was planning to send a certain Castañeda and Vicente López to conquer Pánuco. Gómara's (*Historia de la conquista* 238 [chap. 153]) account implies that Cortés himself had intended to go on this expedition, but that the arrival of Cristóbal de Tapia at Veracruz caused him to call the mission off.

As mentioned earlier (sec. 8.A), Tapia had been named the governor of New Spain and had been sent by Bishop Fonseca to resolve the dispute between Cortés and Velázquez and the one between Narváez and Vázquez de Ayllón, after which he was to take possession of the region Cortés had conquered. According to the 1521 *capitulaciones* to Garay, Tapia was also to determine the boundaries between Velázquez's, Garay's, and Ponce de León's territories. Tapia's visit may have provided the first official word Cortés received concerning Garay's legal rights to Pánuco.

Rather than seeing Tapia personally, Cortés sent some of his men to meet him at Cempoala. Cortés's representatives examined the documents Tapia brought with him but refused to comply with the orders. Powerless, Tapia departed from Veracruz sometime after 6 January 1522 (CDI 26:30–58; García Icazbalceta 1:452–63; Martínez, *Documentos* 210–18). Bernal Díaz del Castillo (423b [chap. 158]) claimed that while Cristóbal de Tapia was at Veracruz, he spoke with Pánfilo de Narváez, who advised him to leave Mexico in light of the dangers presented by Cortés's military strength. Bernal Díaz suggests that Cortés ordered Narváez's transfer from Veracruz to México-Tenochtitlán soon after Tapia's departure from the coastal settlement so that Narváez would be unable to leak information to the authorities regarding Cortés's conduct and activities in Mexico.

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With Cristóbal de Tapia departed, Diego Velázquez's army defeated, Pánfilo de Narváez imprisoned in México-Tenochtitlán, and Garay's settlement under Diego de Camargo abandoned, Cortés's only remaining competitor for the Mexican discoveries was Francisco de Garay himself. Cortés must have known that his legal claim to the province of Pánuco was weak. In 1519, Francisco de Montejo had possibly traveled as far north as the Río Pánuco while searching for a desirable spot to relocate Veracruz, but all of Cortés's subsequent plans to reach the Pánuco had been delayed. Juan Velázquez de León's 1520 expedition to the Río Pánuco was canceled due to the rebellion at México-Tenochtitlán, and Cortés's second initiative to subjugate Pánuco in 1521 had been delayed by Tapia's arrival at Veracruz. Pedro de Ircio's 1520 expedition had only gone as far north as Nautla and Misantla. Clearly, Garay's discovery of and settlement on the Río Pánuco from 1518 to 1520, for which he had been granted royal permission since at least as early as the end of 1519, gave him a much more legitimate claim to the region. Cristóbal de Tapia's visit to Mexico may have made Cortés aware of Garay's 1521 permission to settle the province of Amichel, but he also would have realized at that time that the limits of Garay's province had not been fixed. The territorial jurisdiction of New Spain was far from decided, and if he could take possession of the Río Pánuco before Garay, it would be his.

9. CORTÉS, GARAY, AND THE SECOND CONQUEST OF PÁNUCO (1522–23)

9.A. *Cortés's Conquest of the Río Pánuco*

Cortés began preparing an expedition to conquer the Río Pánuco region in January 1522. In July he sent his secretary, Juan de Ribera, to Spain with another large shipment of treasure. The treasure was seized by French pirates, but the ship carrying Ribera, Cortés's third letter, and maps of México-Tenochtitlán and the Gulf of Mexico got through to Spain. Finally, in late 1522, Cortés personally set out toward Pánuco with overland forces from the south, following along the Río Moctezuma to the Río Pánuco (see map 8). At the same time, he sent a ship from Veracruz north along the coast to the Río Pánuco as a second offensive.

As Cortés's troops marched to the Río Pánuco from the south, they met the Huasteca Indians, who had driven Camargo and his men from the region over two years earlier, in mid-1520. The ship from Veracruz never arrived to Pánuco, but Cortés and his troops successfully conquered the Huastecas with the aid of Indian allies. By midspring 1523, Cortés had founded the *villa* of Santisteban del Puerto some leagues inland on the Río Pánuco as the capital of the province. A search party sent out to look for the ship that never

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arrived to the mouth of the Río Pánuco from Veracruz "found only three survivors grubbing out a sorry existence on a sandy beach" (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 64). For accounts of Cortés's conquest of Pánuco, see especially Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 56–65). See also Toussaint (88–92) and Weddle (134–36).

While Cortés was conquering Pánuco, his long-time competitor for the province, Francisco de Garay, was preparing to again attempt to claim his rights to the region. Although it was known neither to him nor to Cortés, at the very time he was planning to do so, those rights were being nearly taken away in Spain. The victory of Cortés's advocates over those of Diego Velázquez would come just in time to allow Cortés to declare his legal right to the Pánuco region to Francisco de Garay when Garay arrived there in mid-1523. The details of this development require us to return again to the court of Castile at the beginning of 1522.

9.B. *Cortés's Legal Victory in Spain*

According to Bernal Díaz del Castillo (478b [chap. 167]), after a period of continuous rejection by Bishop Fonseca since their arrival in Spain, Francisco de Montejo, Diego de Ordaz, the *licenciado* Francisco Núñez, and Cortés's father, Martín Cortés, finally defied the bishop and made an appeal to Adrian of Utrecht. Adrian had been elected Pope Adrian VI on 9 January 1522 but was still serving as acting regent of Spain during the emperor's absence. According to Santa Cruz (1:503 [pt. 2, chap. 63]), Adrian received word of his election on 16 January 1522 in the city of Vitoria. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:233–35 [bk. 35, letter 749]) had received the news in Valladolid by 27 January 1522. As mentioned above (sec. 7.D), Pope Adrian, while still the cardinal of Tortosa, had authorized the 1521 *capitulaciones* granting the province of Amichel (Pánuco) to Garay.

From Vitoria, the newly elected pope made his way to Zaragosa, where he stayed while the fleet that would carry him to Genoa and Rome was being prepared at Tortosa, at the mouth of the Río Ebro. In a letter written from Vitoria on 23 March 1522, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:247–48 [bk. 35, letter 757]) documented his travel from Valladolid to Vitoria and his meeting with Pope Adrian on 10 March 1522, the same day that the pope was departing for Zaragosa; Martire traveled with him as far as Logroño, where the pope remained for two days before moving on to Zaragosa and Tortosa. In a letter Adrian sent to the emperor from Zaragosa on 5 May 1522 (Gachard 73), he claimed to have departed from Vitoria on 12 March.

Santa Cruz (1:503–04 [pt. 2, chap. 63]) suggests that sometime during the pope's journey to Tortosa he received a certain "Mr. de la Chaulx," court

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minion of Charles V, who arrived from Germany bearing congratulations from the emperor to Adrian on his election to the papacy. Pope Adrian's correspondence with the emperor reveals that Laxao, whom Gachard (xviii, n1) identified as Charles de Poupet, had also come to Spain to serve as the transitional regent of Spain in the period between Adrian's departure to Rome and the emperor's return from the Low Countries to Spain. In a letter Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:249 [bk. 35, letter 758]) wrote on 5 May 1522 in Vitoria, he mentioned "Señor de Laxao's" passage through Vitoria, and in the letter of 5 May 1522 that Pope Adrian wrote to the emperor (cited above), he alluded to Laxao's arrival to Zaragosa sometime between 12 March and 5 May 1522.

Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 255 [chap. 165]) and Díaz del Castillo (478b [chap. 167]) both record the arrival of this "Mr. de Lasao" or "Mosiur de Lasao." Gómara notes Cortés's advocates' decision to denounce Bishop Fonseca and claims that Pope Adrian and Laxao took considerable interest in the case, but he is vague on the details of the actions taken by Cortés's men; he simply says that with "the positions heard and the testimonies seen," Adrian gave his ruling from the city of Zaragosa. Díaz del Castillo (478b, 479b, 480b [chap. 167]) is somewhat more explicit, suggesting that with the help of influential men at the court of Castile who supported Cortés, a hearing was held in which Bishop Fonseca was charged with corruption and favoritism. The testimony recorded at the hearing, most likely taken in Vitoria, was then sent to Adrian in Zaragosa, from which he gave his ruling. Whether Cortés's men ever met personally with Adrian is not possible to determine, although both accounts seem to suggest that they did. Francisco Núñez's mention of the time he spent with Cortés's advocates "later in Vitoria with the governors" (Cuevas 261) clearly refers to the period of Adrian's regency, toward the end of which these declamations were made.

Cortés's advocates complained in their accusations that Bishop Fonseca had unreasonably favored Velázquez over Cortés and that he had even imprisoned Hernández Puertocarrero when he requested permission to go to Flanders to appear personally before Charles V on Cortés's behalf. It is not surprising that on 19 March 1522 in Santiago de Cuba, Diego Velázquez went to Vicente López and demanded that the notary give him a transcription of the testimony that the returnees from Mexico had given between 28 June and 6 July 1521 in the capital city of the island regarding Cortés's conquest and his conflict with Narváez (CDI 35:499–500). Velázquez evidently intended to use the testimony, which had been prematurely terminated by Alonso de Zuazo's orders, to rebuild his case against Cortés. Zuazo, who had been the acting lieutenant governor of Cuba at the time, had suspended the proceedings after Francisco Altamirano, Cortés's cousin and advocate, appeared before

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Zuazo with Cortés's power of attorney and demanded that the collection of depositions be stopped.

Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 255 [chap. 165]) remarks that Laxao was partial to Cortés because of his great deeds in Mexico, and both Gómara and Díaz del Castillo relate that the newly elected Pope Adrian ruled in Cortés's favor. Both tell that Adrian ordered the bishop of Burgos to leave his post as overseer of the affairs of the Indies, and Díaz del Castillo (480b [chap. 167]) adds that when the bishop learned this he became very angry and then ill, and that he finally left the court of Castile and went to the city of Toro.

As Adrian was in Zaragosa preparing to depart from Tortosa for his coronation, which took place in Rome on 31 August 1522, Emperor Charles V was returning to Spain. Santa Cruz (1:517 [pt. 2, chap. 66], 2:9 [pt. 3, chap. 1], 2:15 [pt. 3, chap. 3]) claimed that Charles arrived at Santander on 16 June, had entered Palencia by 6 August, and passed through Tordesillas, where he was to see his mother before moving on to Valladolid. Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:267–68 [bk. 35, letter 763], 271–72 [bk. 35, letter 766]) gives a clearer account, documenting the emperor's arrival in Spain on 17 July, his departure for Palencia on 26 July, and his arrival there on 5 August. Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:274 [bk. 35, letter 768]) traveled from Vitoria to join the emperor at Palencia and continued with the Castilian court to Valladolid, from which the emperor went to Tordesillas on 2 September 1522 to visit his mother.

Thus, in the brief period of overlap between the emperor's arrival in Spain in mid-July and Adrian's departure sometime in mid-August 1522, the Cortés/Velázquez dispute that Charles had left unresolved when he departed from Spain in May 1520 fell back into his lap. Francisco Núñez claimed that he was with the emperor and Cortés's advocates in Palencia (Cuevas 261); Chamberlain's (51) claim that the men were in Valencia during this month of August is an error. The emperor evidently took up the Cortés/Velázquez dispute in earnest once he arrived in Valladolid in September 1522.

The emperor upheld Pope Adrian VI's ruling made earlier that year, but according to both Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 255–56 [chap. 166]) and Bernal Díaz del Castillo (481–90, cols. b [chap. 168]), he also convened a hearing that was held in the home of Alonso de Argüello, where the grand chancellor Mercurino Gattinara resided, to finally resolve the dispute between Cortés and Velázquez. The only accounts presently known of this meeting, which must have taken place in Valladolid sometime between 2 September and 15 October 1522, are those by Gómara and Díaz del Castillo as well as Francisco Núñez's 1546 fragmented summary account (Cuevas 257–58, 261–62).

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Gómara and Díaz del Castillo differ considerably regarding the names of the witnesses who testified at this hearing and the testimony given, and Núñez (Cuevas 261) is nearly silent on the subject apart from documenting his own advocacy for Cortés. Gómara says that Manuel de Rojas, Andrés de Duero, and other advocates were present for Velázquez and that Martín Cortés, Francisco de Montejo, Francisco Núñez, and other advocates were present for Cortés. Bernal Díaz suggests that shortly after Bishop Fonseca was obligated to leave his charge of the Indies (mid-1522) and go to Toro, Pánfilo de Narváez, Cristóbal de Tapia, Gonzalo de Umbria, and a certain soldier named Cárdenas (evidently Luis de Cárdenas; see chap. 1, sec. 9.D) arrived in the city to complain to the bishop about Cortés. This ostensibly led to an appearance before Charles V that precipitated the hearing in the home of Grand Chancellor Gattinara. In addition to the four who appeared before Bishop Fonseca and Charles V, Díaz del Castillo says that Manuel de Rojas, Benito Martín, and a certain Velázquez who was a relative of Diego Velázquez appeared at the hearing for the governor of Cuba. Díaz del Castillo names the same advocates for Cortés that Gómara does and adds Diego de Ordaz to the list. Francisco Núñez, who appears not to have remembered clearly if the events had taken place in 1522 or 1523 (Cuevas 257, 261), named Rojas and a "Diego" or "Juan" Velázquez as Diego Velázquez's advocates.

Chronological discrepancies suggest that Díaz del Castillo's account is less accurate than Gómara's, probably due to Bernal Díaz's distance from Spain at the time the events took place, as well as the significant amount of time between them and the time at which he wrote. The most important conflict is Bernal Díaz's claim that Pánfilo de Narváez was present at the hearing. If Narváez was not released from prison in México-Tenochtitlán until after Francisco de Garay arrived there in the second half of 1523, as Bernal Díaz claimed (see below, sec. 9.C), he could not possibly have been present in Spain in mid-1522. Díaz del Castillo suggests also that two of the complaints advanced by Narváez and the others when they allegedly appeared before Bishop Fonseca and later before Charles V were that Cortés had poisoned his first wife, Catalina Suárez (who died in November 1522), and that Cortés had also poisoned Francisco de Garay (who died in December 1523). Since it was through the determinations made at this hearing overseen by the emperor and Gattinara that Cortés was proclaimed governor and captain general of New Spain in Valladolid on 15 October 1522, the testimony Bernal Díaz attributed to Narváez could not have been given, considering Narváez's imprisonment in Mexico until well after that date and the fact that the events to which the allegations pertained that Díaz del Castillo says he made had not yet occurred at the time the junta reached its decision. Narváez no doubt made the accusations that Bernal Díaz recalls, but not until he

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returned to Spain, most likely sometime in 1525. See Chamberlain (48–56) for additional discussion of the spring and fall 1522 hearings that granted New Spain to Cortés.

Gómara records that the royal decree dated 15 October 1522 making Cortés the governor and captain general of New Spain was signed on 22 October 1522. Bernal Díaz says it was signed on "17 May, fifteen hundred and twenty-something." In the months after Cortés had been granted his first concessions, Juan de Ribera arrived at court with his maps of México-Tenochtitlán and the Gulf of Mexico, as well as Cortés's third letter. It was after hearing Ribera's testimony concerning Pánuco that on 24 April 1523 the emperor prohibited Garay from any further activity in Amichel or any dealings with Cortés until the boundaries between Amichel and Cortés's conquests in Pánuco could be established (CDI 26:71–76; Toussaint 203–05; Martínez, *Documentos* 262–64).

The news of Cortés's legal victory was quickly carried to him by Francisco de las Casas and Rodrigo de Paz. Three documents issued on 15 October 1522 giving Cortés legal control over New Spain (CDI 26:59–65; Martínez, *Documentos* 250–58) reached him in May 1523. Rather than going straight to Mexico, the men who brought the news from Spain stopped in Cuba to publicly declare Velázquez's defeat (Gómara, *Historia de la conquista* 256 [chap. 166]). The 23 April 1523 document prohibiting Garay from further activity in Cortés's realms would be presented to Cortés in México-Tenochtitlán on 3 September 1523 and read to Garay at Santisteban del Puerto on the Río Pánuco on 4 October of that same year.

9.C. *Garay's Second Attempt to Conquer Pánuco*

Ignorant of Cortés's conquest of Pánuco and of Cortés's advocates' triumph in Spain, Garay departed from Jamaica on his expedition to settle on the Río Pánuco. On 14 June 1523, the eleven-ship fleet sailed into the Cuban port of Jagua, the present-day site of Cienfuegos, on the island's southern shore. There Garay learned about Cortés's recent conquest of the province of Pánuco and his legal victory over Velázquez. According to the 23 April 1523 declaration mentioned above, Garay was forbidden to enter Cortés's territory, but his rights to Amichel had not been revoked; to Garay the matter was a border dispute, and he therefore departed to claim his discoveries (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 66). Cortés's seizure of the river region notwithstanding, Garay resolved to go to Pánuco to establish a settlement that he intended to call "Victoria Garayana." A year later (20 June 1524), Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:358 [bk. 37, letter 797]) was still unaware of Garay's defeat and death, and thus he wrote at that time that

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Garay intended to call the region "Garayana de Pánuco," and that Cortés was sure to find his presence there bothersome.

The course that Garay's expedition followed to Pánuco is difficult to determine. According to Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 658 [dec. 8, bk. 1]), Garay's eleven-ship expedition apparently followed a direct course across the Gulf of Mexico. The fleet, which was under the command of the same Juan de Grijalva who had led the second expedition of discovery into the southern Gulf of Mexico in 1518 for Velázquez, was piloted by one Diego Fernández de Mirnedo (*sic*). As we demonstrate in our Part 1 commentary (chap. 2, sec. 7) concerning Narváez's 1528 voyage to *Florida*, Weddle's (130) insistence that this pilot was "Diego Morillo," rather than Narváez's pilot, is probably based on a discrepancy regarding the name of Garay's pilot in the 1523 document from Santisteban del Puerto from which both "Mirnedo" and "Morillo" are taken. Martire's account of the sea voyage relates that Garay's expedition was blown off course to the north by a strong southern wind. The ships landed not at the Río Pánuco but at a river to the north, which Garay named the Río de las Palmas. This river corresponds to the modern Soto la Marina and would be the intended settlement site of the Narváez expedition when it departed from Cuba in 1528.

After Garay's forces disembarked and explored the region around and up the Río de las Palmas, they began walking overland to the Río Pánuco. Traveling south from the Río de las Palmas, the men discovered a river that they named the Río de Montalto (present-day Carrizal) because of the mountains that they saw in this region. According to Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 658–61 [dec. 8, bks. 1–2]), up to that point Garay's men had found no Indians, but beyond the Montalto they encountered some in the swampy lands that they traversed, acquiring maize and a fruit the Indians called "guayavas" in the abandoned villages they discovered. Although the four survivors of the Narváez expedition would not quite reach these lands that the crew of Garay's 1523 expedition was traversing, which lay somewhat south of the Río Conchos/Río San Fernando river system where Narváez's men would leave the coast and turn toward the interior in the second half of 1535 (see chap. 7), the descriptions of the physical geography and Indians of the two regions given by Martire and later by Cabeza de Vaca are strikingly similar; this similarity is explained by the contiguity of the lands that Garay's expedition traversed in 1523 and the one Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions crossed twelve years later in 1535.

Garay sent his ships ahead along the coast to the Río Pánuco under the command of his brother-in-law Gonzalo de Ocampo, giving instructions for the ships to closely follow the coast the entire way. The dissolution of Garay's expedition, the hostile treatment that his crew received from the pro-Cortés

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Spaniards living at Santisteban del Puerto, the loss of his ships, and the exhaustion of his provisions are well documented in proceedings that the officials at Santisteban del Puerto recorded (CDI 28:497–504; CDI 26:71–135; Toussaint 207–35). In short, Garay became a victim of Cortés's stronghold in Mexico and was treated by Cortés's men not as a compatriot but as a foreign intruder. Garay apparently considered regrouping his expedition and marching back to the Río de las Palmas to found a settlement there, since his remaining vessels were not seaworthy enough to travel to the Río del Espíritu Santo, the river to which Cortés's representative, Diego de Ocampo, suggested that the men go to settle (CDI 26:100–01). Ocampo was the individual who read a transcript of the 23 April 1523 royal decree by Charles V to Garay and his expeditionaries after they had arrived at Santisteban del Puerto that forbade them from interfering with Cortés's activities.

According to Bernal Díaz del Castillo (447–48, cols. b [chap. 162]), Garay was brought to México-Tenochtitlán to negotiate with Cortés his rights to a settlement on the Río de las Palmas. An agreement was made between the two men to marry Cortés's illegitimate mestiza daughter to Garay's eldest son. During the negotiations between Cortés and Garay in Mexico in late 1523, a Huasteca uprising occurred at Santisteban del Puerto. Cortés sent Gonzalo de Sandoval to repel the attack on the *villa*; Sandoval condemned three hundred Huasteca leaders to death by burning, the realization of which resulted in the definitive Spanish domination of the region (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 81–82).

While in Mexico with Cortés, Garay became mysteriously ill on Christmas Eve and died a few days later. News of Garay's death appears not to have reached Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:387 [bk. 37, letter 806]) in Spain until sometime between June 1524 and February 1525. With Garay's death, Cortés's triumph over Pánuco was complete. He had established a settlement on the Río Pánuco, subdued the Huastecas, and deterred Garay and his men from settling on the Río Pánuco, the Río de las Palmas, and the distant and little-known Río del Espíritu Santo. The most complete accounts of Garay's 1523 expedition are found in Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's *Décadas* (613–15 [dec. 7, bk. 5], 655–71 [dec. 8, bks. 1–3]) and in Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia* (442–56, cols. b [chap. 162–63]). For secondary treatment of Garay's attempt to found Victoria Garayana in the region of Pánuco, see Toussaint (92–107), Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 65–83), and Weddle (130–46).

Although Cortés had eliminated Garay, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (449b [chap. 162]) reports that Garay's stay in México-Tenochtitlán had allowed Pánfilo de Narváez the opportunity to speak with him there. Díaz del Castillo

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relates that Garay's intercession on Narváez's behalf, in conjunction with letters that Narváez's wife, María de Valenzuela, sent from Cuba to Cortés in Mexico eventually convinced him to end Narváez's imprisonment. If the events occurred as Díaz del Castillo says, then Garay could have informed Narváez in late 1523 of his earlier misfortunes at Pánuco and on the Río de las Palmas as well as his plans to found a settlement on that river. To a certain degree, Narváez's expedition destined for the Río de las Palmas in 1528 would be a continuation of Garay's initiatives in the Caribbean struggle against Cortés.

9.D. *The State of Exploration in the Gulf of Mexico at the End of 1523*

By the end of 1523, the geography of the Gulf of Mexico as far north as Pánuco and the Río de las Palmas had been well established by the Spaniards. As we have seen, during his conquest of the Río Pánuco, Cortés had had ships sail there from the Veracruz settlement at Quiahuiztlán, although they failed to arrive and the crew had to be rescued. By founding Santisteban del Puerto on the Río Pánuco, Cortés secured his position at the northern port. Gerhard (*A Guide* 364a) notes that in 1525 Veracruz was moved eight leagues south of its former location at Quiahuiztlán. In 1523 the *villa* of Medellín was moved east and south from its original, inland site to a point nearer the coast on the Río Jamapa, which empties into the bay at San Juan de Ulúa. Farther to the south, the *villa* of Espíritu Santo (not to be confused with the Río del Espíritu Santo) was founded on the banks of the Río Coatzacoalcos in May 1522 following exploration prompted by Moctezuma's presentation of the map of the Gulf of Mexico to Cortés, which, as we have seen, signaled the river as a desirable location for a port. For the location of the Río Coatzacoalcos and the *villa* of Espíritu Santo, see Gerhard (*A Guide* 138a) and map 8.

By 1525, Pánfilo de Narváez must have returned to Cuba, since he gave testimony in the city of Santiago de Cuba as a witness in the proceedings of Juan de Altamirano's *residencias* of Diego Velázquez and Alonso de Zuazo; in that testimony he revealed that he was familiar with the ports of Medellín and Pánuco. When Francisco de Garay departed from Cuba for the Río de las Palmas in June 1523, he had enlisted Alonso de Zuazo, who had served as acting lieutenant governor of Cuba during the early 1520s when Velázquez had been temporarily removed from the post, to go to New Spain to represent Garay's interests before Cortés. Zuazo did not leave Cuba until January 1524, not knowing that by then Garay was already dead. Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 245 [chap. 157]), Bernal Díaz del Castillo (454b, 455b, 456b [chap. 163]), and Oviedo (*Historia* 4:482a–522b [bk. 50, chap. 10]) all recorded Zuazo's treacherous voyage to New Spain. According to Oviedo (*Historia*

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4:503a [bk. 50, chap. 10]), Zuazo arrived in Veracruz sometime after Easter and spent eight or nine days there before going to Medellín, where he spent another thirty-five days before departing for México-Tenochtitlán (Oviedo, *Historia* 4:508a–09b [bk. 50, chap. 10]). Sometime in the spring of 1525, Pánfilo de Narváez testified that "about a year earlier he was in Medellín with the *licenciado* Zuazo, and departing for Pánuco, this witness [Narváez] learned that the *licenciado* was in the city of Mexico" (CDU 1:186). Narváez's account of Zuazo's activities shows that in early 1524 he had been in Medellín at some point during the thirty-five-day period that Zuazo was there and that afterward he departed for Pánuco; he perhaps sailed to Cuba from this port. On 24 May 1525 in Santiago de Cuba, Narváez served as a witness to one of Juan de Altamirano's decrees as the judge of Velázquez's and Zuazo's *residencias*, a fact proving that he still had not departed for Spain at that date.

Apart from the maritime expeditions that Garay had been sending along the coasts between the Río Pánuco and the Florida Peninsula since 1518, no other efforts to explore the region seem to have been made by Spaniards prior to Narváez's 1528 voyage. The general shape of the northern coast was known, and the 1521 *capitulaciones* granted to Garay claim that the coast was three hundred leagues long. When Garay's own 1523 expedition missed the Río Pánuco and landed north of it, Garay sent his ships south along the coast to the Río Pánuco, having his men walk a few leagues inland from the shore as they traveled from the Río de las Palmas to the *villa* of Santisteban del Puerto on the Río Pánuco. Apart from this short stretch traversed by Garay's men, none of the lands that lay along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico had ever been explored on foot. Only one clear landmark—the Río del Espíritu Santo—seems to have stood out along this coast, and it evidently was known from sea exploration only. In a petition presented to Rodrigo Ranjel apparently on 12 October 1523 in Santisteban del Puerto, eleven of Garay's men protested the decree made by the officials of the settlement that any man who had come to Pánuco with Garay and who refused to leave with him from there to the "Río de Spíritu Santo, which is said to lay two hundred leagues from the Río Pánuco" (CDI 26:100–01; Toussaint 219), would be tied up and taken there against his will.

Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 313) relates that the map Moctezuma had had prepared for Cortés at Cortés's request at the end of 1519 or early 1520 may have served as the source for the one Cortés had Juan de Ribera carry to Spain in July 1522 along with Cortés's third letter and a map of the city of México-Tenochtitlán. The map Ribera brought was first published in Nuremberg in 1524 by Federico Peypus Arthimesio in his Latin edition of Cortés's second and third letters (JCBL 27b); it is often cited as the Cortés map (fig. 12). The manuscript version of this map of the Gulf of Mexico that

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Figure 12. Hernán Cortés map of the Gulf of Mexico, published in Nuremberg in 1524 in *Praeclara Ferdinādi Cortesii de Nova Maris Oceani Hyspanica Narratio* (following unnumbered folio 5). Courtesy of The Hispanic Society of America, New York.

Cortés sent to Spain with Ribera had most likely been drafted by his own men from information he acquired from the one Moctezuma provided, to which he probably added data he had obtained from exploration carried out along the southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico and that he had collected from Camargo and his expeditionaries regarding their exploration and settlement on the northern coast between 1518 and 1520.

The orientation of the Nuremberg publication of the map is confusing since in that edition it appears with the southern rim of the gulf at the top in contrast to the present-day convention of placing north at the top. The

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map shows the idea still prevalent in 1524 of the Yucatán Peninsula as an island, and it demonstrates the greater detail of the considerably better-known southern coast of the Gulf of Mexico compared to the relative lack of information beyond the legend identifying the Río San Pedro. This river was evidently the Río San Pedro y San Pablo from which Garay had begun his discoveries with Camargo's first voyage in 1518, and on this map it is placed north of Almería, the region that Cortés's men had conquered with the aid of some of Narváez's and Camargo's soldiers under Pedro de Ircio in mid-1520. The province of Amichel is placed to the south of the Río Pánuco, suggesting that the draftsman understood the Río Pánuco to be within Francisco de Garay's jurisdiction, as his 1521 *capitulaciones* suggest.

To the north of the Río Pánuco a province called "Tamacho" is portrayed, corresponding to the "Tamahox" province named on the Pineda map (see fig. 11) and evidently the Tamohí (Tamoín) province of which Cortés would speak in 1531 (see chap. 17, sec. 7). The "Río la Palma" (*sic*), discovered by Garay in 1523 according to Pietro Martire and to which Narváez would set out in 1528, is shown to be the first river north of the Pánuco, although Garay had encountered the Río Montalto between the Río de las Palmas and the Pánuco in the second half of 1523. The fact that the Río de las Palmas appears on this map is particularly significant because it does not appear on the earlier Pineda map. If the plate of the published map was engraved directly from the one Cortés sent to Spain with Ribera in mid-1522, then the Río de las Palmas would have had to be discovered and named prior to Garay's accidental landing there in mid-1523, since Ribera carried Cortés's map to Spain in 1522. If we accept Martire d'Anghiera's (*Décadas* 658 [dec. 8, bk. 1]) assertion that Garay discovered the river and named it "for the many [palm trees] that were on it," then it becomes obvious that the version of the map Cortés sent to Spain with Ribera in 1522 was augmented by a draftsman in Spain with information from Garay's 1523 expedition before the map was published in 1524. The spatial relationship between the Río Pánuco and the Río del Espíritu Santo is similar to the one shown on the 1519 Pineda map.

Since the Cortés map was published in 1524, Narváez and his pilots had at the very least this basic concept of the geography of the Gulf of Mexico available to them upon their departure from Spain in June 1527. We note that the first river identified on the map to the west of the Florida Peninsula is this "Rio del Spiritusancto" and that the entire coastline between this river and the Río Pánuco is speckled with small islands, as is a portion of the coast near the Florida Peninsula. Between the Florida Peninsula and the Río del Espíritu Santo nothing is labeled, attesting to the dearth of geographic information held by the Spaniards pertaining to that region at the time. For

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further discussion of the 1524 Cortés map, see Lowery (*The Lowery Collection* 26–28) and Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 313–16).

The historical events and the cartographic record show that in 1524 the region of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico between the Florida Peninsula and the mouth of the Río Pánuco was only imperfectly known and that no attempt had ever been made to settle on the Río del Espíritu Santo, which supposedly lay two hundred leagues from the Río Pánuco in the direction of the Florida Peninsula. Less was apparently known about the region of the coast between the Florida Peninsula and the mouth of the Río del Espíritu Santo than the one farther west between the mouth of that river and the mouth of the Río Pánuco. The Florida Peninsula fell within Juan Ponce de León's jurisdiction, and it represented a completely separate sphere of exploration from the one between the mouth of the Río del Espíritu Santo and the Río Pánuco, where Cortés and Garay had struggled for control between 1519 and 1523. Before moving on to events pertaining to the province of Pánuco between 1523 and Narváez's departure with a settling expedition from Cuba for the Río de las Palmas in 1528, we turn back in time to consider exploration of the Florida Peninsula between the arrival of the Hernández de Córdoba expedition there in 1517 and Narváez's unintentional landing on the peninsula in 1528.

10. PONCE DE LEÓN'S AND VÁZQUEZ DE AYLLÓN'S ATTEMPTS TO SETTLE ON THE FLORIDA PENINSULA (1520 TO 1526)

10.A. *Ponce de León's 1521 Return to the Florida Peninsula*

Unlike Garay and Cortés, who raced to gain control of the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the *adelantado* of the eastern portion, Juan Ponce de León, was slow to take possession of his land. As we have seen (sec. 4.B), after Ponce de León's initial expedition to the Florida Peninsula in 1513, there were few documented visits to the peninsula's western coast before 1521; only the unplanned visit of the Hernández de Córdoba expedition in 1517 and Camargo's accidental exploration of the coast in 1519 are recorded. As we will see below, two caravels sponsored by Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón visited the eastern coast of the peninsula in late 1520. Finally, in 1521, Ponce de León returned to the western edge of the tip of the Florida Cape to establish a colony.

Whether Ponce de León believed the Florida Peninsula to be an island or part of a larger mainland is not clear. According to Oviedo (*Historia* 3:622a [bk. 36, chap. 1]), the expedition Juan Ponce de León took to the peninsula was made up of two hundred soldiers, friars and other clergy, fifty horses,

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livestock, and generally everything necessary to found a colony. Oviedo goes on to say, however, that the expedition found the land "inhospitable" (*desconviniente*) and the people "very harsh and very savage and bellicose and ferocious and untamed and accustomed neither to tranquillity nor to freely submitting their liberty to the discretion and wishes of foreigners." The colony was driven from the Florida Cape and limped back to Cuba, where Ponce de León died of wounds sustained on the expedition. For a discussion of the 1521 voyage, see Shea (234–36), Lowery (*The Spanish Settlements* 157–60), Davis (51–64), Morison (*The European Discovery* 2:515), and Weddle (48, 53).

10.B. *Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's Activities on the Atlantic Coast of Southeastern North America*

As Ponce de León attempted to establish a colony on the western cape of the Florida Peninsula, many prominent colonists from the island of Española were following up on their earlier efforts to explore the eastern coast of the peninsula and the adjacent Atlantic coast of North America. Evidence of these earlier activities is preserved in the crown's official investigation of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, begun in May 1517 by the *licenciado* Alonso de Zuazo.

Alonso de Zuazo arrived in Santo Domingo in January 1517, shortly after the Hieronymite friars appointed by Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros to oversee Indies affairs had installed themselves there. As part of the same initiative designed to improve Castilian government of the Indies that had brought the Hieronymites to Española, Zuazo was to take up the *residencia* of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Hoffman ("A New Voyage" 420) has shown that preserved in the documents of Zuazo's 1517 *residencia* is a contract dated 5 August 1514 that established a slaving company of twelve men, including the *licenciados* Marcelo de Villalobos and Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, *oidores* of the Audiencia. The proceedings of the *residencia* also contain the testimony of many witnesses documenting a slaving voyage made by Pedro de Salazar that probably went north from Española through the Lucayas to the Atlantic coast of southeastern North America sometime between mid-August 1514 and early December 1516 (Hoffman, "A New Voyage" 421); the endeavor may have been financed by the *oidor*, *licenciado* Marcelo de Villalobos (Hoffman, *A New Andalucia* 6).

Proceedings from a 1526 legal suit between Juan Ortiz de Matienzo and Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón (also an *oidor* of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo) reveal that Ayllón had known of Salazar's slaving trip and that it probably stirred his own interest in becoming involved in slaving, exploration, and

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colonization along the Atlantic coast. Hoffman ("A New Voyage" 424) seems to imply that Ayllón had been active earlier as the sponsor of slaving voyages to the Lucayas, but he is somewhat unclear on the nature of Ayllón's association, if any, with the Salazar voyage (Hoffman, "A New Voyage" 423). Hoffman (*A New Andalucia* 5) intimates that between 1514 and 1517 Francisco Gordillo had led slaving expeditions to the Lucayas for Ayllón. As we have discussed above (sec. 8.B.2), Ayllón was the individual who had been preparing to return to Spain at the end of 1519 when the Audiencia of Santo Domingo resolved to send him to prohibit Diego Velázquez from sending Narváez to Mexico to arrest Cortés and whom Narváez sent back to the Caribbean against his will in August 1520.

Ayllón's responsibilities as an *oidor* of the Audiencia and his activities related to filing a suit against Narváez in 1520–21 evidently did not sufficiently occupy his time such as to prohibit him from continuing to pursue the exploration and exploitation of the lands and peoples of the Atlantic coast of southeastern North America, and the 1526 lawsuit mentioned above that Juan Ortiz de Matienzo filed against Ayllón concerned the two men's rights to lands that their associates had visited in June 1521. Having acquired the appropriate permission from the authorities on Española, in 1521 Ortiz had commissioned Pedro de Quejo to carry out a slaving expedition in the Lucayas, and Ayllón had commissioned Francisco Gordillo to do the same.

In 1526, Diego Cavallero, secretary of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo and Ayllón's associate, testified that Ayllón's notice of Pedro de Salazar's slaving voyage had prompted him to instruct Gordillo to investigate the region Salazar had visited if he was unable to find slaves in the Lucayas, which Spanish slaving had almost completely depopulated. Pursuing their separate courses through the Lucayas, Quejo and Gordillo accidentally met up there, agreed to join forces, and then proceeded north, probably to the North American mainland, evidently at Gordillo's suggestion. After taking slaves in this land, the two-ship party returned to Española. En route, Gordillo argued with his pilot, Alonso Fernández Sotil, and subsequently transferred himself and the Indians slaves he had captured for Ayllón to Quejo's ship. Quejo and Gordillo were successful at returning to Española in their vessel; Fernández Sotil and those who traveled on Ayllón's ship never returned to Española. See Hoffman (*A New Andalucia* 3–21) for the detailed reconstruction of this voyage on which our summary account is based.

Two issues made this voyage of 1521 controversial. The first was the legality of the slave taking. By the time Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón reached Spain, evidently in the autumn of 1522, he was saying that the slaves had been taken illegally and should be returned. The second issue concerned the legal rights to the land discovered. Since the two ships that had gone to the region had

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been sponsored individually by Vázquez de Ayllón and Ortiz de Matienzo, there was some question as to whom the jurisdiction was to be assigned for exploration and settlement. According to Hoffman (*A New Andalucia* 16–17), when Ayllón departed for Spain he carried with him a proposal for joint assignment of the lands to all involved parties (particularly to Ayllón himself, Ortiz de Matienzo, and Cavallero).

Publishing his account over thirty years after the Quejo/Gordillo voyage had taken place and basing it largely or perhaps entirely on the one written earlier by Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, Gómara (*Historia general* 60–61 [chap. 42]) claimed that this voyage had taken place in 1520 and that it had been organized by seven rich men from Santo Domingo, among them Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón. Gómara observed that although it was generally believed that the two vessels had intentionally gone to the mainland coast in search of slaves, there were also those who said the group had been driven there by a storm. He repeated that one of the two vessels was lost at sea while attempting to return to Española, but he nowhere mentions the names of the men who made the trip. As we will see below, El Inca Garcilaso based his account of the voyage on Gómara's rewriting of Pietro Martire.

Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 594 [dec. 7, bk. 2]) evidently wrote his account of the expedition in 1524, since he explains that the events occurred three years earlier; his completed Decade 7 dates to 1524. Martire says his sources for the 1521 expedition were Álvaro de Castro and Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, the latter of whom he says had contributed money to the building of the ships and had come to Spain with a servant from among those Indians of *Florida* named Francisco Chicorano in order to request permission to found a colony in the province of Chicora; thus, Martire collected this information from Ayllón before Ayllón returned to Española, where Ortiz de Matienzo filed the lawsuit against him in 1526. As seen above, the documents from this suit form the other major source of information about the 1521 expedition.

Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 594–96 [dec. 7, bk. 2]) states that two ships built at the expense of seven people were sent out on a slaving expedition to the Lucayas from Española. Not finding any Indians on the islands, the expedition set out to the north, although Martire mentions that some said a storm blew them in that direction and that it was for that reason alone that they had reached the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula, where they anchored at a river in the area of the provinces called Chicora and Duhare. Martire says that one of the two ships was lost on the way back to Española and never seen again, that although the Audiencia of Santo Domingo reacted negatively to the slaving, the slavers were not punished, and finally, that the surviving Indians were distributed among the *vecinos* of Española.

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On two occasions Bernal Díaz del Castillo (404b [chap. 155], 424b [chap. 158]) mentions the arrival at Veracruz of a ship from a failed expedition sent out by Vázquez de Ayllón to *Florida*. In the first of these he suggests that the military supplies brought by the ship were sent inland to Cortés at Tlatelolco, apparently sometime between May and August 1521, since he inserts this information into his narration of the Spaniards' siege of México-Tenochtitlán and also says that the ship arrived while "Rodrigo Ranjel was guarding Narváez" at Veracruz. In his second reference he says that men from Ayllón's expedition accompanied Cortés on his conquest of Pánuco, which took place, as we have seen (sec. 9.A), in early 1523. It appears that the ship that vanished and was never seen again, according to Martire's informants, ended up in Mexico by mid-1521, around the same general time that the other ship returned to Española.

Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 596 [dec. 7, bk. 2]) seems to have spoken with Ayllón and his *Florida* servant in the first half of 1523; Martire says that while Ayllón was attending to his affairs, he invited him to his home along with his servant, who he said "was neither dumb nor indiscreet, and had learned Spanish quite well." After a lengthy description of the provinces in the area of Chicora, Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 605 [dec. 7, bk. 4]) refers in his account to the fact that Ayllón was already on his way back to Española with permission from the Caesarean Majesty to found a colony in the region.

Ayllón was granted a patent "to go to discover *Florida*" on 12 June 1523 in Valladolid (Vas Mingo 192–98; CDI 14:504–15; CDI 22:79–93). The document records how Ayllón, Ortiz de Matienzo, and Diego Cavallero had sent two caravels to discover new lands. According to the instructions of the *capitulaciones*, Ayllón was to set out with his expedition in the summer of 1524 and from then had three years to explore eight hundred leagues to the north or until some other already discovered land was encountered. Although no mention is made of the return of the slaves taken on the eastern coast of *Florida* on the 1521 expedition, Shea (239) states that Ayllón "obtained a second *cédula* to demand from Matienzo the Indians in his hands in order to restore them to their native country."

Oviedo (*Historia* 3:626a [bk. 37, proem]) noted that as he was on his way from Seville to the Castilian court (Valladolid) in 1523 he met Ayllón in the city of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. He says Ayllón was then just coming with his recently granted *capitulaciones*. On 26 June 1523, Oviedo received *capitulaciones* in Valladolid "to pacify and trade with the Indians in the port of Cartagena" (Vas Mingo 199–200; CDI 22:94–97), and thus the two men must have crossed paths in mid-June 1523. Ayllón did not sail from Spain until April 1524, and while still in Spain he acquired on 23 March 1524

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an extension to 1525 of his contract to settle in *Florida* (Hoffman, *A New Andalucia* 49).

In early 1525 Pedro de Quejo, now serving Ayllón exclusively, made a voyage north along the Atlantic coast of North America in two caravels, returning in July 1525 with a few natives who were to serve as interpreters when Vázquez de Ayllón returned to establish settlements in the region. As Ayllón himself was preparing to depart for *Florida*, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo began the legal proceedings against him, as mentioned above, in an attempt to claim rights to the land that had been discovered on their jointly sponsored expedition of 1521; Matienzo, claiming that he had actually been the one who discovered the land, argued that Ayllón had secretly acquired permission to settle there (CDI 34:563–67). How Vázquez de Ayllón successfully excluded the other men from rights to the land at court is still an unanswered question.

The legal proceedings delayed Vázquez de Ayllón's own departure from Española, but by July 1526 he had set out from the island with a settling expedition of six hundred persons (both men and women), clergy, physicians, and horses. In a 5 March 1526 *información* (CDI 35:547–62), Ayllón explained that the departure of his expedition was delayed due to the late arrival of artillery from Spain. In his later treatment of Ayllón's voyage to *Florida*, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:627ab [bk. 37, chap. 1]) did not mention the dispatch of Quejo's ships in 1525, but he did explain how Ayllón did not depart immediately for *Florida* once he returned to Española and that he had been warned about losing his privileges if he did not depart in a timely manner.

Hoffman (*A New Andalucia* 66–80) has reconstructed Ayllón's disastrous attempt to settle on the Atlantic coast of southeastern North America in 1526. Ayllón died on the expedition on 18 October 1526, and after considerable hardship and infighting among the colonists, the group of five to six hundred persons reembarked for Española. One hundred and fifty arrived in the Caribbean successfully, their ships landing at various ports of the islands. Contrary to Hoffman's (*A New Andalucia* 80n49) claim, Cabeza de Vaca arrived in the Caribbean in 1527 and was not on the island of Española at the end of 1526 when the survivors returned, and he makes no reference to them whatsoever in his *relación*. For treatment of all three of the voyages to North America sponsored by Ayllón (1521, 1525, 1526), see especially Hoffman (*A New Andalucia* 3–83). See also Shea (238–41, 285–86), Lowery (*The Spanish Settlements* 153–57, 160–68), and Morison (*The European Discovery* 1:332–34, 337).

10.B.1. *Vázquez de Ayllón's Explorations and the Pilot Called Miruelo.* To date none of the documents pertaining to Ayllón's final voyage identify the pilot of this 1526 settling expedition to *Florida*. Gómara (*Historia general* 61 [chap.

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42]) erroneously claimed that Ayllón departed for the province of Chicora in 1524, the year in which his original *capitulaciones* said he was to leave, rather than the actual year of his departure, 1526. El Inca Garcilaso (15–16 [bk. 1, chap. 3]) evidently used Gómara as his source when he said Ayllón departed for the province of "Chicoria" in 1524. As we have already seen (sec. 4.C), El Inca Garcilaso claimed in his account that a pilot named Miruelo had made an independent voyage to an unidentifiable place on the coast of *Florida* "a few years after" Ponce de León had discovered the Florida Peninsula; Barcia chose to date this voyage to 1516 and to call the pilot Diego Miruelo. Barcia evidently chose to ignore the fact that El Inca Garcilaso also claimed that this Miruelo completed his voyage almost at the same time as the one the "seven rich men from Santo Domingo" had financed that had consisted of two caravels sent to *Florida* by Vázquez de Ayllón and Ortiz de Matienzo. El Inca had obviously taken this information about the "seven rich men," which pertained to the 1521 voyage of exploration sponsored by Ayllón and Matienzo, from Gómara (*Historia general* 60 [chap. 42]) as well. Had Barcia taken into account that El Inca had placed this second, more specific time constraint of the 1521 voyage on the vague voyage by this Miruelo to the Florida Peninsula a "few years after" Ponce de León had discovered it, he might have avoided a contradiction by placing the visit to *Florida* by this Miruelo closer to 1521, rather than in 1516.

When El Inca Garcilaso, misinformed by Gómara's claim that Ayllón went to *Florida* in 1524, narrated Vázquez de Ayllón's "1524" expedition to settle "Chicoria," he conveniently inserted his Miruelo, whom he said had realized the supposed independent voyage to the coast of the peninsula "a few years after" Ponce de León's 1513 discovery of *Florida* and "at about the same time as" the 1521 jointly financed exploratory voyage, into his account as the pilot of Ayllón's "1524" expedition. El Inca said that since the place Miruelo had visited on his earlier voyage was believed to be richer than "Chicoria," he led the "1524" expedition in search of the former place and went on to say that when Miruelo was unable to find the place he had previously visited "he fell into such a state of melancholy that in a few days he lost his mind and died." As we argue elsewhere, the fact that El Inca's Miruelo allegedly attempted to take Ayllón's expedition to a place near "Chicoria" implies that he had visited the Atlantic coast of *Florida* on his "1516" voyage, rather than the shores of *Florida* lining the Gulf of Mexico.

Barcia (*Ensayo* 4b–5b [año 1520], 8b–9a [año 1524]) used both Pietro Martire's account of the jointly financed exploratory voyage of 1521 and El Inca Garcilaso's *La Florida* as sources for his account of Ayllón's activities, placing them in his account of *Florida* exploration in the years 1520 and 1524. Since Barcia had arbitrarily dated the independent voyage by El Inca's pilot

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Miruelo to 1516, he had the added luxury of inserting this Miruelo, whom he had transformed into "Diego Miruelo," in his account not only as the pilot of the 1516 voyage to *Florida* and Ayllón's "1524" voyage, as El Inca Garcilaso had done, but also on the intermediate "1520" exploratory voyage sponsored by the seven men from Española, which El Inca said had occurred almost concurrently with Miruelo's independent voyage to the coast. In El Inca's original account, his pilot Miruelo could not be on this 1521 exploratory voyage because at that same time he was off exploring the place along the Atlantic coast that he would be unable to locate on Ayllón's "1524" voyage. Although Hoffman ("A New Voyage" 424–25) does not refer to the source of the false association of this pilot with the Ayllón voyages (El Inca Garcilaso's *La Florida*), he does note Barcia's unsubstantiated claims.

Hoffman's attempt to explain Barcia's claim by saying that Barcia mistook "Diego Miruelo for Diego Camargo when discussing the Garay expedition to Pánuco in 1522 [*sic*, 1523]," however, is itself an error; the source of Hoffman's explanation seems to be Weddle's statement that a Diego Morillo, rather than a Diego Miruelo, was the pilot for Garay in 1523. As we have already seen (sec. 9.c), Juan de Grijalva, not Diego Camargo, was the captain of Garay's 1523 expedition. As we also mentioned above, the Diego Fernández de Mirnedo (*sic*) who was the pilot of this expedition was most likely the one Narváez took with him in 1528. As we consider in our Part 1 commentary (chap. 2, sec. 7), the historical person as he is described in Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* was quite probably the model on which El Inca Garcilaso based the fictional elder Miruelo who he claimed was the pilot of his unsubstantiated "1516"/1521 voyage and whom he proceeded to place on Ayllón's "1524" voyage.

Even in the unlikely case that the Miruelo of the "1516"/1521 voyage in El Inca Garcilaso's account was a real pilot on a real expedition rather than El Inca Garcilaso's invention, he was conceived/perceived by his author to be a pilot of the eastern coast of the Florida Peninsula rather than the western coast, since he had evidently discovered a region near "Chicoria." Hoffman ("A New Voyage" 425) errs in claiming that "[a]s reported by Barcía [*sic*], this [1516] voyage involved a discovery on the Gulf coast of the Floridas." Barcia was perhaps the first in a long line of readers of *La Florida del Inca* who have misunderstood El Inca Garcilaso's account of the "1516"/1521 voyage in believing that his Miruelo had sailed into the Gulf of Mexico. We therefore reiterate Weddle's (204) claim that the Bay of Miruelo appearing on maps of the Gulf of Mexico on the western coast of the Florida Peninsula is named for the Miruelo whom Narváez took to *Florida* in 1528, rather than the probably fictitious one of El Inca Garcilaso's narrative. As we show in our Part 1 commentary (chap. 2, sec. 7), however, it was not on the 1519 "Alonso Álvarez Pineda" (i.e., Diego de Camargo) expedition that Narváez's Miruelo

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discovered this bay, as Weddle (187, 204) has argued and Hoffman ("Narváez" 53) has repeated, but rather on Narváez's own 1528 voyage to *Florida.*

11. NEW SPAIN, PÁNUCO, AND THE RÍO DE LAS PALMAS (1523 TO 1528)

After Garay's death at the end of 1523, the Spaniards at Santisteban del Puerto were split between the pro-Cortés and the pro-Velázquez/Garay factions, but Cortés had won control of Pánuco. Garay's plans to found a settlement on the Río de las Palmas ended with his death, and Pánfilo de Narváez's attempt to advance them would not come until 1528.

Between mid-1523 and 1527 the Castilian position with respect to Cortés and the administration of the Indies again changed. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (482b [chap. 168]) attributed this to the arrival of Pánfilo de Narváez, Cristóbal de Tapia, Gonzalo de Umbria, and (Luis de) Cárdenas in Spain. As we have seen, Bernal Díaz said these men came to complain to Bishop Fonseca about the injustices Cortés had committed against them and that Fonseca advised them to voice their complaints directly to the emperor. We have already demonstrated that Bernal Díaz's assertion that Narváez and the others had appeared before Fonseca in mid-1522 and that this precipitated the emperor's reexamination of the dispute between Velázquez and Cortés and his reaffirmation in October 1522 of Pope Adrian VI's earlier decision on the matter is false. In fact, Narváez most likely never saw Fonseca again after he left Spain in late 1518 or early 1519 to assume his position as the comptroller of the Mexican lands, since by the time he appears to have returned to Spain in mid-1525, the bishop was dead; Santa Cruz (2:94 [pt. 3, chap. 17]) claimed that Fonseca died in November 1524, and Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (*Epistolario* 4:393 [bk. 38, letter 809]) spoke of his death, as well as his replacement by the bishop of Palencia, in a letter dated 4 March 1525.

In 1524 and 1525, the Council of the Indies appears to have closely scrutinized the events in the Americas precipitated by Cortés's discovery and conquest of Mexico. After Garay's death and the arrival of the anti-Cortés faction in Spain, the Spanish government was occupied with determining the jurisdictional rights to the province of Pánuco. The court resolved to sever Pánuco from New Spain and to define it as a new jurisdiction, independent of Cortés's territory. The province would maintain this status until it was reincorporated into New Spain in 1535. According to Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 131), the naming of Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán to the governorship of the province of Pánuco at Toledo on 4 November 1525 came as a result of negative reports regarding the situation in Pánuco given by Gonzalo de Salazar and Pedro Almíndez Cherino (two of the officials whom Cortés left in charge of New Spain when he departed for Yucatán in autumn 1524) and

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the complaints put forth by the anti-Cortés faction; we consider Narváez's attempt to discredit Cortés at court elsewhere (chap. 1, sec. 2.A). Nuño de Guzmán was appointed to go to the province of Pánuco to determine the extent of the territory, investigate the status of the government, and restore it to order. Also in response to the complaints against Cortés, Luis Ponce de León was named to go to New Spain to begin his *residencia* of the conqueror of Mexico.

Luis Ponce de León arrived in Mexico on 2 July 1526, and on the twentieth of that same month he died there. Guzmán sailed from Sanlúcar de Barrameda to Española in May 1526 and remained on the Caribbean islands until May 1527, when he sailed for Pánuco. In his "Memoria," Guzmán (40) related that he was obligated to buy a galleon in Spain because he was unable to charter a ship to Pánuco. He says this was because no one in Seville knew what sort of entrance the port at Pánuco had. When Guzmán arrived at the *villa* of Santisteban del Puerto he found only forty-five Spaniards living there; these were the remnants of Cortés's original settlement, Garay's expedition to the river, and the Sandoval contingent that had put down the Huasteca uprising, all in 1523. Guzmán's trip from Cuba to Pánuco in 1527 must have been relatively free from the difficulty that the Narváez expedition, destined for the same area, would experience at the same time the following year.

Guzmán's activities in Pánuco lie outside the scope of the present discussion (see chap. 17, sec. 5). Of Guzmán's early initiatives in Pánuco, however, two are particularly important with respect to Narváez's 1528 expedition to *Florida*. The first of these is Guzmán's construction of a lighthouse at the mouth of the Río Pánuco. Guzmán (48–49) said that he built the lighthouse and maintained a mariner at the mouth of the river to guide ships coming and going from Pánuco, although in conjunction with this statement he mentioned also that only a very limited number of people and ships came and went from Pánuco while he was governor there.

Guzmán's second initiative was to send a contingent led by Sancho de Caniego on an expedition north from Santisteban del Puerto to the Río de las Palmas almost as soon as he arrived in Pánuco. Writing sometime after 1540, Guzmán complained in his "Memoria" (49) that even before he had arrived in Pánuco much of the land he had been granted to the north of the river had been taken away from him and given to Pánfilo de Narváez. Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 158–59) shows that Nuño de Guzmán most likely learned of Pánfilo de Narváez's 11 December 1526 grant to settle the region between the Río de las Palmas and the Florida Peninsula while he was still in the Caribbean and that his desire to conquer the area shortly after his arrival at Santisteban del Puerto was probably an attempt to claim the territory before Narváez's expedition arrived.

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Table 7. Chronology of Spanish exploration of the Gulf of Mexico (1508 to 1527)

Date	Event
1508	Circumnavigation of Cuba by Sebastián de Ocampo
	Voyage of Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and Diego de Solís down the eastern coast of the Yucatán Peninsula
	Conquest of Puerto Rico by Juan Ponce de León
1509	Conquest of Jamaica by Juan de Esquivel; Pánfilo de Narváez leads a part of the expedition
1509–12	Spanish slave raids to the Lucayas (Bahamas)
1511–14	Conquest of Cuba by Diego Velázquez and Pánfilo de Narváez
1513	Discovery of the Florida Peninsula by Juan Ponce de León
	Valdivia shipwreck off Jamaican coast during voyage from Panama. Castaways carried to Yucatán
1513–19	Probable short voyages between Cuba and Florida Peninsula
1514/16	Pedro de Salazar voyage to Atlantic coast of southeastern North America
Feb.–Apr. 1517	Hernández de Córdoba voyage to the Yucatán and Florida Peninsulas
May–Oct./Nov. 1518	Juan de Grijalva voyage along the western coast of the Yucatán Peninsula to Cabo Rojo
June 1518	Return of Pedro de Alvarado ship of the Grijalva expedition to Cuba
Mid-1518	Diego de Camargo voyage to Cabo Rojo and north beyond the Río Pánuco
Early 1519	Departure of Hernán Cortés voyage along the western coast of the Yucatán Peninsula to Mexico. Initiation of the conquest of Mexico
	Diego de Camargo voyage along northern expanse of coast of the Gulf of Mexico and founding of settlement at Pánuco. (Voyage is attributed to Alonso Álvarez Pineda by Bernal Díaz.)
Apr. 1520	Pánfilo de Narváez voyage to Mexico to confront Cortés. Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón follows Narváez but is sent back to Cuba
May/June 1520	Diego de Camargo voyage from Pánuco to Veracruz with remains of Garay's colony
Mid-1520	Miguel Díaz de Aux voyage to Pánuco and Veracruz with supplies from Jamaica
	Ramírez voyage to Pánuco and Veracruz with supplies from Jamaica
1521	Juan de Burgos brings supplies to Cortés directly from Spain
	Second Ponce de León voyage to the Florida Peninsula
	Gordillo's voyage to the eastern Florida Peninsula under the commission of Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón
Dec. 1521	Cristóbal de Tapia sent to Mexico to represent the crown before Cortés
Early 1523	Cortés conquers Pánuco and establishes Santisteban del Puerto
June 1523	Garay sails to Pánuco and confronts Cortés

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Late 1523	Uprising of the Huastecas at Santisteban del Puerto. Sandoval defeats the Huastecas
Early 1524	Alonso de Zuazo sails from Cuba to Veracruz
1526	Ayllón fails to establish a colony on the eastern coast of North America
May 1527	Nuño de Guzmán arrives at Santisteban del Puerto as governor of Pánuco
	Sancho de Caniego leads an overland expedition from Santisteban del Puerto to the Río de las Palmas
17 June 1527	Narváez expedition departs from Spain

Guzmán's possible knowledge of the Narváez expedition is suggested by at least two pieces of information. First, a royal instruction dated 12 April 1527 had been sent to the Antilles informing the Spaniards there of Narváez's expedition (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 159); since Guzmán left Cuba in May 1527, he could have been aware of the Narváez grant. Additionally, testimony given at the *residencia* of Guzmán's governorship of Pánuco revealed that one participant in Caniego's group had wished to desert the expedition due to the captain's cruel treatment of his men; the deserter had allegedly planned to go in search of the Narváez party, which he expected to be founding a settlement somewhere just north of the Río de las Palmas (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 163).

The fact that the Narváez expedition had been delayed by a storm in Cuba in November 1527 and did not depart from the Caribbean for the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico until the spring of the following year was, of course, unknown to the people at Santisteban del Puerto. Ironically, in 1535 the four survivors of the Narváez expedition would narrowly miss what they might have expected to still be Nuño de Guzmán's Pánuco. Apparently abandoning their efforts to reach Santisteban del Puerto, they would instead cross the unexplored breadth of northern Mexico and unexpectedly stumble across the northern reaches of Guzmán's province of Nueva Galicia, the conquest of which was begun after the Narváez expedition departed from Cuba.

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CHAPTER 16

The South Sea from Columbus to Cabeza de Vaca

1. INTRODUCTION

The world the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition left in 1528 and the one to which its four overland survivors returned in 1536 were considerably different. Although from the perspective of Estevanico as a black Christian slave this difference was not significant, for the three Castilian hidalgos for whom the Indies seemingly represented unbounded economic opportunity, the patterns of power, prestige, and economic access were shifting. Insofar as the overland portion of the narrative resulted in their reentry into the world of the overseas domains of the kingdom of Castile and included their journey to the South Sea, the quest for the South Sea itself becomes a way to examine the issue of changing perspectives and newly limited opportunities.

First, we must take into account their own concrete goal as it changed dramatically at the end of their captivity and recognize their literal pursuit of the South Sea. After having in mind the goal of reaching Pánuco for seven years, the final reunion of the four survivors and their initial movement together led gradually to a newly defined objective of reaching the South Sea (Mar del Sur) and ultimately the "land of Christians." What was known or understood about the South Sea at the time of the departure of their expedition from Cuba? What was the status of South Sea exploration by the Spanish up to 1528? Their probable expectations about both issues, based on the knowledge and lore available to them at the time they left Cuba, will be taken up first. Apart from the news, gossip, and rumors that they might have known, we include with this inquiry an examination of not only their potential state of information or knowledge but also that of the early readers of Cabeza de Vaca's published *relación.*

Second, whereas the four men sought the South Sea for their physical survival, major figures of their world and era sought it for wealth and success. As early as 1522, within a year after the fall of México-Tenochtitlán, Hernán Cortés felt the need to expand the frontiers of shrinking opportunity, and within little more than a decade both the conqueror and governor of Nueva Galicia, Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, and the newly installed viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, joined Cortés competitively in that pursuit. All three set their sights on the South Sea. The fact that this one area became

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the object of their competition reveals that by the late 1530s there was not land and sea enough to satisfy the ambitions of New Spain's most powerful men. In some secondary sense, the South Sea was not only the object but the emblem of a shrinking world in which the conquistador and the *adelantado* were gradually being moved aside and replaced by royal officials who were exclusively dependent on the crown for their power and influence. These innovations also need to be taken into account, particularly since the three hidalgos had invested heavily in coming to the Indies, and at least two of the three of them (Andrés Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca) would continue to pursue careers as captains and conquistadors in the emperor's service. Inasmuch as the search for the South Sea began as a quest for a strait to open the way to the glittering treasures of Asia, we begin this examination of evolving ideas and goals with the fourth voyage (1502–04) of the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, Christopher Columbus.

In Cabeza de Vaca's narration, the point at which the South Sea is first mentioned is at a settlement on the eastern side of the Sierra de la Gloria in Coahuila sometime in late summer 1535. There, he and his companions were presented with a copper bell or rattle with the outline of a face impressed on it (f49r); Oviedo (*Historia* 3:606a [bk. 35, chap. 5]) adds that the men received mantles of woven cotton as well. Both authors mention that the men were told that these items had come from the north. Narrating the occasion when they came across the founded copper and cotton mantles, Cabeza de Vaca (f49v) remarks, "And this we believe to be the South Sea since we always had notice that that sea is richer than the one of the North."

Here we inquire how it was that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions surmised that manufactured wares pointed to the South Sea and examine for the period of 1500 to the 1520s the emergence and development of the idea that the South Sea was a source of great wealth. In order to offer a perspective that might reflect the Narváez expeditionaries' outlooks of the mid-1520s, we look not only at the explorations themselves but also at the reports of the supposed goals of exploration (the search for a strait to Asia and its wealth in spices, for example) and, most particularly, the news brought back about what was found (such as ocean-going native trade vessels) and what was believed to have been found. (For the history of exploration of the South Sea there are several good guides: J. H. Parry's *The Age of Reconnaissance*, Samuel Eliot Morison's two-volume *The European Discovery of America*, and, for the exploration of the Pacific to the west and northwest of Mexico, Henry Raup Wagner's *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* and Miguel León-Portilla's *Hernán Cortés y la Mar del Sur*.)

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The notion of wealth promised by the southern sea had two main sources. One was the fabled riches of the East, particularly in spices; the other was the wealth in gold and further reports of it that came from the natives of Central America. The Asian mirages of spices and precious gems gradually paled before the evidence of woven cotton and copper on the eastern shores of Central America, gold from the Pacific, and spectacular riches in gold, silver, and featherwork from mainland Mexico. As the hope of the proximity of Asiatic spices dimmed, the evidence of wealth at hand continually brightened—from Columbus to Balboa to Cortés—in the shining evidence of gold.

The first news of the South Sea comes from Columbus's fourth voyage of 1502–04. This might seem to be a reference too remote to be pertinent to the men of the Narváez expedition, were it not for the fact that the fourth voyage was a matter of public debate and dispute a decade later in Santo Domingo and Seville. From June 1512 to September 1514 participants in that voyage gave testimony in Diego Colón's suit to claim the governance of Darién, for which he needed to prove that it had been one of his father the Admiral's discoveries. At the same time, Vasco Núñez de Balboa was at Darién, crossing the Isthmus of Panama in September 1513 to verify beyond all doubt the existence of a southern sea.

A year later, Pietro Martire wrote the account of Balboa's discovery in his Decades 2 and 3, published at Alcalá de Henares in 1516 (Anghiera, *Décadas* 12). After another six years, immediately after the fall of México-Tenochtitlán, Hernán Cortés sent small exploring parties to the southwestern coast of Mexico to take possession, in the name of the emperor, of the South Sea that he "discovered." He soon established settlements on the coast and commenced the building of ships to begin his own explorations. News of his efforts was disseminated with the publication of his third and fourth *cartas de relación*—publications that Pánfilo de Narváez succeeded in suppressing in March 1527 (chap. 1, sec. 2.A.1), just months before his expedition left for the Caribbean.

Cabeza de Vaca's remarks in the *relación* present us with a problem. Do his statements about the wealth of the South Sea reflect the Narváez expedition survivors' views at the time (1535), when their knowledge of events in New Spain and on the high seas had been frozen since their departure from Cuba in 1528? Or does it reflect the information that Cabeza de Vaca received between 1537 and 1540 about the rivalry between the marqués del Valle, Hernán Cortés, and the viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, for the discoveries of the Pacific to the north? It seems that the latter might be the most likely case. To resolve the issue of whether his interpretation was contemporaneous with the men's travels or retrospective, we examine

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the aspirations and achievements of South Sea exploration not only from c. 1500 to the mid-1520s but also subsequent development from 1527 to the end of the 1530s. In this way, we present the possibility that Cabeza de Vaca's knowledge of subsequent events, gained after the fact, may have enhanced substantially the conviction that we see written into his *relación.*

2. COLUMBUS AND THE SOUTH SEA: ASIAN MIRAGES

The promise of South Sea riches originated with the legacy of Christopher Columbus and his search for Cathay and Great India. The first actual news of the South Sea in early Spanish exploration came with Columbus's voyage along the eastern coast of Central America from the Bay Islands of Honduras (one of which was called Guanaja by the natives), south to Cape Honduras, along the Mosquito Coast of Nicaragua and Costa Rica to the Gulf of San Blas, all in the last four months of 1502 (Oviedo, *Historia* 1:78ab [bk. 3, chap. 9]; Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 126). Although the commission granted to him by the crown on 14 March 1502 was a grant to discover and trade and indicated neither the expedition's direction nor its destination, Columbus discovered some 350 leagues of new coastline (Navarrete 1:407; Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 126) (see map 11).

We do not attempt to resolve here the difficult question of whether the search for a strait to the southern sea was the Admiral's goal, but we do take account of it as it appears in the testimony of those who participated in his voyage. Columbus himself left considerable confusion about his goals in his only account of the fourth voyage. He did not explicitly mention the search for the strait, yet if gold was his object, he was content not to pursue it to its ultimate consequences. Although authoritative sixteenth-century sources—participants in the voyage and the histories of Oviedo and Las Casas—considered the search for a strait and therefore another sea his clear objective, twentieth-century scholars dispute that view, insisting that the goal was gold (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 128, 137, 142–43).

The earliest published account of the fourth voyage, the *Décadas* of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera in 1516 (dec. 3, bk. 4), highlighted the first find of this voyage: the fertile island of "Guanasa" (*sic*, Guanaja) among the Bay Islands off the northern coast of present-day Honduras and the trading vessels there encountered. As a commentator on contemporary developments in the Indies, Martire was fascinated by the reports of native seagoing craft and trade goods; as a result, the detail he gave about the goods the Guanajans carried is one of our best accounts of the encounter: copper bells or rattles, large and small knives, hatchets or cleavers made of a transparent, brilliant, hard yellow stone, some of which were hafted into hard wood (Anghiera,

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Décadas 318 [dec. 3, bk. 4]; Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 128–29). Martire mentioned utensils, earthen kitchen pots, and pottery, all admirably fabricated of wood or the same translucent marble. The Guanajans carried mantles and other items made of cotton, woven in various colors, in great abundance. Cotton was grown in this region, Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 319 [dec. 3, bk. 4]) reported, as well as maize, yucca, and yams. These trading canoes, probably returning from central Mexico to their home in the Gulf of Honduras (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 129), carried the type of wares that the Cabeza de Vaca party would find at the Sierra de la Gloria in Coahuila thirty-three years later. Such items as these—specifically, the cotton and the copper seen in Coahuila—permitted Cabeza de Vaca and his party to speculate about the inland peoples and their contact with those who lived in proximity to the South Sea.

The Admiral's second son, Hernando Colón, had accompanied his father on the fourth voyage, and his account of the trade goods these natives carried adds further details. Writing the biography of the Admiral in the 1530s, Don Hernando (Colón, *Vida* 274–75; Keen 231–32 [chap. 89]) recalled the occasion at the island of Guanaja when a canoe "long as a galley and eight feet wide" and covered with a palm-leaf awning, "like that which the Venetian gondolas carry," arrived, rowed by twenty-five men. The boat was filled with cotton mantles and sleeveless shirts embroidered and painted in different designs and colors; there were breechcloths of the same cloth and design as the shawls worn by the women in the canoe, as well as long wooden swords, grooved on each side, to which "flint knives that cut like steel" could be attached. There were hatchets made of "good copper, and hawk's bells of copper, and crucibles to melt it."

These people carried roots and grains and had maize beer, and Don Hernando recalled the "admirable modesty" of both men and women, the latter covering "their faces like the Moorish women of Granada" (Keen 232; Colón, *Vida* 275 [chap. 89]). He also noted astutely that these Indians had with them "almendras" (cacao beans, in fact) that the Indians of New Spain used as currency (Colón, *Vida* 275; Keen 232 [chap. 89]). He said that these people valued them so highly that, should any fall from their hands, they sprang to retrieve them "as if they had lost something of great value." Their greed, he said, overcame their feelings of terror at finding themselves among "such strange and ferocious men as we must have seemed to be." Clearly, the craft, the goods it carried, and the currency used elsewhere revealed that these people were on a trade mission.

Writing in the 1530s, Hernando Colón could recognize what Martire, writing in 1516, well before the conquest of Mexico of 1519–21, could not. Hernando rightly understood—long after the fact, of course—that the cacao

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beans and other goods were like those of New Spain. Writing this biography of his father several years after the conquest of Mexico, he was able to interpret afresh the significance of that 1502 encounter. Hernando used recent information to make the bold and impossible claim that the "canoe and its contents made the Admiral aware of the great wealth, civilization, and industry of the peoples of the western part of New Spain" (Keen 233; Colón, *Vida* 276 [chap. 90]). Some of the goods he and his father had seen off the coast of Honduras were obviously manufactured from products of that region such as the maize (out of which the maize beer was made) and the cotton (out of which the garments were woven), as reported by the Admiral and repeated by Pietro Martire. At the same time, the notion that at least some of these goods came from Mexico—such as tools and weapons of obsidian from central Mexico, copper bells, axes, and the crucibles to melt metal from Michoacán, and cacao beans from the Pacific coast—was plausible, at least in Hernando's retrospective projection (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 129).

In the Admiral's account of the voyage in his letter to the king and queen from Jamaica of 7 July 1503 (Colón, *Textos* 316–30; Jane 2:72–111), he did not mention sighting the trading vessel but offered near the end of his letter a description that Sauer (*The Early Spanish Main* 137) believed refers to the just-cited episode that occurred on the coast of Honduras. Columbus (Jane 2:100–02) remarked somewhat disjointedly:

> I found another people who eat men; their brutal appearance showed this. They say that there are great mines of copper; of it they make hatchets, other worked articles, cast and soldered, and forges with all the tools of a goldsmith, and crucibles. There they go clothed. And in this province I saw large cotton sheets, very cleverly worked; others were very cleverly painted in colours with pencils. They say that in the country inland towards Cathay, they have them worked with gold.

Aside from the remark about cannibalism and the nod toward Cathay, the commodities he described were those that his son Hernando and Pietro Martire attributed to the trading vessel.

Ignoring the concrete information about wealth to the west that he had understood from the seagoing traders he met in the islands of the Gulf of Honduras, Columbus kept pursuing his eastward course in search, according to Don Hernando (Colón, *Vida* 276; Keen 233 [chap. 90]), of the strait across the mainland that would make possible navigation to the South Sea and the lands of spices. Although Columbus was the first European to come into contact with higher New World civilizations on the Isthmus of Panama (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 129), he made no effort to follow up that

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prospect. He ultimately understood that this new mainland from the Gulf of Honduras to the Gulf of San Blas was continuous; he had found no strait but rather pursued his search for gold, sometimes by boat, sometimes by land (Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 127–28). Columbus's eyes were set on the search for the gold mines of Champa (Ciamba), the name given by Marco Polo to Indochina, and it was in Cariay (see map 11) that he heard about them (Colón, *Textos* 318). In the geography of the period, Ciamba "was the east Asiatic province, lying to the west of Cipango" (Jane 2:80n3). The Admiral suggested that by being informed about the mines and thus assured of their existence, he had no need to seek them further. Although he was eager for all the gold he could carry, his letter from Jamaica indicates that he did not pursue all the reports of it he had received (Colón, *Textos* 320; Jane 2:84). (For Columbus's beliefs about the gold of the East and other chimeras he recorded concerning the fourth voyage, see Gil [*Mitos* 175–83].)

In line with his overriding goal of reaching the fabulous East by sailing west, the Admiral's claims in the 1503 letter regarding the fourth voyage were more vague and much more grand than the canoe as long as a galley and eight feet wide reported years later by Don Hernando (Colón, *Textos* 319; Jane 2:80): "[t]hey named to me many places on the sea-coast, where they said that there was gold and mines; the last was Veragua, distant from there a matter of twenty-five leagues. . . . In all these places where I have been, I found all that I had heard to be true." He went on to speak of the province of Ciguare, "inland to the west nine days' journey," where there was to be found an infinite amount of gold as well as people who wore coral on their heads, feet, and arms and had chairs, chests, and tables inlaid with coral. In Ciguare, Columbus said, there were trade fairs and markets and ships that carried cannon; in that land there were horses and warlike people who wore rich clothing and had good houses. All this was to be found ten days distant from the Ganges River (Colón, *Textos* 319; Jane 2:82). Apart from the delirium of this vision, Columbus added a note of more concrete relevance. If Ciguare lay nine days inland, and the river Ganges lay ten days from it, then these lands, suggested the Admiral, must be to Veragua as Pisa was to Venice or as Tortosa lay with respect to Fuenterrabía (Colón, *Textos* 319) (see vol. 1, map 4). It was this description that led the voyage's early interpreters, Pietro Martire and Bartolomé de las Casas, to suggest that Columbus intuited the existence of the other sea.

Although Pietro Martire, who followed the Admiral's account in writing his own, did not mention the search for a strait, he said that in the region of Veragua, at the foot of the peaks of Veragua, there was an open road to the southern sea, the layout being like that of Venice to Genoa. Thus he echoed Columbus's illustration of two cities on opposite coasts and seas of the

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same narrow neck of land. He interpreted the Admiral to mean that, going westward, this land connected with the India of the Ganges. Martire rejected this possibility because of the fury of the maritime currents to the west, as discovered by Balboa, and he explained his current (1514) understanding that a small neck of land separated the South Sea from "ours" (the North Sea), as Balboa had proven by crossing it, and that, with respect to latitude, the continental lands (of the Americas) extended over a broad area, wide in some places and narrow in others, according to the dictates of nature (Anghiera, *Décadas* 327–28 [dec. 3, bk. 4]).

Las Casas had in hand a certified copy (*traslado*) of the account of the fourth voyage, and he went into considerable detail about Columbus's report. Like Martire, he interpreted the Admiral's remark as having imagined at Veragua that there was another sea, which, he said, would later turn out to be the South Sea, because of the Admiral's statement relating Veragua to Ciguare, which Las Casas supposed was Columbus's reference to some province or city belonging to the kingdoms of the grand khan, the emperor of Cathay. Las Casas (*Historia* 2:275–76 [bk. 2, chap. 20]) reasoned that, since the Admiral had said that the relationship of Veragua to Ciguare would be like that of Tortosa to Fuenterrabía (Tortosa being the city in the province of Tarragona on the Río Ebro that empties into the Mediterranean, and Fuenterrabía being the city of Guipúzcoa located where the Río Bidasoa drains into the Gulf of Biscay), he must have meant that he considered one to be on the coast of one sea and the other on the coast of another, the two being separated by a single landmass. Columbus's additional example of the relationship of Venice to Pisa, on the Adriatic and Ligurian Seas, respectively (Colón, *Textos* 319; Jane 2:82), confirmed the point. Therefore, Las Casas (*Historia* 2:275–76 [bk. 2, chap. 20]) deduced, the Admiral must have had another sea in mind. The description offered by Columbus was the sole evidence interpreted by Martire and Las Casas as indicative of Columbus's thinking about the "other ocean."

Unlike Hernando Colón, Las Casas unabashedly acknowledged the Admiral's Asian mirages, which he described immediately after (and as nourished by) the sight of the wares in the seagoing trade craft described above. Las Casas's account (*Historia* 2:274–75 [bk. 2, chap. 20]) seems to come from Don Hernando's, due to the identity of commodities mentioned, for example, the copper goods and crucibles for founding the copper, the knives and wares of cotton, and the yams, maize bread, and maize wine that seemed like beer. Unlike Hernando, who described the textiles laden upon the trading canoe as providentially revealing to the Admiral the existence of New Spain (Colón, *Vida* 276; Keen 233 [chap. 90]), Las Casas (*Historia* 2:275 [bk. 2, chap. 20]) instead remarked on the Admiral's belief that "he was to find news of

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Cathay and the Great Khan, and that those mantles and painted items were the beginning of all that he desired."

Las Casas went on to tell of higher civilization and implements of war—ships, swords, even horses—that they presumably said they had or that the Admiral imagined, none of which were mentioned by Don Hernando, who in the 1530s maintained an embarrassed silence on his father's Asian fantasies. Las Casas cited the chimeras that appeared in Columbus's 1503 letter from Jamaica, characterizing them as the work of the Admiral's deceit by the Indians or his own self-deceit, "hearing what he wanted to hear" (Casas, *Historia* 2:276 [bk. 2, chap. 20]). When he showed the natives gold, they seemed to tell him that it was to be found in abundance, and when he brought out the corals and pepper and other spices he carried, they affirmed that these things too were available in abundance: "whatever they saw that he showed them, they assented to it only in order to please him, for they had never seen nor known nor heard about any of the things about which he asked them" (Casas, *Historia* 2:275 [bk. 2, chap. 20]). Columbus was deceived and mistaken about all these things, said Las Casas, except for the existence of the ocean now known as the South Sea.

Oviedo (*Historia* 1:77ab [bk. 3, chap. 9]) interpreted Columbus's fourth voyage as his attempt to "seek the strait which he said must exist in order to arrive at the southern sea"; instead, he discovered the province and river of Veragua on the Isthmus of Panama (Oviedo, *Historia* 1:78b [bk. 3, chap. 9]; Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main* 126–27). That strait, Oviedo (*Historia* 1:77a [bk. 3, chap. 9]) stated, would later be understood to be a passage by land rather than by sea. Oviedo (bk. 3, chap. 9) summarized the fourth voyage very briefly, and this is the only reference he made to the other sea.

2.A. *The Porras* Relación *of the Fourth Voyage (1502–04)*

Diego de Porras (Navarrete 1:404–16) wrote a short account of Columbus's fourth voyage, on which he had gone as royal comptroller; he and his brother mutinied against Columbus in Jamaica in January 1504 but were captured and later exonerated (Morison, *The European Discovery* 2:238, 260–61). Porras made no mention of the trading vessels found at the island of Guanaja, but he described its inhabitants as archers, "people of war" who demanded the gold and pearls Columbus showed them (Navarrete 1:405). His remarks may explain the Admiral's reference to people "of that province" as cannibals because of their ferocious, belligerent demeanor. Porras's account further suggests that the search for the strait and the search for gold were the objectives of this voyage. He told how they investigated many ports and bays, thinking that they would find the strait (Navarrete

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1:406). As comptroller of the expedition, Porras's account not surprisingly gave an explicit account of the gold they found at various places (Navarrete 1:406–08). We summarize his description to bring into focus the details about which the Admiral had been so vague. On the journey on which they coasted some 350 leagues down the Caribbean coast of Central America and eastward along the coast of present-day Panama, they found only base gold (*oro bajo*) at Cariay. The first evidence of pure gold (*oro fino*) was in the paten worn by an Indian at the bay of Cerabaró; at the Río Veragua, they found armed Indians who wore "mirrors of gold" on their chests (Navarrete 1:406). After traveling onward and finding no more gold, they turned back to Veragua, where the isthmus runs southwest/northeast. There, they went eight leagues inland on the Río Belén and, in a single day, took out two or three *castellanos* of gold that they did not extract themselves but took from the Indians' mines (Navarrete 1:407–08). In all, they took some 220 pieces of fine gold and a few of base gold, including five large "mirrors of gold" that weighed three marks and three ounces (a *marca de oro* was equivalent to fifty *castellanos*) (Navarrete 1:410; Hemming 518). The modesty of the riches found accompany the end of the Admiral's explorations. The comptroller's account, written at an unspecified date, brought the contemporary accounts of the Columbus voyages to a close. Discussion was renewed during Diego Colón's suit to reaffirm his father's claims a decade later.

2.B. *Testimony in Diego Colón's Legal Quest for Darién (1512–14)*

Testimony regarding Diego Colón's claims to the right to govern the new settlements of the Isthmus of Panama was taken between 16 June 1512 and 5 September 1514 in the form of *probanzas* (CDU 7:77–434). On the isthmus, the lands of Urabá and Veragua had been granted to Alonso de Hojeda and Diego de Nicuesa by the crown at the very time Diego Colón was given the administration of the Indies (Haring 17). In December 1512, Diego Colón denounced the crown's dispositions against his claim to his father's privileges and renewed his lawsuit, this time laying claim to the jurisdiction of Darién (Haring 18).

In the testimony of witnesses responding to the questions of *interrogatorios* concerning the extent of the first Admiral's explorations and discoveries, hints of the expected wealth in spices of the East and news of the materialized wealth in gold of lands facing another sea came once again to the fore. The proceedings, carried out in Santo Domingo (the seat of the second Admiral, Diego Colón's governance) and Seville a decade after Columbus's fourth voyage, no doubt anticipated and reinforced the news that would soon be coming back to Spain about Balboa's arrival at the South Sea in 1513.

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On 16 June 1512, Diego Colón presented a *probanza* in which witnesses testified to his rightful claims to Darién. On 7 December 1512, the government responded with a *probanza* ordered by the crown attorney that sought to demonstrate that the discovery of Darién could not be attributed to Christopher Columbus but rather to certain pilots. On 29 December 1512, Diego Colón issued a protest against these dispositions. On 12 February 1513, the government ordered another *probanza* taken on its behalf, using the same *interrogatorio* as that of the 7 December proceedings. The subject of this inquiry was not merely the claim to Darién but rather the discoveries of the Admiral's third and fourth voyages. (All these documents are found in CDU 7.)

In the last *probanza* executed on behalf of the government concerning the discoveries of the third and fourth voyages, taken at Seville on 12 February 1513 (CDU 7:241–83), Juan de Noya (CDU 7:257), a cooper and resident of Seville, said that he had been on the Admiral's voyage to Veragua, during which they had gone to Portobello and then turned back, "saying that they were going to see the land of spices but never found it." The witness Martín de Riera (CDU 7:259), another cooper and resident of Seville who went on the fourth voyage, declared, "[A]nd from there [the island of Española] they went in search of a strait where the aforementioned Don Christopher Columbus said that the land of spices was located." Also in the same *probanza*, Pedro de Ledesma (CDU 7:263–64), Columbus's captain and pilot of the ship *Viscayna* on the fourth voyage (CDU 7:263), told how they sailed south-southwest from Jamaica "in search of Asia," but he denied that the Admiral discovered either Veragua or Darién. He testified, however, that eighty canoes filled with gold appeared at Caraburi and that at Urirá (Urará?) the Admiral received ninety gold marks (worth 4,500 *castellanos*) in exchange for three dozen bells. Of the twelve witnesses brought forward, only these three make reference to the Asiatic enterprise. Overall, these *probanzas* yielded more information about the gold found on this trip and about places actually visited than about the Admiral's goals.

As the witnesses for and against Diego Colón presented their testimony on the explorations of 1502–04, the popular debate about Christopher Columbus's discoveries must have been common currency on the streets of Seville and Santo Domingo. Although impossible to substantiate and measure, the importance of the public street life of Spain's ports of embarkation to and from the Indies as a conduit for news and gossip on the wealth of the southern sea must have been considerable. Such discussions were intense beginning in 1512, when Diego's lawsuit to claim the government of Darién began, and they continued when news was received of Balboa's 1513 arrival at the Pacific. At this time, Cabeza de Vaca was probably returning from military service

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in Italy, and he may have had notice of the latest Indies developments if he passed through Seville (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 5.c).

3. BALBOA AND THE SOUTH SEA (1513)

The story of Balboa's "discovery" was first told by Pietro Martire, who was the first in Europe to report news of the South Sea; he did so directly from the letters of Vasco Núñez de Balboa. "Through them," Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 287 [dec. 3, bk. 1]) announced to Pope Leo X, "I have learned how they succeeded in crossing the mountains that separate the known ocean from the southern sea until then unknown." He wrote the Third Decade not long after the sighting of the Pacific on 25 September 1513; it came into print when Decades 1 through 3 were published in 1516 at Alcalá de Henares (Anghiera, *Décadas* 11–12).

Because Balboa's reports of the South Sea produced much excitement, they are likely to have been widely known in expeditionary circles. On this score, Pietro Martire revealed the loquaciousness of all who came to court—advocates, officials, even sailors—who could not resist, either viva voce or in writing, to tell him what they learned. He assured his reader, Pope Leo X, to whom he had also directed the Second Decade, that he had chosen—from the great quantity of information that each and every one gave him—only those things necessary to satisfy the lover of history and that he had suppressed the things best left untold (Anghiera, *Décadas* 258 [dec. 2, bk. 7]).

The significance of Martire d'Anghiera's (*Décadas* 229–97 [dec. 2, bk. 3–dec. 3, bk. 1]) account of Balboa's discovery for our purposes is that it brings to the fore the notice of new areas and riches that its protagonist obtained not by following Asiatic chimeras but rather by listening to the reports of natives, who provided new and accurate information about the bounty of Central and South America. Balboa's account of his arrival at the South Sea begins with the startling news of great wealth to the south given by the son of the lord Comogro in 1511. As Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 288 [dec. 3, bk. 1]) acknowledged, the discovery of the South Sea in September 1513 was the direct result of the decision to pursue the course that Comogro's son had outlined. Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 234 [dec. 2, bk. 3]) told how in 1511 Balboa and Rodrigo Colmenares and their men went to the province of Comogra, on the northern coast but at a distance of thirty leagues' travel from Darién owing to the rugged terrain. Martire described the scene with the vividness inspired by his interlocutors: the lord Comogro welcomed Vasco Núñez and his men to his palace, which was constructed of wooden beams and stone walls with exquisitely worked ceilings and floors. Balboa's

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men found a warehouse filled with all manner of local foodstuffs and, "in the style of Italy or Spain," a great bodega with wooden casks and clay vessels that contained wines made from yucca, yams, and maize. In Comogro's house the men drank white and red wines of various flavors, some even tasting as if they had been mixed with honey (Anghiera, *Décadas* 233 [dec. 2, bk. 3]). (The maize beer noted by Hernando Colón at the island of Guanaja may be recalled here.)

The oldest of the lord Comogro's seven sons understood the importance of maintaining the good will of these strange men. Hoping to keep them pacified and thereby avoid the bad treatment neighboring peoples had received from the Spaniards, he sent to Balboa and Colmenares four thousand drachmas of worked gold and seventy slaves. A dispute broke out among the expeditionaries as they argued over who would take the better pieces being weighed on a scale. Infuriated, the son of the lord Comogro knocked away the scale and shouted, according to Martire (Anghiera, *Décadas* 234 [dec. 2, bk. 3]), "What is this, Christians? You esteem so small a quantity of gold so highly?" To satisfy them, he told them about "a region plentiful with gold" that was only six days distant. After crossing the intermediate mountain range to the south, the young lord continued (Anghiera, *Décadas* 235 [dec. 2, bk. 3]), that was inhabited by cannibals who nevertheless were great goldsmiths, they would come to "another sea, traveled by sailing vessels no smaller than your own (and he pointed to the caravels)." He assured them that "all that side that faces the south, from the mountain springs onward, produces gold in abundance."

The son of Comogro further told Balboa and his men how Tumanama, the lord of that rich kingdom, had utensils of gold and that there was so much gold to the south that it was no less plentiful among them than was iron among the Spaniards, which he knew was the material out of which the Europeans fabricated swords and other arms (Anghiera, *Décadas* 235 [dec. 2, bk. 3]). When Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 291 [dec. 3, bk. 1]) narrated that two years later Balboa—"prouder than Hannibal on revealing Italy and the Alpine promontories to his soldiers"—offered his men great riches at the sight of the Pacific, he did so as the fulfillment of the young lord's promise: "[h]ere is the desired sea. See, friends and companions of so many hardships, the ocean about which so many and so great things were told to us by the son of Comogro and the other natives."

Proceeding to the lord Chiapes, who occupied the southernmost area of the highlands and whom they quickly vanquished, they were given four hundred *pesos* of worked gold; the ducat, Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 292 [dec. 3, bk. 1]) informs us, exceeds this coin by a third. Once descended onto the southern coast, they vanquished the lord Coquera, who fled and

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then returned, persuaded by Chiapes with a gift of 650 *pesos* of worked gold (Anghiera, *Décadas* 293 [dec. 3, bk. 1]). Chiapes had seagoing crafts, made of a single trunk of wood, called "culchas" that could hold nine men apiece; according to Martire's account, eighty men embarked in nine of them to explore the bay that Balboa named in honor of Saint Michael (Anghiera, *Décadas* 293 [dec. 3, bk. 1]). Warned against doing so during a three-month period (October–December), of which this was the first month, the boats were dashed by great waves, and some were damaged. With great difficulty, the men managed to secure them and took refuge on a gulf island.

Despite these dangers, the expedition continued to pick up riches. At another shore of the bay they encountered Tumaco, a lord who also resisted and then fled; he returned days later and brought to the Spaniards 614 *pesos* of gold and 240 magnificent pearls and many small ones (Anghiera, *Décadas* 295 [dec. 3, bk. 1]). Seeing their pleasure at this wealth, he brought twelve pounds of pearls four days later. Martire d'Anghiera summarized, "[O]ur men relished with pleasure the sight of so many riches, on which stake they set their future happiness and congratulated one another" (Anghiera, *Décadas* 295 [dec. 3, bk. 1]). Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 300 [dec. 3, bk. 2]) speculated about pearl production, decided to have Pedrarias Dávila investigate the matter, and concluded, "It seems absurd that, in effect, we do not know what to say about something that, because of its value, was capable of degrading indiscriminately the men and women of antiquity and today ruins people with the immoderate desire for its possession." Today, he said, Spain could satisfy with all its pearls the voracity of Cleopatra and Asopos (Asopus) and had no reason to honor or envy the fertile "Estoido," or Taprobane, nor the Indian Ocean, nor the Red Sea (Anghiera, *Décadas* 300 [dec. 3, bk. 2]).

In this manner Martire conveyed the news of what was found at the South Sea. He said that the color of these pearls was not white, because the natives roasted the oysters over an open fire before they extracted the pearls; this gave the meat a better flavor, which the Indians esteemed more than the pearls. Martire got this piece of information from one of Balboa's men named Arbolante, who was sent by Balboa with the pearls to the king. "It is necessary," said Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 295 [dec. 3, bk. 1]), "to give credence to those who participate in the events."

It was clear that, after 1513, the idea of wealth to the south was a commonplace. After 1532, the source of its abundance was confirmed to be that of the Incas of South America. In his own account of the Balboa expedition in the *Historia de las Indias*, written after the conquest of Peru, Las Casas would rework the account of Pietro Martire. Like Hernando Colón, who associated the significance of the trade vessel off the coast of Honduras

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with the mainland cultures of Mexico (although wrongly attributing that deduction to his father), Las Casas connected the account of Comogro's son with the first notice of Peru.

Las Casas (*Historia* 2:573–74 [bk. 3, chap. 41]), who had abbreviated Martire's account, nevertheless concluded his own version of the young lord's speech with the mention of Peru:

> [A]nd he gestured toward the South Sea, which is to the south, with his finger, by which sign he said that they would see, beyond certain sierras, where other people navigated with boats or ships only a little smaller than ours, with sails and oars; beyond that sea, he added, they would find great wealth of gold, and great goblets of gold with which those people ate and drank, from which it seems evident that the people from that part of the mainland, toward Darién, as well as the ones who were located thirty leagues down the coast to the south, had much information about the peoples and riches of Peru and about the boats in which they navigated by oar and sail.

This linkage between the discovery of the South Sea and the first notice about the existence of Peru is sometimes attributed to Antonio de Herrera (Gandía, *Historia crítica* 154–55, 172). Herrera y Tordesillas (3:267 [dec. 1, bk. 9, chap. 2]), however, virtually reproduced the pertinent account directly and almost word for word from Las Casas, as a comparison of the two texts reveals (Ballesteros-Beretta lxix; Casas, *Historia* 2:572–74 [bk. 3, chap. 41]). Thus this deduction—made no doubt but a few years after the conquest of Peru—must be attributed to Las Casas. Taking his own account in turn from Pietro Martire's published account of 1516, Las Casas simply gave Martire's account the interpretation that the events of 1524–32 permitted him to make. These events were Pizarro's first sea voyages down the Peruvian coast, the fall of Cajamarca, and the capture and ransom of Atahualpa. Decades after the conquest of Peru, it was understood that Balboa's 1511 encounter with the lord of the province of Comogra had revealed for the first time not only the wealth of the South Sea but also and specifically news of the wealth of Peru.

The repetition and exaggeration of Balboa's discovery of gold and pearls increased the news of wealth of the South Sea. Now, significantly, it was not solely based on European yearning for Eastern wealth that had existed since the accounts of Marco Polo; it pointed concretely to wealth at hand, the source of information for which was not European lore but intelligence gathered from local Amerindian peoples. Furthermore, when Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and became the first European to view the western Pacific on 25 September 1513, the theory of America's separation from Asia by an ocean was confirmed, and the possibility of crossing the neck of land of less than a hundred miles' breadth to build ships on the Pacific emerged

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(Parry, *The Age* 158). Shipbuilding on the Pacific coast of Mexico was the approach that Hernán Cortés would subsequently take in order to unlock the secrets of South Sea wealth. Balboa's widely circulated and repeated reports no doubt played a role in Cortés's later sending ships out along the western coast of Mexico.

4. CORTÉS AND THE SOUTH SEA (1521 TO 1526)

Hernán Cortés, the major protagonist of South Sea exploration from 1522 onward (and until 1539), provided the most recent information that the departing Narváez expedition would have had in 1527. After his failed attempt to arrest Cortés on the orders of Diego Velázquez, Pánfilo de Narváez would have had hearsay information about Cortés's efforts in this regard while imprisoned by Cortés (1520 or 1521 in Veracruz, and from then until 1524 or 1525 in México-Tenochtitlán). Yet, more apparently, direct notice was available to all the elite members of the expedition through Cortés's third (1522) and fourth (1524) *cartas de relación*, which were published in Seville in 1523 and in Toledo in 1525, respectively. The fourth letter reappeared in Valencia in 1526 (JCBL 26b, 28b, 29b).

The debate continues today as to the objectives of Cortés's sea explorations. Wagner (*Spanish Voyages* 2–3) acknowledged, for example, that it is difficult to assess with certainty Cortés's geographical understanding. Yet he supposed that when Hernán Cortés arrived on the eastern coast of Mexico in 1519, six years after Balboa's sighting, it was likely that he thought that Asia might not be far away and that the Moluccas were accessible there. Pagden (508n62) also considered that Cortés accepted the common sixteenth-century idea that "Asia lay close to the Pacific seaboard of the American mainland"; Martínez (*Hernán Cortés* 486) likewise understood Cortés's statements to indicate the proximity of Mexico to the islands of Southeast Asia. On this issue, the critical readings given Cortés's views by his contemporary historians, Martire and Oviedo, are useful.

Once México-Tenochtitlán fell in 1521, Cortés hastened to push toward the coast; his men reached it in the spring of 1522. In the private letter he wrote to the emperor on 15 May 1522 (Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* 439–40), the same day that he posted to him the third *carta de relación*, Cortés announced that he had discovered the South Sea in three separate places on the southwestern and western areas of the coast of Mexico. In this brief epistle he added that the emperor could consider this discovery to be "one of the greatest services that has been performed in the Indies," for the exploration of which he had already begun to build ships. According to the notice he already had of it, he expected the discovery of the secret of the South Sea to produce wondrous

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things. He stated that he had known about the South Sea before discovering it, and he announced to the emperor that "on a certain coast" of that sea he had already settled 250 Spaniards, forty of whom were horsemen (Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* 440).

In his third letter of relation to the emperor (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 310–453), Cortés spoke of "two or three places" where the South Sea was twelve to fourteen days' journey from México-Tenochtitlán; he announced that he had sent out two parties, each led by two soldiers, that took possession of the South Sea in His Majesty's name (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 432). He also presented his plan to construct two medium-sized caravels for voyages of discovery and two brigantines for charting the coast (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 447).

The construction of the ships to which Cortés referred would be undertaken with materials taken from the ships of Garay's failed expedition to the Río Pánuco (León-Portilla 35). Unfortunately, the warehouse in which Cortés's ships were being built burned, as he subsequently explained to the emperor in his fourth letter of relation (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 499; Oviedo, *Historia* 3:462a [bk. 33, chap. 40]). Although Cortés's initial efforts at South Sea exploration had thus been delayed, he announced in the same fourth letter (*Cartas de relación* 458) that he had four ships under construction at Zacatula, a town he had founded near the mouth of the Río Balsas, which forms the boundary between present-day Michoacán and Guerrero (see map 11). He declared that the craft were almost completed and added, "I hold these ships of more importance than I can express, because I am certain that if it so please Our Lord God, they will gain for Your Caesarean Majesty more realms and dominions than those of which our country now knows" (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 500; Pagden 320–21). Cortés considered the promise of the South Sea to be unlimited, and his attempts to explore it were unremitting.

We now look in greater detail at the third and fourth letters of relation, published in 1523 and 1525, respectively, for what they had to say about South Sea wealth and how it was interpreted by historians at the time.

4.A. *The Promise of Cortés's Published Letters (1523, 1525)*

Cortés's third letter of relation to the emperor of 15 May 1522 gave a detailed account of the conquest and recovery of México-Tenochtitlán, and it was completed a few months before Sebastián del Cano, the Spanish navigator of Magellan, arrived in Spain on 16 September 1522 after circumnavigating the globe. The most sensational but superficial news contained in Cortés's letter was his arrival at the South Sea. It was prominently announced on the title

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page of the edition: "[l]ikewise he relates how he discovered the South Sea and many more great provinces, very rich in gold and pearls and precious stones; and how he has even heard tell that there are spices" (Pagden 160; Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 310). Nevertheless, it is treated only briefly, with little more information than that given on the title page.

In this third letter, Cortés told how he had very recently had news about the South Sea, informing himself also from the natives of Michoacán who could reach it from their own lands. They confirmed his hope that it was accessible, but they did not want to accept his charge to lead the Spaniards there because a powerful enemy of theirs lay between them and the sea. In euphemistic terms, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 431) said he bribed and intimidated the Purépechas and then sent them off with the Spaniards: "during that time I ordered the horsemen to skirmish before them so that they might take word of it back, and after I had given them certain jewels I dispatched them and the Spaniards to the aforementioned province of Mechuacan" (Pagden 266–67).

Sending out four Spaniards, the first pair traveled 130 leagues through beautiful provinces without encountering opposition and took possession of the sea; the other two traveled 150 leagues and did the same. The first returned with samples of gold "from the mines in some of the provinces through which they passed" and some natives of the coast; the second also brought back native inhabitants of the area. The location of these discoveries was at the Río Balsas, at the current border between the states of Michoacán and Guerrero and at Tehuantepec on the southeastern coast of Oaxaca (Wagner, *Spanish Voyages* 2) (map 11). The report of this reconnaissance confirmed earlier notices, inspiring Cortés to make the following projection:

> This pleased me greatly, for it seemed to me that by discovering this sea we would render a great and memorable service to Your Majesty, especially as all those who have some learning and experience in the navigation of the Indies are quite certain that once the route to the Southern Sea has been discovered we shall find many islands rich in gold, pearls, precious stones and spices, and many wonderful and unknown things will be disclosed to us. This is also confirmed by men of learning and those tutored in the science of cosmography. (Pagden 267; Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 432)

The treasure collected in the area leading to the South Sea was considerable. In the third letter, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 437–38; Pagden 270) emphasized that the lord of the province of Tecoantepeque (Tehuantepec), "which lies by the Southern Sea and through which the two Spaniards passed on their journey there," sent one of his chieftains to him to offer his loyalty to the crown and that he made a gift of "gold ornaments, jewelry

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and articles of featherwork, all of which I handed over to Your Majesty's treasurer." Likewise, the two Spaniards who had gone through the province of Michoacán returned with a brother of the lord of Michoacán, the Cazonci, a party of a thousand people, and "for Your Majesty a gift of silver shields of considerable weight in marks [*marcas de plata*, each weighing approximately eight ounces], and many other things besides, all of which were handed over to Your Majesty's treasurer" (Pagden 271; Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 438; Hemming 519).

The historian Francisco Cervantes de Salazar (802 [bk. 6, chap. 25]) described the gift more precisely. With the two Spaniards came the Cazonci's brother and a thousand servants and lords; they presented to Cortés "much clothing of cotton and featherwork, five thousand *pesos* of base gold (*oro bajo*), and a thousand marks of silver mixed with copper, all in pieces of artisanship and ornaments for the body."

In his fourth letter of relation, dated 15 October 1524, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 457; Pagden 284) reminded the emperor that he had informed him, in the report that Juan de Ribera took to Spain in 1522, that the Cazonci of Michoacán had pledged obedience to the Spanish and that his messengers sent gifts that Cortés, in turn, sent with "the representatives of New Spain who went to Your Highness." Later in the letter, he said that he had learned from letters written to him from Castile that the things he had sent with those representatives, Antonio de Quiñones and Alonso de Ávila, had not reached the emperor because they were seized by the French, "on account of the insufficient protection which the Casa de la Contratación in Seville sent to accompany them from the Azores" (Pagden 330; Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 514). (The maps of México-Tenochtitlán and the Gulf of Mexico, the latter of which we discuss elsewhere [chap. 15, sec. 9.D], accompanied this treasure from Mexico.)

What was this treasure? While Cortés was not specific about either the kind or quantity of such gifts, Pietro Martire gave in his usual fashion great and vivid details about the bounty the treasure fleet carried. Martire d'Anghiera (*Décadas* 537, 540–41 [dec. 5, bk. 10]) understood that the cargo that did not arrive contained "an immense treasure" destined for the emperor that exceeded the sum of 32,000 ducats in melted gold and gold bars, without counting another 150,000 ducats' worth, if they weighed them, of rings, necklaces, shields, helmets, and other objects. Juan de Ribera's ship had arrived safely, and his private share, which he displayed when he was a guest in Martire's home, consisted of a great number and variety of gold goblets sent as tribute by various native communities. Other objects, "no more than pale reflections of what was to come," included pearls "not inferior in size to those that human lust calls Oriental," some of them bigger

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than hazelnuts (although they were not white, since they were extracted only after the oysters that contained them were roasted) (Anghiera, *Décadas* 540–41 [dec. 5, bk. 10]).

But this was nothing! Martire enthused. It gave him enormous pleasure to see the great variety of necklaces and rings, which suggested to him that there was no four-footed animal or any fish or bird of the air that those goldsmiths could not recreate. Martire and his learned friends admired the lifelike quality of this artwork, and they marveled at the gold objects whose material and quality were exceeded only by the artistry of their design and execution, according to Martire. Gorgeous woven featherwork, two extraordinary mirrors, a mosaic mask so remarkably worked that it seemed the piece was made of a single stone, garments made of three materials (cotton, bird feathers, and rabbit skin)—all were most impressive. The whole lot gave proof, he said, of the bounty that could be accumulated by just a single individual among the many who took part in such actions (Anghiera, *Décadas* 541–42 [dec. 5, bk. 10]). As it turned out, private shares were all that did arrive since the imperial treasure had been seized by French privateers (Pagden 509–10n64).

4.B. *Cortés, the Strait, and the Amazons*

In response to the information Cortés provided in his third letter on 26 June 1523, the emperor (CDI 23:366–67; Martínez, *Documentos* 271) ordered him to seek a strait, north or northwest of Panama, connecting the North and South Seas. The emperor asked that Cortés make a "long and true" account of whatever was found, "because, as you see, this is a very important matter in our service" (CDI 23:366). As he understood that there were great secrets and things in the sea to the south of New Spain, the emperor also demanded that Cortés send experienced persons of good judgment to learn about the area and keep the emperor informed about it every time he wrote to the sovereign.

Cortés responded to these commands in the fourth letter of relation, signed just as he left for Honduras in October 1524 (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 468). Aware by that time of Magellan's circumnavigation of the earth and the existence of a vast ocean between the New World and the Moluccas, Cortés continued his pursuit of the north. At the end of 1523, Cortés's men went farther north on the coast from Zacatula to Colima, where they had already established a permanent settlement. Reporting on it in his fourth letter of relation, Cortés stated that his captain, Cristóbal de Olid, informed him that pearls had been found at Colima, that there was a good harbor on the coast, and that the lords of Ciguatán told of an

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> island inhabited only by women, without a single man, and that at certain times men go over from the mainland and have intercourse with them; the females born to those who conceive are kept, but the males are sent away. This island is ten days' journey from this province and many of those chiefs have been there and have seen it. They also told me that it was very rich in pearls and gold. I will strive, as soon as I am equipped for it, to learn the truth and send Your Majesty a full account thereof. (*Cartas de relación* 473–74; Pagden 298–300)

León-Portilla (37–38) suggested that Aztec cosmology may have been partly responsible for Cortés's understanding insofar as the name Cihuatán or Cihuatlán means in Nahuatl "place of women," with reference to the ancient Nahua view of the world. The division of the universe according to the four cardinal directions included Cihuatlampa ("toward the place of women") and referred to the west. These were the women who died in childbirth, and they were considered to be valiant warriors who had imprisoned a man in their bosom and were destined to be converted into companions of the sun from its zenith to sunset.

Rumors of Amazon women in the Indies, of course, already had a considerable history in the three decades since Columbus's first voyage. Irving A. Leonard (*Books* 36–53) provided a useful survey, which begins with Columbus's mentions of the island of Matinino on the first voyage and includes Pietro Martire's references to the rumor in the First Decade (first published in 1511), Juan Díaz's reports from Grijalva's 1518 expedition to Yucatán, and, after Cortés, Nuño de Guzmán's report of 1530 and the third anonymous account of his conquest of Nueva Galicia. (Weckmann [73–82] and Gil [*Mitos* 73–76] have discussed the instances of Amazonian legend in the Indies in relation to classical tradition.)

With respect to Cortés, in addition to his own reference in his fourth letter of relation to the emperor, two mentions are noteworthy. The first is Diego Velázquez's instructions to Cortés of 23 October 1518 to lead a reconnaissance mission to the lands of Mexico (which resulted in Cortés's unauthorized conquest of the mainland). Near the end of the list of things that Cortés should seek or note in his explorations, Velázquez reminded him to always use interpreters who could inform him about the lands and peoples found, "because they say that there are people with great and broad ears and others with faces like dogs and likewise, where and in what direction are the Amazons, who live near there, according to the reports of the Indians you are taking with you" (Martínez, *Documentos* 56).

Velázquez's remarks suggest that he was acquainted with the rumors of Columbus's report from the first voyage (Amazons, people with faces like

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dogs) but also in a general way with the tradition of the monstrous races of the east, the Cynocephali with the dog's heads and the Panotii with their large, broad ears who were fancied to be capable of covering themselves with them like blankets or using them as wings with which these shy creatures could fly away when frightened (Friedman 15, 18).

Similarly, about the time Cortés posted his fourth letter of relation to the emperor and shortly before he left for Honduras, he sent his cousin Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura on an expedition that explored the territory of today's southwest Michoacán, central and southeastern Jalisco, Nayarit, Colima, and, upon its return, went as far southeast as Ixtapa, Guerrero (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 357). Cortés's (CDI 26:153) 1524 instructions to his relative state:

> I am informed that down the coast that borders the aforementioned *villa* [Colima], there are numerous well-populated provinces where it is believed that there is much treasure and that in those parts there is a place inhabited by women without men. About these it is said that they reproduce in the manner told in the ancient histories about the Amazons. To determine the truth of this and other matters pertaining to that coast, God our Lord and Their Majesties will be greatly served if you . . . follow the road down the said coast in order to learn its secrets.

Cortés's seagoing history in the Pacific is a complex one to interpret, rendered all the more obscure in his writings by his need to placate the demands and desires of the emperor as he sought to promote his own interests. In a very complicated passage from the fourth letter, he seemed to support two objectives that have caused scholars to interpret his remarks in opposite fashion.

First of all, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 509–10; Pagden 326–27) declared that he had determined to send three caravels and two brigantines in the quest for the strait from *Florida* northward to the Bacallaos, "for it is believed that there is on that coast a strait leading to the Southern Sea." If found, he said, the strait would "come out very close to the archipelago which Magellan discovered by Your Highness's command" and reduce the distance from the Spice Islands to the emperor's realms by two thirds. Although "penniless and heavily in debt," he would undertake this mission costing some ten thousand gold *pesos.* He said that he held the successful completion of this feat to be more important than any of the services to the crown he had yet performed. This statement seems to be designed to communicate his good-faith commitment to do what the emperor had commanded in 1523.

Now, however, Cortés goes on to tell what he *is* doing, which is to send an expedition in search of the strait not north to the Bacallaos but south,

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down the coast of the South Sea. On 6 December 1523 and 11 January 1524, respectively, Cortés dispatched Pedro de Alvarado south on the Pacific coast and Cristóbal de Olid along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico to present-day Honduras to seek the strait (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 350, 414). Yet the results were that Alvarado conquered Guatemala, and Olid teamed up with the governor of Cuba, Diego Velázquez, to oppose Cortés. Cortés's two-year absence on the expedition to Honduras to punish Olid would have disastrous consequences for his political control of New Spain, but for the present (1523–24) he complied with the emperor's demands.

Finally, in the same fourth letter, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 511–12; Pagden 328) indicated what he *would have liked* to have done:

> I assure Your Majesty that according to the information I have received of lands up the coast of the Southern Sea, I would have profited considerably, and served Your Majesty too, by sending these ships there, but as I have been told of the great desire which Your Majesty has to discover this strait and the great service which its discovery would render to Your Royal Crown, I lay aside all those other interests and advantages, of which I have heard many tales, in order to follow this course.

In short, what the loyal vassal will do for his king differs from what he would have done for himself. Paraphrasing Cortés's fourth letter of relation as he wrote about Cortés's explorations, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:466b [bk. 33, chap. 41]) remarked that he considered Hernán Cortés better as a captain and more skilled in matters of war, "of which we have treated," than an expert in cosmography, because the Strait of Magellan was very different from what Cortés understood it to be. Oviedo added that coastal exploration subsequent to the time of Cortés's writing revealed that Cortés had been very greatly misinformed.

In his fourth letter, Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 510; Pagden 327) also added this service to the others he had performed:

> For I hold this to be the most important of them if, as I say, the strait is found, and, even if it is not, many great and rich lands must surely be discovered, where Your Caesarean Majesty may be served and the realms and dominions of Your Royal Crown much increased. Should there, however, prove to be no such strait, then it will be most useful for Your Highness that it be known, for some other means may be found for Your Caesarean Majesty to benefit from the Spice Islands and all the others which are adjacent to them.

Cortés (*Cartas de relación* 511; Pagden 328) conceded, "May Our Lord grant, however, that the fleet succeed in its purpose, which is to discover the strait, because that would be best; and I am sure it will, because nothing can eclipse

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Your Majesty's Royal good fortune, and diligence, careful preparation and determination will not be found wanting on my part to carry it out." In any event, in this fourth letter, Cortés let the world know that he considered the northern area of the southern sea to be a favorable place for exploration. Here, Wagner's (*Spanish Voyages* 4) interpretation is most plausible: "[o]n renewing his efforts to explore the coast to the north, nothing more was heard of any strait; he had other and more tangible objects in view much more likely to redound to his own benefit."

In apparent response to his fourth letter, Cortés was ordered by the emperor on 24 November 1525 to return to Spain to discuss in person "the things that in your letter of 15 October 1524 you write me about, which are all so crucial and important to the service of our Lord and the spreading of the faith and our service and to good governance, settlement, and prosperity of that land" (DHC 6; Martínez, *Documentos* 346).

4.C. *A Hiatus in Cortés's South Sea Explorations*

On 15 December 1525, the royal comptroller Rodrigo de Albornoz (García Icazbalceta 1:484–511) reported to the emperor that he had endeavored with Cortés to send an expedition to seek and discover the strait that was said and believed to lead to the land of spices via the coast of the North Sea as well as that of the South Sea. Subsequently, many expeditionaries, returning from Honduras and passing through Tierra Firme (Castilla del Oro at the eastern end of the Isthmus of Panama), where Pedrarias Dávila ruled, reported that there was no strait, only solid land; likewise, along the North Sea in the direction of *Florida* there was no strait, according to those who had coasted it (García Icazbalceta 1:496). Nevertheless, the news was coming in about wealth to the south. Here Albornoz added information more concrete than his estimates of the distance (six to seven hundred leagues) from Zacatula to the Spice Islands; he had news of native trading vessels that were coming from the south.

Albornoz (García Icazbalceta 1:496) said that there were Indians who claimed that in that direction there were islands rich in pearls and precious stones and that, going south in particular, there was gold in abundance. Upon asking these Indians of the coast of Zacatula how they knew of the existence of those islands, they replied that they heard from their fathers and grandfathers that at regular intervals in the past, Indians from certain islands toward the South Sea used to come to that coast in great boats and brought many fine items to trade and exchanged them for items found on the mainland. Sometimes, when the sea was rough (because there tended to be greater waves in that part of the South Sea than in any other), those who

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came would stay for five or six months, until the good weather returned and the sea was calm.

Albornoz considered that there were very rich islands nearby and that with the two ships and one brigantine the sailors were ready and provisions in good supply to go there. But since the land was without a governor (Cortés being away in Honduras), Albornoz could in good conscience send only the brigantine. But it was too light for the great turbulence of the Pacific Sea, so the pilots refused to go. He insisted that someone be charged with carrying out this mission, for no one would do it without the backing of the emperor, "because I certify to Your Majesty that if I had carried a decree of three lines for this and other things, the road to the Land of Spices would have been discovered and along the way other islands of great benefit and interest" (García Icazbalceta 1:497).

Following his return to México-Tenochtitlán from Honduras around 19 June 1526, Cortés found himself subjected to a *residencia* (a royal investigation of the conduct of his public affairs) as well as orders to return personally to Spain and, somewhat later, to send his ships to the Moluccas (Martínez, *Documentos* 344–45, 346, 373–76). This left his plans to explore the South Sea in abeyance for the next six years, from 1526 to 1532 (León-Portilla 43–45; Wagner, *Spanish Voyages* 3–4, 291). Cortés's hopes for South Sea exploration in the 1520s, described briefly but eloquently in his third letter of relation, were not to be realized for a decade. Since 1522, he had undertaken the establishment of shipyards on the southwestern coast, at Zacatula and Tehuantepec (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 663). However, on 20 June 1526, the emperor ordered Cortés to send the ships he was rebuilding at Zacatula to the Moluccas to inquire about and assist those that had been sent out in 1525 and 1526 under the commands of García Jofre de Loaysa and Sebastian Cabot, respectively.

Whereas Cortés's third letter (written prior to his notice of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe) had spoken of riches and proximity to Asia, his fourth letter, despite its convoluted claims and counterclaims about the nearness or inaccessibility of the strait, was the source of considerable expectations about the wealth of the South Sea in its own right. The promise of wealth it held out for the men who set off on Narváez's expedition in 1527 was significant. For those who pored over the available information, Cortés's letters would have provided a significant stimulus to their own thinking. One of those readers had been Pánfilo de Narváez himself, who had succeeded in March 1527, only months before his departure for *Florida*, in getting the crown to issue a decree suppressing Cortés's published and unpublished letters (chap. 1, sec. 2.A.1).

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At this juncture, we have accumulated primarily from Cortés's letters the available information about the South Sea that would have accompanied Narváez and his men to *Florida*. We continue, however, to recount Cortés's seafaring exploration inasmuch as his activities are intimately connected to his quest to maintain and expand his control in New Spain. The fortunes of his governance in Mexico reveal, in turn, the changes taking place overall in governance in the Indies. These innovations are of interest to us insofar as they would affect the expectations of the three Castilians on their return to Spanish civilization.

5. THE CONQUISTADOR AND GOVERNANCE IN THE INDIES

With respect to the prospects for social prestige and material wealth of hidalgos who would become conquistadors, the case of Hernán Cortés is the most luminous inasmuch as it reveals what a conquistador could achieve in royal recognition and effective power. On 15 October 1522, the emperor issued a series of royal decrees whereby Hernán Cortés was named governor, captain general, and chief judge of New Spain, thus recognizing his deeds, justifying his actions, making him the head of civil government in New Spain, and uniting in his person the political, military, and judicial governance of the newly conquered territories (Martínez, *Documentos* 250–61; see Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 378–83). Cortés received the news about his official appointment at the end of May 1523, and it represented his final triumph over Diego Velázquez, whose prerogatives as his superior he had opposed since 1519 and perhaps even earlier. However, it is significant that in 1522 the fiscal responsibility for the new realm would be in the hands of royal officials: the treasurer, comptroller, factor, and inspector of mines (Martínez, *Documentos* 254–56). Another blow was dealt to Cortés when the official investigation (*residencia*) of his conduct in office, to have been undertaken by Luis Ponce de León in 1526 but not initiated until 1529 by Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, suspended Cortés's exercise of his judicial and administrative functions (Martínez, *Documentos* 344–45; CDI 26:284–85).

As Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 255–56 [chap. 166]) narrated the account of "how Cortés was made governor," the special commission headed by the new chancellor of the realm, Gattinara, listened to the case presented by Cortés's advocates and those of Velázquez and recommended that the emperor favor Cortés, making him "administrator and governor of New Spain and of all the lands he might conquer, praising and confirming all he had done in God's service and the king's." Although Bernal Díaz (Castillo 481b [chap. 168]) claimed that Narváez and Cristóbal de Tapia's visit to Castile to complain at court about Cortés preceded the Gattinara junta of

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1522, there is no positive evidence to suggest that Narváez was present on this early occasion; it was likely to be a later one, as we have already discussed (chap. 15, secs. 9.B, 11). In any case, the royal recognition received by Cortés would have been a strong incentive, even for his enemies such as Narváez, to pursue a course that would lead them to similar rewards, despite the curtailment of Cortés's powers beginning in the period 1522–26.

On 13 December 1527, only six months after Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition departed from Sanlúcar de Barrameda, the emperor established a royally appointed civil government in New Spain, naming Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán as the president of the First Audiencia. This body was similar to the one established in Santo Domingo by royal decree on 5 October 1511 as a tribunal of judges to constitute a court of appeals for civil and criminal cases (CDI 11:546–55), but it held even greater powers. (The Audiencia, as a collective body of permanent judges to administer justice, was instituted under that name by the Cortes of Toro in 1371, replacing an earlier forum for the administration of justice in Castile and León [García de Valdeavellano 563].) The *oidores* (judges) of the Audiencia of New Spain arrived in Mexico in December 1528, and Nuño de Guzmán assumed the presidency on 1 January 1529 (Aiton 18–19). One of the original four, Francisco Maldonado, was the brother of Cabeza de Vaca's fellow Narváez expeditionary, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado; Francisco Maldonado died shortly after his arrival in New Spain. The president of the Audiencia served as the governor of the region, and the Audiencia itself exercised both administrative and judicial powers.

Although the Audiencia was instituted before the office of viceroy in New Spain, after 1535 it was subordinated to that post (Haring 79). Only in 1535, the year prior to the four survivors' arrival in México-Tenochtitlán, did the emperor install a viceroy, the "king's lieutenant," to whom royal authority was delegated in his absence or on his behalf; the post was originally created by the crown of Aragon at the end of the fourteenth century (García de Valdeavellano 449). When the First Audiencia of New Spain was dissolved, Don Antonio de Mendoza was invited to take the position of viceroy in 1529, but since he needed time to arrange his own affairs, it was decided to name the Second Audiencia immediately. Mendoza's appointment as viceroy was announced publicly on 17 April 1535, and he arrived at Veracruz in October of that year (Aiton 22, 34, 41).

Thus, the seat of power in the Indies shifted dramatically during the years that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were in *Florida*. As noted, measures to both recognize and curtail Cortés's powers had begun in 1522, when the crown made him governor, captain general, and chief justice of New Spain yet took over the management of financial matters and, toward the end of the decade (although officially from 1526), when it suspended his judicial

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functions and governorship during the course of the official investigation of his tenure in office. From early 1529, when Guzmán arrived in the capital to take over the presidency of the First Audiencia, Cortés was left only with the management of the Indians and his military leadership as captain general. The era of the conquistador, private entrepreneurship, and the possibility of unbridled, unmonitored private gain was coming to an end.

Royal appointees—lawyers and ecclesiastics—were taking over the civil administration, and very few conquistadors were entrusted with any real administrative authority (Parry, *The Age* 176). As "viejos conquistadores" (Bernal Díaz's common term), they felt they were entitled to the rewards that had been stipulated by royal decree a year after the fall of México-Tenochtitlán. On 15 October 1522, the emperor extended to the "first conquerors who accompanied" Cortés ("los primeros conquistadores que con vos, dicho gobernador, fueren") the right to collect gold, take Indian slaves, and be exempt from certain taxes (Martínez, *Documentos* 259–61). In 1543, Charles V reluctantly but officially repeated royal recognition of the "first discoverers" of New Spain as those who had first entered the province and/or participated in winning the Aztec capital; he also mandated that those "primeros conquistadores" who had no allotments of Indians (*repartimientos*) were to be paid Indian tribute in compensation for their services (CDI 16:389–90; Elliott, "The Spanish Conquest" 191). "Old conquistadors" often complained that they were passed over for reward in favor of royal officials. One of the best sources of insight into the conquistadors' outlook in the early postconquest era, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, frequently uttered this grievance (Castillo 611 [chap. 201], 645–46 [chap. 207], 651–55 [chap. 210], 655–58 [chap. 211]) (see chap. 17, sec. 6.B).

6. CORTÉS AND THE SOUTH SEA (1527 TO 1539)

6.A. *To the Moluccas*

Cortés's ships were dispatched to the Moluccas at the end of October 1527 under the command of Cortés's cousin Álvar de Saavedra Cerón. Cortés prepared letters for Saavedra Cerón to take to the Moluccan lords he encountered; although these letters contained statements declaring the proximity of Mexico to the islands of Southeast Asia, they do not likely reflect Cortés's views about the proximity of the New World to Asia, for such assumptions would have been dispelled precisely by the information of the Magellan expedition. These letters suggest instead a political strategy whereby Cortés attempted to persuade his potential readers (princes of unknown lands and those holding Spanish expeditionaries as prisoners)

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to cooperate with an all-powerful emperor (Charles V) who was far away and his powerful representative (Cortés) who was, it seemed, threateningly near. Cortés, for example, told the emperor of the island of Cebu (in the Philippines) that he resided in the lands of the emperor, "which are very close to yours," and that they could communicate easily "because we are very close to one another and in a very short time we can be in contact" (Martínez, *Documentos* 462). Cortés wrote the same message to the king Tidore of the Moluccas, who also held European sailors prisoner (Martínez, *Documentos* 463).

In both cases, Cortés's statements represent a way of threatening the lords who presumably held members of the Magellan expedition captive; it is doubtful that his remarks reflected any notions of his own about geographical proximity. Martínez's (*Hernán Cortés* 486) assertion that Cortés believed in this proximity thus can be rejected. In a third letter sent with Saavedra Cerón to an unspecified island king, Cortés made a similar claim about geographic proximity but prefaced it by a contradictory remark that revealed the ruse. He stated that the emperor was unable to obtain all the information he desired about those regions, because, of the many ships he had sent out, only one had returned, "the road being so long and unknown" (Martínez, *Documentos* 459).

6.B. *South Sea Exploration and Rivalry with Nuño de Guzmán*

In Spain from 1528 to 1530, Cortés was granted in late 1529 his long-awaited *capitulaciones* for the discovery, exploration, and conquest of lands in the South Sea (CDI 12:490–94). According to the decree of 5 November 1529, he was permitted to settle any and all islands and mainland of the South Sea so long as he did not interfere with the jurisdictions of the appointed governors of Nueva Galicia, Nuño de Guzmán, and *Florida*, the now-presumed-dead Pánfilo de Narváez. His contract gave him the right to appoint royal officials and to claim one twelfth of the lands he discovered; he was granted the right to the governorship of the new territories, the title of *alguacil mayor* (chief law enforcement official), and the right to make other administrative appointments (Cuevas 278). According to a communication to the Council of the Indies that Juan de Ribera presented on Cortés's behalf (Cuevas 132), Cortés was not able to pursue that northern course until 1532; from then onward, he devoted considerable energy and resources to the Pacific and the Mexican northwest (León-Portilla 79, 81).

Arriving in New Spain in mid-1530 but prohibited from returning to México-Tenochtitlán, Cortés remained for a time in Texcoco, where he wrote to the emperor on 10 October 1530, complaining of the loss of much

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of his property due to Nuño de Guzmán's overrunning many of his lands, especially Michoacán, where Guzmán, Cortés (*Cartas y documentos* 493) claimed, provoked the people, robbed and murdered the Cazonci, and was now devastating the territories formerly pacified by Cortés. He considered, however, the worst of his losses to be the five ships that the emperor had ordered him to send to the Moluccas; when they were almost ready, the judges of the Audiencia imprisoned the person left in charge and suspended the work of the shipbuilders; now all lay in ruins as the ships were robbed and stripped. He declared that he considered the loss of this investment of about 20,000 *castellanos* to be worse than all the rest (totaling 300,000), because he knew well His Majesty's desire to learn the secrets of those regions, and he also desired to devote himself to that endeavor (Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* 494).

Cortés was able to construct new ships at Tehuantepec. On 30 June 1532, he sent out the Diego Hurtado de Mendoza expedition, which was lost, and all perished (León-Portilla 85–90). Departing from Acapulco, Hurtado de Mendoza's ship disappeared somewhere opposite Sinaloa. This outcome was confirmed by the 1533 Diego de Guzmán overland expedition, sent out by Nuño de Guzmán, which explored the lands of northwestern Mexico as far north as the Río Yaqui. En route northward Guzmán's men came upon items of European manufacture; upon their return they discovered that these objects (which by now included a hammer, a pick, a file, a rasp, the piece of a cape of woven wool, and a native necklace made of metal belt fasteners) had belonged to Hurtado shipwreck survivors who had been killed, according to Diego de Guzmán, at the settlement of Oremy (Orumeme) on the Río Tetamochala (Smith, *Colección* 101–02). Diego de Guzmán had taken formal possession of the river, naming it the Santiago (Smith, *Colección* 95); Bancroft (*History of the North Mexican States* 44), calling it the Tamotchala, correctly identified it as today's Río Fuerte. (The second reporter ["Segunda relación" 166] called this river the Tamachola and located it twenty leagues north of the Río Petatlán; it should not be confused with the Tamazula, one of the main tributaries of the Río Culiacán farther south; see map 9.) According to the native interpreters, the white strangers had come from the sea in a "house of wood," had traveled upriver to one of the settlements, and were killed in their sleep ("Segunda relación" 166–67; Smith, *Colección* 101–02). The other of Hurtado de Mendoza's two ships, commanded by Juan de Mazuela, turned back. In order to avoid Nuño de Guzmán's jurisdiction, they went on to the Bahía de Banderas, where they were all killed by natives of the area.

Cortés and Guzmán launched complaints against one another; the crown, knowing that to the south Pedro de Alvarado had also built and sent out ships, issued decrees on 19 August 1534 and 4 September 1534 that attempted to resolve the situation (García Icazbalceta 2:31–40). According to Nuño

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de Guzmán (CDI 12:445–47) in his formal response to the royal provision demanding that he return to Cortés his brigantine and its equipment, Mazuela's men were killed by Indians on the coast and inland in his domains; he complained furthermore that Cortés had trespassed onto his jurisdiction in Nueva Galicia and demanded that he be prohibited from doing so again. Regrettably, no information survives about any lands this first expedition might have discovered (León-Portilla 110).

From November 1532 to October 1533, Cortés had lived "in a hut" in Tehuantepec in order to supervise the construction of more ships (García Icazbalceta 2:36; Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 669–70, 724). On 30 October 1533, he sent out his second expedition into the South Sea from the port of Santiago in Colima; it consisted of two ships, commanded by Diego Becerra and Hernando de Grijalva (Martínez, *Hernán Cortés* 670–75). Grijalva's ship sailed west to discover the islands he named Santo Tomás, Roca Partida, and Anublada; today they are known as the islands of Revilla Gigedo and form part of the state of Colima (León-Portilla 110). Grijalva's ship returned to Tehuantepec. Becerra's men mutinied sailing to the north; under the direction of the mutineer Fortún Jiménez, Becerra's ship presumably reached the Gulf of Baja California. Upon its return, Nuño de Guzmán confiscated Becerra's ship and all its goods (León-Portilla 100).

According to Cortés's response to the 19 August 1534 royal provision regarding discoveries in the South Sea (García Icazbalceta 2:36), the mutineering pilot, Fortún Jiménez, having killed Becerra, cast the wounded soldiers and some Franciscan friars on the shore. The men surviving the attack in Baja California were the ones who had remained on the ship; on returning to Jalisco, they were tortured and imprisoned by Guzmán, who thus silenced them as he took the ship and all its goods. This was the second expedition of Cortés thwarted by Nuño de Guzmán.

The "Real provisión sobre descubrimientos en el Mar del Sur" of 1534 prohibited Cortés from sending any expedition into the South Sea unless otherwise notified by the crown (García Icazbalceta 2:33; León-Portilla 99). The two decrees of this *real provisión* reveal the nature of Cortés and Guzmán's rivalry over the South Sea. The first, directed to Nuño de Guzmán, commanded him to return Cortés's ship and its equipment to him and whomever of its men who might be in Guzmán's power; Guzmán was told to devote himself to the governorship of Nueva Galicia to which the crown had appointed him, and he was reminded that he had no contract for South Sea exploration or island and mainland conquest related thereto. He was likewise prohibited from conquering or settling any islands in the sea (there had been rumors of an island of gold and pearls) (García Icazbalceta 2:32–33).

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The second decree to Cortés prohibited him from taking the island in question as well as from trying to get his ship back on his own authority; he was to wait for it to be returned as stipulated. He replied by stating that he had formally accepted the order in the customary manner, taking it in his hands, kissing it, and placing it above his head as he removed his head covering. But he went on to detail his complaints against Nuño de Guzmán and then announced that he had built four new ships at the expense of fifty thousand *castellanos*, because of "the importance to His Majesty's service of discovering, conquering, and settling the lands and islands of the South Sea," stating that he intended to pursue this goal, in spite of "being the age he was" (fifty years old) (García Icazbalceta 2:33–34, 36, 39; León-Portilla 100).

6.c. *Cortés Leads the Expedition of 1535–36*

Cortés personally went on his third expedition of 15 April 1535 to April 1536. His three ships met his military troops, which had traveled overland to Chiametla, Sinaloa, in Nueva Galicia. After a stand-off with Guzmán, who sent representatives to Ixtlán to prohibit Cortés's passage with his army and horses on the way to the ships but decided to oppose him through the courts (the Audiencia) rather than confront him with force, Cortés embarked with three ships from Chiametla in April (León-Portilla 103–04). They disembarked in the Bay of Santa Cruz at La Paz on 3 May 1535. In His Majesty's name, Cortés took formal possession of that land and "all the others that he might discover"; the document is transcribed by León-Portilla (105–06). (See maps 9 and 10 and fig. 13.)

Although in his response to the royal provision in 1534 Cortés had not indicated that the mutineer Fortún Jiménez had discovered the bay called Santa Cruz, in the formal taking of possession he described the bay as "newly discovered" (León-Portilla 105), and Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 308–09 [chaps. 197–98]) later stated that Jiménez had landed and disembarked at the Bay of Santa Cruz before being killed and that two men who escaped communicated the news. In narrating Cortés's voyage, Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 310 [chap. 198]) also referred to an island called "the Island of Pearls that I think was so named by Fortún Jiménez, which is next to the island of Santiago." The absence of any claim to it by Cortés in 1534 suggests that Gómara's interpretation might have been a retrospective one, designed to insure that the lands and waters of Baja California had been the rightful discoveries of Cortés's expeditionaries on his behalf and could not be claimed by anyone else.

Shortly after taking possession at the Bay of Santa Cruz, Cortés sent two of his ships back to the mainland to bring the remainder of the expedition;

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Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 309 [chap. 198]) indicated that there were some 300 men, 37 women, and 130 horses to be brought across the sea, which Gómara described as being "like the Adriatic." One of these ships went to Jalisco, where it ran aground and its occupants returned to the city of Mexico; the other went to Guayabal in Sinaloa and greatly delayed its return. Cortés took sixty men in the last vessel that remained and crossed the gulf; encountering the ship returning to Santa Cruz, he was told about the fate of the one that went to Jalisco, whose men returned to México-Tenochtitlán. Nuño de Guzmán had some of these men testify in a *probanza* against Cortés when they stopped in Compostela en route to the capital (León-Portilla 108).

Cortés went on to San Miguel de Culiacán, which was sixteen leagues from Guayabal, and bought the necessary provisions of livestock and maize at usury prices, according to Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 310 [chap. 198]), who said that he learned there that Don Antonio de Mendoza had arrived in New Spain as viceroy. The date of Mendoza's arrival was 14 or 15 November 1535. Cortés's return to the Bay of Santa Cruz was troubled by winds that blew him away from the coast, but he finally succeeded in entering the port. He arrived to find five of the men he had left there dead from starvation, and more died on eating too greedily the provisions that he brought. Given the arrival of a viceroy in New Spain, Cortés decided to put Francisco de Ulloa in charge of the settlement at Santa Cruz and return to Tehuantepec, looking for Grijalva's ship along the way.

One of his own caravels arrived at the bay at this time, sent from New Spain by his wife, the marquise Juana de Zúñiga, to search for him. Gómara did not give the source of this mission as Doña Juana, but Bernal Díaz (Castillo 605b [chap. 200]) painted it in detail. She had sent two ships: one was that in which Grijalva had returned to New Spain from his 1533 expedition with Becerra; the other was a new craft, just built at Tehuantepec. Bernal Díaz said that they brought with them all the provisions they could carry plus two letters for Cortés, one from his distraught wife, whose only news of the expedition had been about the ship that had run aground at Jalisco, and the other from the viceroy Mendoza, urging Cortés to come home at once. Cortés returned to Acapulco, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in command at the Bay of Santa Cruz. Sometime later, all the men remaining there sailed home.

What were the achievements of Cortés's voyage? León-Portilla (110–11) argued that the cartographic evidence reveals that the advance in geographical knowledge was considerable, mapping for the first time the coasts of northwestern Mexico and the southern end of Baja California. A map conserved in the AGI (Mapas y Planos, México 6, California Meridional 1535), attributed to this voyage of Cortés and reproduced here (fig. 13) as

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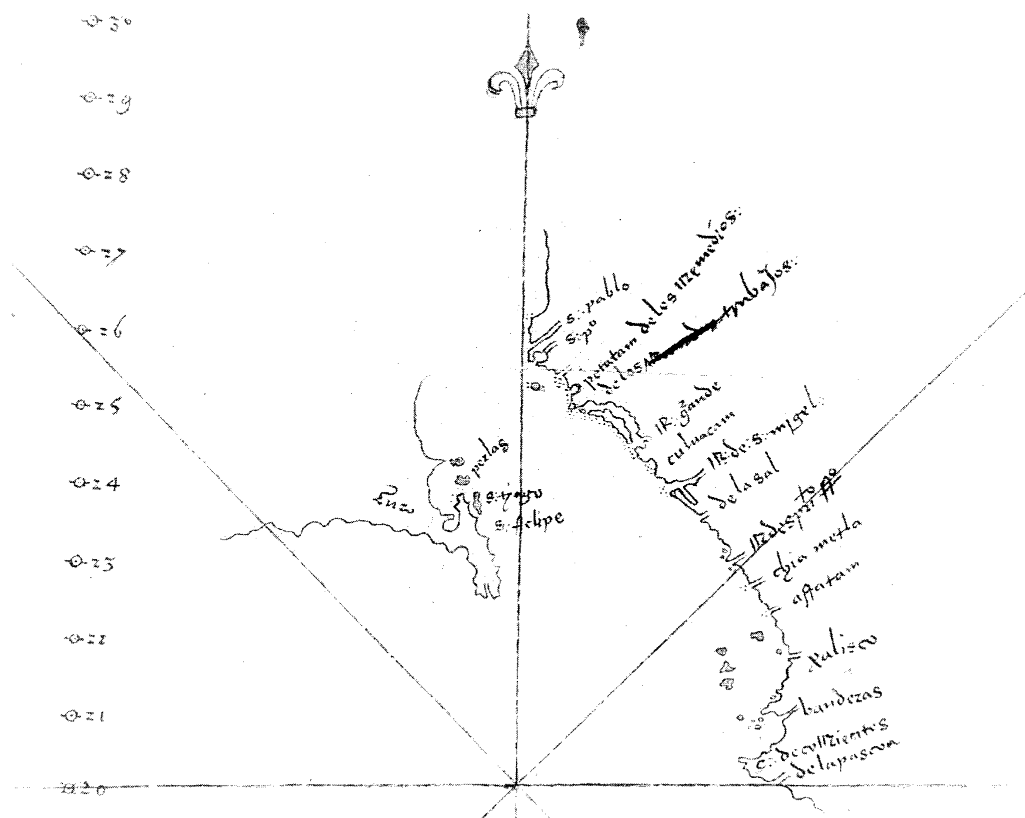

Figure 13. Map showing coastlines of Baja California and northwestern Mexico, attributed to Hernán Cortés's South Sea expedition of 1535–36. AGI, Mapas y Planos, México 6, California Meridional 1535. Courtesy of Spain's Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, Archivo General de Indias.

well as in León-Portilla (facing 136), reveals that Cortés had succeeded in reconnoitering the southern end of Baja California, the bay of La Paz, and the islands located thereabouts. These were identified as the islands of Santiago (today, Cerralvo) and the two named Pearl (today, Espíritu Santo and Partida), as well as the island of San Felipe (León-Portilla 138).

Shortly after Cortés returned from his voyage of discovery to Baja California, news arrived from San Miguel de Culiacán that four survivors of the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition had arrived there; it had been eight years since the three-hundred-man expedition that had set out overland along the coastal interior of the Florida Peninsula had disappeared. Nuño de Guzmán would receive these four survivors of the overland expedition in Compostela on their way to México-Tenochtitlán, and both the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and Hernán Cortés would greet them in the capital of New Spain. For each of these three parties, the news brought by these explorers-by-default must have underscored the rivalry that existed among

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them: Guzmán's claims to expand his dominion in Nueva Galicia against the claims of Cortés; Cortés's efforts to hold on to his contract for South Sea exploration; and now the new viceroy's eagerness to lay claim to all sea and land discoveries.

6.D. *Cortés Looks to the South*

In the face of this competition and before the arrival of the four survivors in México-Tenochtitlán with their news of the north at the end of July 1536, Cortés had developed plans to exploit the Mar del Sur to the south, arranging in Acapulco on 17 April 1536, according to Woodrow Borah, a trade contract with a merchant who would represent him in Peru (León-Portilla 116). But these plans to develop South Sea commerce with Peru were held in abeyance by a more pressing matter. A few months after this contract was signed, a messenger from the viceroy Mendoza informed Cortés that Francisco Pizarro was in dire straits in Lima and had written on 20 July 1536 to Pedro de Alvarado, asking for his help; Alvarado, now the governor of Guatemala, had been bought off by Pizarro a year and a half earlier when Alvarado attempted to invade Cuzco (Hemming 209, 575).

According to Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 311 [chap. 198]), Mendoza sent a copy of Pizarro's letter to Alvarado to Cortés; Pizarro asked for help in a general appeal to the governors of the Indies, saying that the city of Lima was under siege and continuous fighting, that his only escape was by sea, and that if he did not receive help soon, all would be lost. The situation was that Pizarro, in Lima, had not heard from his brothers fighting Manco Inca in Cuzco for months; meanwhile, the Inca captain, Quizu Yupanqui, was ordered by Manco Inca to destroy Lima (Hemming 210).

According to Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 311 [chap. 198]), Cortés responded immediately by sending two ships under the command of Hernando de Grijalva to Peru to aid Pizarro; they had been originally destined for Francisco de Ulloa and his men left at the Bay of Santa Cruz in Baja California. Cortés sent food and provisions, arms, and gifts for Pizarro. When Grijalva sent the ship back to Mexico, Cortés once again sent it south to Peru, this time with sixty men, eleven pieces of artillery, seventeen horses, sixty coats of mail, many firearms, and other supplies. (Gómara made the point that Cortés was compensated for none of this, since Pizarro was assassinated, and Grijalva had stolen the jewels and gifts that Pizarro had sent for Doña Juana de Zúñiga.) However, Cortés apparently did not know that Grijalva's ship left Paita, Peru, in April 1537 and pursued a course, along the equator, in the direction of the Moluccas. The men mutinied, killed Grijalva, and landed at one of the islands near New Guinea, where

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they were captured by the islanders; the seven survivors were later ransomed by the Portuguese governor Antonio Galvao from the fortress of Ternate in the Moluccas (León-Portilla 118).

Cortés apparently made one more attempt, in 1538, to continue southward explorations in the South Sea and to sell goods (mostly arms) in Peru. His limited success no doubt impelled him to turn his attention back to northern exploration of the South Sea. During the period of 1538 to 1540, he also arranged some three voyages to Panama as commercial ventures. His limited success here also underscored the desirability of continuing exploration and, hopefully, settlement on the lands of Baja California in the South Sea. The lack of success in his southward ventures and the fact that he still held a contract for South Sea exploration with the crown, despite the increasing rivalry of the viceroy (Nuño de Guzmán by now had been removed from office and imprisoned), would have been the most important factors in his sending his fourth (and final) voyage north on the South Sea in 1539. The news brought back by the Cabeza de Vaca party about the wealth of the South Sea to the north no doubt served as catalyst (but not cause) to expeditiously carry out this last of Cortés's several major efforts at South Sea exploration.

6.E. *The Final Voyage to the North (1539)*

Wagner (*Spanish Voyages* 8) asserted that all the ensuing northbound sea voyages and land expeditions for the six years following the arrival of the Cabeza de Vaca party to México-Tenochtitlán could in some way be considered a result of the news they brought. Yet his emphasis on Cabeza de Vaca's reports is too strong when he says that all these expeditions "may be justly considered as having been brought about by his story" (Wagner, *Spanish Voyages* 8). As we have seen, Cortés already had a substantial history of South Sea exploration to the north when he undertook the voyage of July 1539. Nevertheless, the key factor in the great rivalry that developed between Hernán Cortés and the viceroy Mendoza was the pursuit of exclusive rights to conquest and exploration to the north.

In the beginning, the marquis and the viceroy seem to have made great efforts to get along. At least in the public ceremonial events of the capital, they seem to have appeared as comradely, reigning aristocrats. They cosponsored, for example, the festivities to celebrate the peace declared between the emperor and Francis I of France in 1538, which Bernal Díaz (Castillo 608b [chap. 201]) had described as more spectacular than anything he had witnessed in Castile, just as they had sponsored in the same city the public festival on the day of Saint James, 25 July 1536, to which Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were witness (see chap. 10, sec. 1).

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After his return to New Spain from the voyage of discovery to Baja California in 1536, Cortés reminded the crown that he held the exclusive rights to "the discovery of the islands and mainland of the South Sea" in letters to the emperor of 1536 (date unspecified) and 25 June 1540 (Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* 403–06, 406–11). After the viceroy's arrival in 1535, and Cortés's missions to Peru in 1536, Cortés (*Cartas y documentos* 530–35) wrote to the Council of the Indies on 20 September 1538 to inform them that he was ready to send out another expedition: he had nine ships outfitted and ready to go, and he merely needed the council's help in getting pilots because his own efforts to do so in Panama and elsewhere had been unsuccessful. Although he admitted that his previous efforts at South Sea exploration had not met with the success he desired nor the rewards to pay back his already great investment, he was confident that future prospects were better, because "the one who governs now," namely, Don Antonio de Mendoza, took a different and more positive view of the matter than had "those who governed before," most particularly, Nuño de Guzmán.

However, on 7 March 1539, the viceroy Mendoza sent his own first overland reconnaissance mission north from San Miguel de Culiacán; it was headed by Fray Marcos de Niza, who was accompanied by Estevanico and another Franciscan friar. Fray Marcos returned to Compostela by the end of July, bringing reports of having arrived at the first of the seven cities of Cíbola and recounting his version of Estevanico's death and the massacre of the Indians who accompanied him (see chap. 11, sec. 2). Writing to the emperor on 25 June 1540, Cortés (*Cartas y documentos* 406–07) accused Fray Marcos of having given completely falsified reports (as he was known to have done about Peru and Guatemala, says Cortés) that were based entirely on the account that Cortés had given him upon his return from the land of Santa Cruz (Baja California): "all that the said friar claims to have seen, he says and has told solely on the basis of what I had told him about information that I got from the Indians of the aforementioned land of Santa Cruz that I brought back with me" (Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* 407). For evaluations of Fray Marcos's report that sustain Cortés's contention about its falsity but not its source, see Wagner ("Fr. Marcos") and Sauer ("The Discovery"). Regarding the Seven Cities of Cíbola, Nuño de Guzmán was commonly but probably erroneously named as the first to mention them in exploration north of New Spain (see chap. 17, sec. 9.D).

To pursue his own northern explorations in the summer of 1539, Cortés again sent out Francisco de Ulloa with three ships to La Paz on 8 July (Wagner, *Spanish Voyages* 10, 11–14, 15–50; Castillo 606b [chap. 200]). Cortés (*Cartas y documentos* 408) stated that he ordered Ulloa to go "along the coast in search of the aforementioned land" of which he had had prior notice. Meanwhile,

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on the strength of Fray Marcos's false report, Mendoza had posted soldiers at each port along the coast where Ulloa's fleet was likely to stop with orders to take the sails of the ships and to gather intelligence about the lands the expedition sought. Upon the return of one of the ships to inform Cortés of the expedition's discoveries, it stopped at port in Colima and dispatched a messenger. The sailor was captured and tortured, according to Cortés (*Cartas y documentos* 408), but would reveal nothing. Taking him back to port and discovering that the ship had departed, Mendoza's force followed the vessel for 120 leagues to the port of Guatulco (map 11). When the ship had to stop there, Mendoza's men boarded it, arrested the pilot and sailors, and confiscated the ship.

Mendoza took over control of all ships entering or leaving from South Sea ports, thus prohibiting anyone from leaving the country without his specific permission; this was done on 24 or 25 August 1539 (Wagner, *Spanish Voyages* 10, 292), with the result that Cortés was unable to send any ships in aid of Ulloa's expedition (Cortés, *Cartas y documentos* 408). Cortés petitioned the Audiencia for permission to aid Ulloa on 4 September 1539; permission was denied, and on 1 March 1540 he moved his request to the Council of the Indies. Finally, on 25 June 1540 the Council of the Indies ordered Mendoza and the Audiencia to refrain from interfering with Cortés and his contractual right to carry out his explorations and conquest (Wagner, *Spanish Voyages* 10, 292). Cortés had returned to Spain in December 1539 or January 1540 for the last time; with this turn of events, his South Sea explorations came to an end.

The achievements of this fourth and final voyage were considerable. Ulloa and his men succeeded in outlining both sides of the Gulf of California and verifying that Baja California was a peninsula (León-Portilla 136). These geographical discoveries soon made their way into universal cartography; León-Portilla (136) signaled the significance: from 1542, these territories appeared in the famous maps of Agnese (1542), Alonso de Santa Cruz (1542), and Sebastián Cabot (1544), and, as the toponyms used indicated, these discoveries were identified as those of the marqués del Valle, Hernán Cortés, rather than Hernando de Alarcón, whom the viceroy Mendoza sent out on 9 May 1540. The two firsthand accounts of Cortés's expedition were Francisco de Ulloa's own report and the one prepared by Francisco Preciado; Alarcón's is known only in its Italian translation, published in the third volume of Gian Battista Ramusio's *Navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1556).

7. THE SOUTH SEA IN RELATION TO MAINLAND GOALS

Old soldiers of Cortés like Bernal Díaz del Castillo did not know how to assess these efforts at seagoing exploration. Bernal Díaz's interests, of course, were

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far removed from that sphere, and when he reported that he had heard that Cortés's wife had chided him for his maritime efforts, recommending instead that he stay at home "with his heroic deeds and the universal fame he already enjoys," he may well be referring to his own aspirations as a "viejo conquistador" as much as to Doña Juana's hopes for her husband (Castillo 605b [chap. 200]). Although Bernal Díaz (Castillo 606b [chap. 200]) thought Cortés's voyages yielded very little ("he never had any good fortune after winning New Spain"), Cortés's discoveries made him a major explorer of the South Sea. While his accomplishments were significant, the question remains as to what Cortés sought in his seagoing explorations and how they were related to the political situation that prevailed in México-Tenochtitlán in the mid-1530s.

After the failure of the Hurtado de Mendoza expedition, when Cortés spent the months from November 1532 to at least June 1533 at the port of Tehuantepec building more ships, he had sent a memorandum to the Council of the Indies that Juan de Ribera delivered probably to Burgos in July 1533 (Cuevas 129–40). First, he reminded the council of his arrival at the South Sea in 1522 and of the treasures that Juan de Ribera had brought to court in early 1523. (These treasures—although not from the South Sea but the lands of New Spain lying near it—were reported by Pietro Martire and also described by Cervantes de Salazar, as indicated above [sec. 4.A].)

Next, Cortés laid out his plans to explore the gulf or gulfs of the South Sea and to seek the Spice Islands. In compensation for these projected services, he sought a contract with the crown that would provide him with: (1) the rights in perpetuity to the governance of all the lands and islands he might discover; (2) one tenth of the income, in perpetuity, from the riches that those lands produced; (3) the ownership of three islands of his choice (no doubt he had in mind the Spice Islands), as well as one fifth of the income and rights that would derive from his discovery and navigation to the Spice Islands (León-Portilla 94–95; Cuevas 133–34). Furthermore, he sought a plenary absolution from the pope for all the expeditionaries who might perish in the "discovery, pacification, and settlement of the South Sea" (Cuevas 140).

These objectives reveal that Cortés's initiatives in sea exploration had a great deal to do with the crowding out of his authority in New Spain. His prerogatives there had been seriously reduced, and Nuño de Guzmán actively threatened him from the northwestern province of Nueva Galicia until his removal from office in 1537. After that time and as the prospect of new discoveries to the north became more attractive (enhanced, in part, by the Cabeza de Vaca party's reports), the viceroy Mendoza became Cortés's most important rival in New Spain. Summing up in the penultimate chapter of his *Historia de la conquista de México* the situation that brought Cortés

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and Mendoza into serious contention (namely, the pursuit of the north), Gómara observed:

> Cortés and Don Antonio de Mendoza fought badly over the incursion into Cíbola, each one—Don Antonio as viceroy, Cortés as captain general—claiming that the right to do so was exclusively his, due to the concessions granted by the emperor. Such words passed between the two that they never reestablished cordial relations, in spite of having been great friends. Thus, they said and wrote a thousand bad things about one another—all of which hurt and discredited them both. (*Historia de la conquista* 373 [chap. 251])

Cortés was not a sea explorer, and his pursuit of lands to govern in the north—not merely to provide wealth—suggests the nature of the pressures he felt. Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 312 [chap. 199]) summed up Cortés's efforts at South Sea exploration:

> Hernán Cortés thought that on that coast and sea he would find another New Spain, but he did nothing more than I have already said, in spite of the many ships he outfitted and going there himself. It is evident that there are many great islands and very rich ones between New Spain and the Spice Islands. He spent 200,000 ducats, according to the accounting he gave, in these discoveries on which he sent many more ships and people than he had originally planned; they were the reason, as we will later see, why he needed to return to Spain and ended up earning the enmity of the viceroy Don Antonio and having a suit against the king regarding [Cortés's right to] his [Indian] vassals; but no one ever devoted himself with greater spirit to such endeavors.

As to the competition between Cortés and Mendoza for those discoveries, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado testified as a friendly witness in Mendoza's 1547 *residencia* to the effect that early on Cortés had attempted to enlist the viceroy in private ventures to the north. Coronado claimed that Cortés tried to use him to induce the viceroy to join Cortés, offering to underwrite the entire cost himself, in order to obtain Mendoza's collaboration (Aiton and Rey 310–11). However, Coronado's defense of the high moral ground presumably occupied by the viceroy and his accusation that Cortés had tried to bribe the viceroy were in response to one of the charges made by the prosecuting officer against Mendoza to the effect that he had engaged in personal attempts at discovery not authorized by the crown and that his enterprise greatly abused the natives, who in response started the devastating Mixton War against the Spanish (Aiton and Rey 310n61).

Although Cortés's official fortunes were declining as the Narváez expedition made ready its departure (his government was under investigation, and the fiscal affairs of New Spain were in the hands of royal officials), the Audiencia was not instituted in New Spain until the Narváez expedition

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was wintering in Cuba in 1527; the office of the viceroy of New Spain came into being only as its four survivors began their cross-continental trek from Tamaulipas north- and westward in late 1535. Antonio de Mendoza landed at Veracruz in October of that year. While the Narváez expedition knew, prior to its departure from Sanlúcar in 1527, that Nuño de Guzmán had been named governor of Pánuco in 1525, the four survivors would discover, as they passed to the south of the Río Petatlán in northwestern New Spain in the first days of 1536, that he was now the governor of a province of New Spain called Nueva Galicia. The world had changed in the years since their departure from Cuba in 1528, and although Cabeza de Vaca discretely did not comment on these events, not being directly relevant to his *relación*, his brief references to Guzmán, Cortés, and Mendoza belied an awareness of the changes of the previous decade and a half and the need to confront their implications in assessing prospects for his own future.

Although Cortés was immensely wealthy, he presented the most dramatic case of this phenomenon. Going to Castile in 1528, he had been showered with honors and the title of marquis. Yet in 1530, upon his return to New Spain, he was prevented from entering the city he had conquered, and he was never reinstated as head of its civil government. In 1536, Hernán Cortés, the marqués del Valle, welcomed the Narváez expedition survivors to the city he no longer ruled.

Two promises had been held out by Cortés's third and fourth letters that were surely known, if not read, by the three Castilians. One was the promise of the wealth of the South Sea; the other, the status to which a conquistador might aspire if favored by the crown for his services. Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* seems to imply substantial prospects for the former, even after the *Florida* sojourn. Yet the Narváez men could not have maintained their earlier high hopes about the latter. The men of their generation most prominently engaged in South Sea exploration to the north were also locked in competition for power and influence in Spanish domains increasingly ruled and regulated by the crown. By the mid-1530s, the rivalry among the newly titled conquistador Cortés, the aristocratic governor of Nueva Galicia, and the noble viceroy of New Spain revealed that there were not Mexicos enough to satisfy their ambitions. If these men looked to the north, a quest that the Narváez survivors' reports explicitly or implicitly corroborated, Cabeza de Vaca—after having failed to compete with De Soto for *Florida*—would soon turn his ambitions to the south. With respect to the reports that circulated about the possibilities of the South Sea to the north, Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* ironically seems to have renewed the promise implied if not expressed in Cortés's brief and allusive remarks about the South Sea in his third and fourth letters.

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CHAPTER 17

Nuño de Guzmán (c. 1490 to 1558) and the Conquest of Nueva Galicia

1. INTRODUCTION

Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán occupied the governorship of Nueva Galicia when he received Cabeza de Vaca and his companions at its capital, the *villa* of Compostela, in May 1536. In that year, Guzmán was at the height of his disintegrating powers as the conqueror of a domain in northwestern Mexico as large as the one that Cortés himself had conquered in the central valley and southward. Although Cabeza de Vaca mentioned Guzmán in only a single line or two, this aristocratic royal official cast a long shadow over the period of the writing and publications of the *relación.* Of particular relevance is his conquest of Nueva Galicia, the aftermath of which Cabeza de Vaca and his fellows witnessed and reported in the Joint Report and Cabeza de Vaca described in his *relación* (f56v–f63v). But this was only the last part of Guzmán's story, the first chapters of which implicate the days in which the Narváez expedition set out.

Born in the late 1480s or early 1490s and deceased in 1558 (Chipman, "New Light" 342–43, "The Will" 248), Guzmán was one of the most controversial figures of the early colonial administration of New Spain. He was the first governor of the province of Pánuco (1527–33, appointed 1525), president of the First Audiencia of New Spain (1529–30), conqueror of northwestern Mexico (1530–31), and governor of its territories under the name of Nueva Galicia (1531–January 1537).

Seeking to impose the name "Mayor España" on the area he conquered (CDI 13:388), he was, after Garay, Cortés's second rival for power in New Spain. Some observers at the time lauded the fruits of Guzmán's Indies career, others condemned them soundly, and still others—such as Oviedo and Bernal Díaz del Castillo, for very different reasons—could not choose between condemnation and praise. Although the judgments for and against Nuño de Guzmán help us to constitute the themes of his career and historical reputation, the doubt left in the mind of a serious historian like Oviedo, as well as the somewhat self-contradictory position of a "viejo conquistador" like Bernal Díaz, who was caught between personal interest and the desire to

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take the high moral ground, shed light on the controversial career of Nuño de Guzmán.

"Generous and of noble background," as described by Bernal Díaz del Castillo (592b [chap. 196]), Guzmán was a gentleman from the city of Guadalajara in Castile and partly of Galician descent, according to Oviedo (*Historia* 3:559ab, 561a [bk. 34, chap. 1]), who described him as an able captain, a valiant soldier, and a governor "who came to be despised as quickly as any other." Oviedo refused to judge Guzmán but noted that some considered his service to the emperor to have been very good, while others condemned him as a harsh ruler. Although Guzmán earned Oviedo's admiration, it was not in an unqualified manner. As Oviedo (*Historia* 3:563a [bk. 34, chap. 3]) began the second of two accounts that he offered of the conquest of Nueva Galicia, he observed, "[A]s time little by little teaches and leads us to understand, what we knew or understood in one way yesterday, we will come to know differently tomorrow."

2. CABEZA DE VACA AND NUÑO DE GUZMÁN

Cabeza de Vaca and his companions met Guzmán personally in Compostela, the capital of Nueva Galicia, on the last leg of their return to Spanish civilization in New Spain. The latest theater of Guzmán's operations was exactly the area that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions traversed after they came out of the highlands of the Sierra Madre Occidental and into the area that had been invaded by the Spaniards; they found an Indian wearing ornaments of European manufacture at the Río Yaqui, which was the northernmost point of Guzmán's incursions that had been reached in 1533 by one of his captains, Diego de Guzmán.

By the time he wrote the final version of his *relación* sometime between late 1537 and 1540, Cabeza de Vaca would have heard a great deal about Guzmán during the waning days of his governorship in Compostela in the autumn of 1536 and after his dramatic arrest by the *licenciado* Diego Pérez de la Torre on 20 January 1537 in the palace of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in the capital. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were in México-Tenochtitlán during most of that time. With Guzmán's arrest, one of the most powerful men in the Indies was removed from the arena of public action, drawn to the sidelines with the help of his principal enemies, Hernán Cortés and Fray Juan de Zumárraga, who, like Guzmán, were among the most influential men in New Spain. Given his own interest in an Indies career, it is not surprising that Cabeza de Vaca was silent when not neutral on the subject of Guzmán.

On the face of it, Guzmán was as irrelevant to Cabeza de Vaca's personal account of his deeds to his king as were the viceroy and the marquis, who are

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likewise mentioned in the space of a single sentence or two. Nevertheless, the fresh controversy surrounding Guzmán constituted the immediate circumstances of Indies debate at the Castilian court just as Cabeza de Vaca prepared to make his way into the same labyrinthine antechambers of the head of the Castilian state in search of another royal commission. Furthermore, even when Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado prepared the Joint Report in the late summer months of 1536 in Mexico, they would have already understood the resonance that their tale of repopulating the abandoned lands of Sinaloa and resettling its peoples would have had for the authorities who had heard of the devastation in the area governed by Nuño de Guzmán.

So that we may likewise understand the stakes of the debates into which the Joint Report, and most especially Cabeza de Vaca's *relación*, fed at the time of their writing, we reconstruct the pertinent episodes of Nuño de Guzmán's career and especially his conquest of Nueva Galicia. We begin by reviewing the sources.

3. SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF NUEVA GALICIA

3.A. *The Original Accounts*

Oviedo gave the best insight into the historiography of the career of Nuño de Guzmán and particularly that of the conquest of Nueva Galicia. Oviedo's book 34 (*Historia* 3:557ab [proem]), which treats the "province and governance of Nueva Galicia," begins with the observation that although inexperienced men have difficulty putting things right, so too do those who are experienced in their craft; even the latter find it necessary continually to "amend or enlarge and correct their doctrines, as is seen each day with navigational maps, the most recent being more accurate and superior because they correct their predecessors."

This was a fitting beginning to his account of the conquest of Nueva Galicia, because its partisans and critics—many of whom had been its protagonists—waged a war in words appearing in retrospect to have been more sustained than the battles of the conquest had been. While all the available accounts offered similar information about the country explored and the peoples conquered (Sauer and Brand 50), the major difference between the war's partisans and critics concerned judgments about the justice or cruelty with which the conquered peoples were treated. Here, there were two key issues, and the historical reputation of Nuño de Guzmán rested upon them: the execution of the Cazonci of Michoacán and the question of Indian slavery. These were the problems that led Oviedo to reflect that what we may understand one way today will be determined to be otherwise tomorrow. In his first version of the conquest of Nueva Galicia, Oviedo

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(*Historia* 3:560b [bk. 34, chap. 1]) argued that the Cazonci was cruelly and wrongly executed; in the second, that the Cazonci's crimes and treachery brought him to a just end (*Historia* 3:565ab [bk. 34, chap. 4]).

The conquest of Nueva Galicia is known through several firsthand accounts written in the 1530s (Sauer and Brand 41n13): Guzmán's letters (CDI 13:356–93, 407–20); the four so-called anonymous accounts of the conquest of Nueva Galicia (Carrera Stampa); the reports, respectively, of García del Pilar and Juan de Sámano (García Icazbalceta 2:249–61, 262–87), Gonzalo López (CDI 14:411–61), and Pedro de Carranza (CDI 14:347–73); a version of the lost *relación* of Don Francisco Pantecatl (son of the lord of Acaponeta, witness of the conquest, and author of a report about it; see Tello 33–40 [bk. 2, chaps. 3–7]); and the Lienzo de Tlaxcala (a series of Tlaxcalan paintings of the conquest rendered as a *relación de servicios* by the lords of Tlaxcala to the crown; see Chavero).

Reading these accounts makes clear two points. First, each was authored by an individual who made evident his position, either as a partisan of Guzmán or as a critic. Some of the latter were Cortés supporters whom Guzmán had recruited against their will or by deception (Oviedo, *Historia* 3:560a [bk. 34, chap. 1]) to go along on the conquest expedition to the north so that they would not be available to welcome the newly titled Hernán Cortés back to New Spain in 1530. Zumárraga (CDI 13:178), for example, complained that Guzmán in effect had left México-Tenochtitlán unprotected and indefensible. Second, the war was not universally understood to be a public scandal in the years following it; it was instead part of a broad public controversy in which at least two clearly defined positions can be identified. That is, while Guzmán may have become history's villain, he was certainly not the emperor's at the time. Despite his conduct in the war of the conquest of Nueva Galicia, he was named its governor; despite his arrest in 1537 and the lengthy investigations of his conduct, he was kept for the remainder (eighteen years) of his life as a gentleman at court, where Cabeza de Vaca would again have met him (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 9). Cabeza de Vaca's treatment in the *relación* of the actions for which Guzmán was responsible sidestepped the controversy that swirled around him in the last years of the 1530s; he was controversial, but he was not universally condemned.

Joaquín García Icazbalceta (2:xliv, liii), who owned the manuscripts of the aforementioned four anonymous *relaciones* of the conquest of Nueva Galicia, identified them only by number (first, second, third, and fourth), describing the latter two accounts as part of a "precious codex from the sixteenth century" that was in his possession. This identification was followed by Manuel Carrera Stampa in his 1955 republication of García Icazbalceta's transcriptions. In 1963, José Luis Razo Zaragoza published the available

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accounts but identified the second anonymous account as that of Pedro de Guzmán (Razo Zaragoza 270) and the fourth as that of Cristóbal de Flores (Razo Zaragoza 182); he identified García Icazbalceta's third *relación* as the first (Razo Zaragoza 286), García Icazbalceta's first as his second (Razo Zaragoza 316), and, as his third, a document that belonged to the royal cosmographer, "Alonso de Santa [Cruz]" (Razo Zaragoza 330), but that pertained to the Mixton War and the period when Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was governor of Nueva Galicia. We maintain here the original designations of García Icazbalceta.

These accounts were evidently given as sworn testimony before the Audiencia. Like Gonzalo López's (CDI 14:411–61) *relación* addressed to "your lordship and your honors" [vuestra señoría y mercedes], the third anonymous account is directed to "your most reverend lordship" [vuestra reverendísima señoría], and the fourth is likewise addressed to dignitaries: "your reverend lordship and your magnificent sirs" [al muy reverendo y muy magníficos señores]. As suggested by García Icazbalceta (2:liii), these addressees were most likely the president and the four *oidores* (judges) of the Second Audiencia, the bishop Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, Vasco de Quiroga, Alonso Maldonado, Francisco de Ceynos, and Juan de Salmerón, respectively; when assembled in the capital of New Spain in 1531, these officials were to conduct the formal investigation (*residencia*) of Guzmán's presidency of the First Audiencia (Aiton 23, 25; Bancroft, *History of Mexico* 367–68). The writer of the first anonymous *relación* ("Primera relación" 161) described his addressee as "V. M.," no doubt referring to one of the judges as "vuestra merced" in a sworn deposition, such as the one given by Gonzalo López (CDI 14:461–63). Only the second anonymous account named no external interlocutor and so might not have been part of the investigative proceedings.

It is difficult to date these *relaciones*; the fourth ("Cuarta relación" 109) made reference to García del Pilar as a living witness, and since Pilar died in February 1532, according to Bancroft (*History of Mexico* 368–69n64) citing Cortés's *residencia*, it is clear that this account bears an early date (late 1531 or January 1532). The fourth reporter ("Cuarta relación" 97, 100) mentioned the deposition given by Pilar and referred to several other participants who could give testimony, thus indicating that his account was part of an inquiry in progress. Gonzalo López (CDI 14:461) had given his deposition by 3 February 1532. Although Sauer and Brand (42) suggested that these presumably contemporary accounts may actually have postdated the Coronado expedition, it is more likely, given the subject matter of Guzmán's conquest, that they pertained to his *residencia* as president of the First Audiencia, for it was then that he undertook the two-year conquest of the area that would later be called Nueva Galicia.

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Three of the four anonymous accounts refer to Guzmán as governor ("Primera relación" 153; "Segunda relación" 175; "Tercera relación" 129); the last more clearly in reference to his governorship of Pánuco, the first two (dated post-1533) with probable reference to his governorship of Nueva Galicia. The fourth, dating from late 1531, used no title for Guzmán whatsoever.

3.B. *The Second Anonymous Account, Written by Jorge Robledo*

We can identify only one of the four anonymous reports with certainty; this is the second *relación*, and its author is Jorge Robledo. He was a member of Diego de Guzmán's 1533 expedition from Culiacán to the Río Yaqui, which is the subject of his account. Since this *relación* has been misidentified by all but Bancroft, a presentation of arguments as to its identity is in order.

First, the errors: García Icazbalceta (2:xlv) thought this account referred to the supposed mission of Diego de Alcaraz and Lázaro de Cebreros to the north, but he was apparently relying on Fray Antonio Tello's *Crónica* for this identification and, as we demonstrate elsewhere (chap. 9, sec. 2), Tello's account is unreliable for this early period. Carrera Stampa (165n249) erroneously identified this *relación* with the exploration undertaken by Lope de Samaniego from Culiacán to the Río Petatlán in 1531 as part of the two-year conquest. However, the correspondence between Diego de Guzmán's orders to Jorge Robledo and the author's description of his reconnaissance mission both suggest that Bancroft's (*History of the North Mexican States* 55n48) original attribution of this account to an (unnamed) officer of Diego de Guzmán's expedition to the Río Yaqui in 1533 was correct.

The assertion that Jorge Robledo is the author of this account is corroborated by three observations. First, the identical itinerary (from Culiacán to the Yaqui and all places in between) given in the second anonymous account and Diego de Guzmán's 1533 diary reveal beyond the shadow of a doubt that the account described the latter's expedition. Second, Diego de Guzmán's account dates the expedition to 1533, which corresponds to the period implied in the second reporter's narration of his trip, upon his return from the north, to see the governor in Pánuco. Nuño de Guzmán was in Pánuco in 1533–34 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 243–48); the second reporter met him there after his return from the Yaqui to Jalisco at the end of 1533 and on his journey to Pánuco during the Easter season of 1534.

Third, the identification of Jorge Robledo as the author is revealed by references in both accounts. In Diego de Guzmán's account we learn that at the Río Yaqui and while seeking to find a passage that would permit him to go farther north, Guzmán sent Robledo and eight cavalrymen upriver to find a road or passage; Robledo returned, reporting that there was no passage,

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that the river narrowed in the sierras and there was no way of proceeding (Smith, *Colección* 100). Guzmán continues, stating that he sent Robledo and eight horsemen to the coast and that Robledo reported back that the river was settled at intervals, but that they could not pass farther due to the dense underbrush and lack of roads (Smith, *Colección* 100). The account of the second anonymous reporter ("Segunda relación" 172–73) reveals that he was the protagonist of these actions, and thus we deduce that he was the aforementioned Jorge Robledo: "from there I went with eight cavalrymen to the sea . . . and seeing that there was no road and all was mangroves and rugged terrain, I returned, and seeing that we could not cross this sierra without great risk—since we were so few—we agreed to return to Culiacán where we arrived on Christmas Eve."

Overall, the testimonial character of the accounts of the conquest of Nueva Galicia and their evident purpose of assessing Nuño de Guzmán's performance as president of the First Audiencia suggest their interested character. Among the named witnesses and authors of reports, Guzmán's partisans included Gonzalo López, who was Guzmán's second in command (*maestre de campo*), and Juan de Sámano, one of Guzmán's captains and his factor (García Icazbalceta 2:xliv). Pedro de Carranza and García del Pilar testified vigorously against Guzmán. Francisco de Arzeo, the *alférez* of Francisco de Verdugo whose report was utilized by Oviedo (*Historia* bk. 34, chaps. 3–4), favored the governor.

Of the anonymous reports, both the third and fourth reporters participated in the entire two-year expedition, and the third had accompanied Lope de Samaniego to the Río Petatlán in 1531. The first reporter had not been a participant in the conquest but was sent afterward by Guzmán to take over the administration of San Miguel de Culiacán. The first and third reporters were Guzmán partisans, the fourth was a bitter enemy. This evidence of partisanship enables us to better use these sources. As Gerhard (*The North Frontier* 44b) observed, when the Second Audiencia convened in 1531, it met with the onerous task of facing the confrontation between Cortés and Guzmán, the two greatest rivals of New Spain. The accounts of the conquest of Nueva Galicia were not untouched by that larger-than-life controversy.

4. Guzmán's Family Background and Early Career

Guzmán was a member of the noble Guzmán family of Guadalajara in New Castile, and Chipman's (*Nuño de Guzmán* 112–17) review of the family history informs us that its patriarch was Ramiro Flores de Guzmán, who had purchased a plot in the city in 1396, according to the genealogist Alonso López de Haro, Nuño de Guzmán's great-nephew by marriage who also

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studied the genealogy of the Veras, Cabeza de Vaca's patrilineal descent (see vol. 1, "The Life," sec. 2.B). Guzmán's father, Hernán Beltrán de Guzmán, had been a high constable (*alguacil mayor*) of the Inquisition under Ferdinand and Isabel, and Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán was the second son among seven children. His older brother became a Franciscan, but when Fray Juan de Guzmán was to be sent to New Spain in 1531 as commissary (*comisario general*) of the Order of Saint Francis, the Council of the Indies prevented his departure, given "all of the differences which Friar Juan de Zumárraga [archbishop of New Spain] and the other Franciscans there are having and have had with Nuño de Guzmán" (qtd. in Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 115).

If Nuño de Guzmán pursued university studies (possibly at Valladolid or Salamanca), he did not earn a degree in law even though he apparently had some informal legal training. In the *probanza* he drew up as part of his *residencia* as president of the First Audiencia, he remarked that he was not a *letrado* (lawyer) and so could not vote on the decisions of the high court of New Spain that he signed as its president (Chipman, "New Light" 343). Regarding Guzmán's first major royal appointment, Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 126) concluded that the accomplishments and prestige of his family (two of Guzmán's brothers were members of the court, and one of them had been a stalwart defender of Charles V in the Comunero revolt), as well as his own service at court from about 1520 to 1525, led to his appointment as governor of Pánuco.

Guzmán's brother Gómez Suárez de Figueroa (coincidentally the birth name in 1539 of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega) was appointed to the royal household as a *contino* or *continuo*, a member of the personal bodyguard of the monarch, in 1517. Nuño also received an appointment to this one-hundred-man corps in 1519 or the year before, and he accompanied the emperor to Flanders on 20 May 1520, returning to Spain in 1521 to serve Francisco de los Cobos, the secretary of the Councils of Castile and the Indies (Chipman, "New Light" 344–45). Nuño de Guzmán appears to have joined the emperor upon his return to Spain in 1522, and records indicate that from March 1524 to December 1525 he was at court, maintaining residences in Valladolid, Madrid, and Toledo (Chipman, "New Light" 345–46). In the interim of 1523, he performed a diplomatic mission for the emperor, seeking to force the return of the bishop of Cuenca, Diego Ramírez de Villaescusa, from Rome to his diocese. Villaescusa refused to obey the royal edicts, Guzmán recommended punitive action, and Villaescusa was ordered stripped of his revenues and temporal privileges by the crown. By a royal decree of 1 August 1523, the civil officials of Pareja were ordered by the crown to recognize and obey "Nuño de Guzmán, gentil hombre de nuestra casa" as royal representative to enforce the edict (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán*

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124–25). Services such as these no doubt led to Guzmán's appointment on 4 November 1525 as governor of the province of Pánuco in New Spain; he would not take office until May 1527 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 85).

As Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 131) argued, the granting of autonomous status to Pánuco under a royally appointed governor was part of the crown's larger move to shift power away from Hernán Cortés and to place more control of the affairs of New Spain in the hands of royally appointed judges. For Pánuco, this move had begun in 1523 with the appointment of royal treasury officials to establish fiscal control over the region that had been assigned to Francisco de Garay and to enhance its autonomy from New Spain. The process continued as the crown wavered between favoring Cortés or Garay in Pánuco; the dilemma was resolved with the dual appointments of Guzmán as governor of Pánuco and Luis Ponce de León as judge of Cortés's *residencia* in the autumn of 1525 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 97, 106–07).

5. THE GOVERNORSHIP OF PÁNUCO (1525 TO 1533)

Guzmán was named governor of the province of Pánuco by Charles V at Toledo on 4 November 1525 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 131; Guzmán 40). He took up his duties in 1527, having sailed from Sanlúcar de Barrameda on 14 May 1526 and arriving in the province on 24 May 1527 (Chipman, "New Light" 346). He spent one year and seven months there, and in his own account of his governance, Guzmán (41) complained that he had never enjoyed a day of health because of the heat of the land. While the records of the municipal council (*cabildo*) of México-Tenochtitlán reveal that complaints were lodged against Guzmán for exceeding his authority within a month of his taking office and throughout the following year (Warren, *The Conquest* 139), the source of censure was not that he was taking slaves but rather that he was encroaching on territories and assigning Indians that the municipal council and citizens of New Spain considered to be within their domain. As we have shown above (chap. 15, secs. 9.c, 11), and as Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 144–45) affirmed, the internal division between followers of Garay and those of Cortés had convulsed the province. Now that Cortés had the upper hand and Pánuco was one of his strongholds, Guzmán's initial acts to suspend *encomienda* grants pending the examination of titles spelled doom for supporters of Cortés, many of whom simply left the province in the face of being unable to prove their claims to the land and Indians they held.

These new enemies of Guzmán filed suits against him in México-Tenochtitlán; his trial and execution of two soldiers who attempted to prevent his agent's entry into the capital calmed the border dispute for awhile. His subsequent efforts to incorporate additional territory into Pánuco and make

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encomienda grants therein produced the threat of civil war between the citizens of Pánuco and those of New Spain during the summer and fall of 1527 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 150–52).

5.A. *Nuño de Guzmán and Indian Slavery*

The name of Nuño de Guzmán is commonly mentioned in the context of Indian slavery, attributing to him the inauguration of the practice of exporting Indian slaves from Pánuco to the Antilles and doing so specifically in a barter system whereby slaves were exchanged for livestock (Ots Capdequí 24–25). As we will see, the exportation of slaves from New Spain to the Caribbean Islands evidently antedated Guzmán's governorship of Pánuco, as had the exchange of human beings for cattle, sheep, and horses. However, Guzmán's (48) objective was to make this exchange more "equitable" (reducing the number of slaves bartered for a single horse or mare from one hundred to fifteen), and he prided himself on the development of the livestock industry in Pánuco as a result, citing it (48–49) among other civic accomplishments such as introducing the first vineyards into New Spain, opening roads, constructing a lighthouse on the Río Pánuco, establishing churches, converting the Indians, and "pacifying" their settlements. As he did customarily in assessing his own career, Guzmán emphasized his public works and argued that he always supported the expansion and protection of the crown's interests over those of private individuals. The institution of Indian slavery, about which he was understandably sensitive in the climate that had prevailed since the late 1520s, when legal efforts were made to contain and control it, had constituted an integral component of his gubernatorial administration.

In the legal history of Castile's intervention in the Indies from 1500 to 1542–43, Indian slavery was a see-saw issue. The laws in effect changed several times, and the time elapsed between their promulgation in Spain and notification and enforcement in America make it difficult to ascertain whether Nuño de Guzmán was acting at any particular point—between 1529 and 1531, in Pánuco and in Nueva Galicia—in compliance with the law or in defiance of it. Thus, a brief outline of the legislation will be followed by the record of Guzmán's slaving actions in Pánuco without claiming that he operated technically within the bounds of the law or outside it (for Nueva Galicia, see below, sec. 9.A; cf. Zavala, "Nuño de Guzmán" 414–17).

On 20 June 1500, a royal decree of Ferdinand and Isabel condemned Columbus's taking of Indian slaves in the Caribbean, prohibited their sale in Andalusia, mandated their freedom, and forbade that Indians be taken as slaves in the future (Rumeu de Armas 341–42). In August 1503, the crown

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of Castile issued a royal decree permitting the capture and enslavement of Indians reported to be cannibals on the Caribbean islands and Cartagena (CDI 31:196–200). On 15 November 1505, the authorization was repeated when by royal decree Nicolás de Ovando, as governor of Española, was permitted to enslave Indian "cannibals" found in the Caribbean Islands and Cartagena (CDU 5:110–13). Another royal provision signed by Doña Juana on 3 June 1511 authorized making just war against the same Indians of the Caribbean and its rim in order to enslave them (CDU 5:258–62).

Since the alleged cannibalism of the Caribbean Indians was questioned by antislavery critics, an inquiry was authorized on 18 June 1519 to call witnesses for the purpose of citing direct or hearsay evidence about the practice. Unlike the rulings cited above, this hastily executed investigation broadened the range of legitimate offenses for which Indians could be enslaved beyond anthropophagy to include "infidelity," idolatry, and "the abominable sin against nature," that is, sodomy. The resultant "cannibal questionnaire," transcribed by Hanke ("Studies" 388–93) and discussed in context and fully identified as "A.G.I., *Justicia*, 47, fols. 69–72" by Castañeda Delgado (84), was used to solicit testimony from Castilian ship captains and officers.

It is clear from this 1519 document and the testimony it produced that making a case for Caribbean Indian enslavement would no longer rest exclusively on charges of anthropophagy; idolatry and sodomy now seemingly provided equivalent just cause. The questionnaire (*interrogatorio*) was drawn up by the *licenciado* Alonso de Zuazo, chief justice (*justicia mayor*) of the island of Española, and several witnesses were quickly called and swore to their observation or knowledge of one or more of the named offenses among the Indians of the Caribbean. The next day, 20 June 1519, Zuazo ruled that it was legitimate to make war on such Indians and to "bring them to this island [Española] where they are greatly needed" and sell them freely (qtd. in Castañeda Delgado 81). This expressed need for slaves in the Spanish-settled islands of the Caribbean, acknowledged in questions 13 and 14 of Zuazo's questionnaire (Hanke, "Studies" 392), provided the economic opportunity of which Nuño de Guzmán would later take full advantage.

On 17 November 1526, the laws passed at Granada for the regulation of conquests provided a means for the legal enslavement of Indians taken in a just war by making the reading of the *requerimiento* mandatory and requiring that a panel of accompanying friars determine that the war to be waged was for just cause (CDU 9:268–80; see chap. 1, sec. 4). Laws pertinent to Guzmán's rule were promulgated by royal decree in 1528–29: slave taking and branding were to be regulated by crown officials and the use of the authorized branding iron (19 September 1528; CDU 9:368–71); Indian slaves were prohibited from being removed from their native lands for export

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or relocation to other areas (4 December 1528; CDU 9:386–99, see 397); the Indians of New Spain were prohibited from being taken as slaves or branded, and those unjustly captured were to be freed (24 August 1529; CDU 9:434–39).

On 2 August 1530, a royal decree, signed by the empress and directed to the Audiencias of Santo Domingo and New Spain, outlawed the further capture or enslavement of Indians and ordered that those previously taken in a just war were now to be registered (CDU 10:38–43). On 20 February 1534, the decree of 1530 was effectively rescinded by the emperor (CDU 10:192–203). Finally, the landmark legislation (the "New Laws") of 20 November 1542, augmented on 4 June 1543, definitively prohibited altogether the taking of Indian slaves for any reason (just war, rebellion against the Spaniards, or barter for existing slaves) (García Icazbalceta 2:212; Santa Cruz 4:229 [pt. 6, chap. 43]). Although in 1545–46 the emperor reinstated the inheritance of *encomienda* and the granting of new ones, the laws banning Indian slavery were never repealed (Wagner and Parish 160–61).

As to Guzmán's taking of slaves, he sponsored exploration and slaving to the river lands of the north, that is, to the Río de las Palmas, within two months of his arrival in the province of Pánuco. On 8 July 1527 he made a public proclamation to the effect that every mounted soldier could collect twenty slaves, each foot soldier, fifteen. This did not constitute a license as such to export slaves from Pánuco; this could be done only if the slaves were exchanged for livestock (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 157). In his account of his governorship of Pánuco, Guzmán (47) emphasized that his intention was to regularize the already existing capture of and commerce in slaves.

There is considerable evidence to show that slaving from Pánuco preceded Guzmán's presence there; testimony in a 1529 proceeding suggests that perhaps as many as five thousand slaves had been shipped previously from Pánuco to the Caribbean Islands (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 201). Guzmán (47–48) was appalled to discover, he said, that Spanish soldiers commonly took as many as one hundred slaves per person, that that number of slaves had been exchanged for a single head of cattle, and that free Indians had been taken as slaves. Indian slaves were routinely given as tribute to *encomenderos* (holders of lifetime grants to Indian tribute and labor) in New Spain, and Guzmán sought to monitor this practice in Pánuco (Zavala, "Nuño de Guzmán" 420–24). Taking free Indians as slaves was a violation of crown sanctions unless they had been taken in a just war (*esclavos de guerra*), but any Indians could be legally enslaved if they were already enslaved by their own lords; these were called *esclavos de rescate* and were acquired by the Spaniards either through purchase or as tribute from subordinated caciques. Cortés at one time received slaves, along with gold and other goods, as tribute from Pánuco (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 88n24, 200). Guzmán (47) asserted

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that he made inquiries to see that Indian freemen were not enslaved under the guise of already being bondsmen.

In his governance of Pánuco, Guzmán, like Cortés and many others, considered the use of Indian slaves to be an integral part of his economic arrangements. Guzmán undertook the capture and exportation of Indian slaves to the Antilles as an appropriate form of developing Pánuco itself. He found the province of Pánuco to be devoid of exploitable resources. There was neither gold nor silver nor livestock nor any type of economic activity that could be developed, and he considered the Indians of the area to be of little utility ("de poco provecho") because they were coastal people and from hot lands (Guzmán 42). His explanation was no doubt based on his own observations and vague notions of environmental theory prevalent at the time (the "best peoples" inhabited temperate, not tropical lands). Some years later, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions would leave the coastline of the Gulf of Mexico and move into the coastal interior for some of the reasons intimated by Guzmán about its coastline inhabitants, namely, their brutish customs and harsh and hostile interactions.

In his memorial, written after his return to Spain at the end of 1538, Guzmán defended his licensing to capture and export Indian slaves against the accusations of enemies by then lined up against him. He noted, first of all, that there was no royal provision prohibiting such practices at the time. On this point, he was literally correct inasmuch as royal ordinances restricting certain slaving practices began to be issued about a year after his arrival, in 1528 and 1529, as we have seen (see also CDU 9:383–86, 426–28). Only with the ordinances promulgated at Toledo on 4 December 1528 (at which time Guzmán was already headed for the capital of New Spain following his appointment as the president of the First Audiencia) was the exportation of slaves to the islands prohibited (CDU 9:397–98; Zavala, "Nuño de Guzmán" 420). Zavala attributed this set of ordinances to Guzmán's slaving in Pánuco, but Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 226–27) correctly observed that this legislation also took up other issues pertinent to the good treatment of the Indians; the ordinances in fact responded to a battery of global abuses of Indians enslaved or held in *encomienda* (CDU 9:386–99). Since ordinances promulgated on 19 September 1528 reiterated the prohibition of taking free Indians as *esclavos de rescate* and the restriction of slave branding to those who had been issued royal licenses (CDU 9:368–71), Guzmán issued (legal) licenses for capturing (illegally) bartered slaves at least until 3 March 1529 (Zavala, "Nuño de Guzmán" 417).

For Guzmán, the regulated collection and exportation of slaves had constituted the means of building a livestock industry in the province. He argued that the importation of livestock meant the development of

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animal husbandry in a province that lacked local resources (Guzmán 47–48). Furthermore, he insisted that natives already enslaved by their own lords benefited by being exported, thus removed from the control of caciques "who would certainly eat them or sell them to the Chichimecas." Since the Catholic Church was well established in the islands, Indians would learn to become better Christians there than in this frontier province. Thus in his view serving the interests of the natives of Pánuco and the province itself, Guzmán (48) declared that his policies had meant that "the land was soon filled with sheep and cows and mares, just as it is at present."

5.B. *Territorial Expansion to the North of Pánuco*

As already mentioned, Guzmán sought to extend the territories of Pánuco within his first two months there. Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 158–59) considered that his immediate push to the north may have been prompted by the unfounded notion that still prevailed, despite Francisco de Garay's experience in 1523, of fabulous wealth at the Río de las Palmas, as well as the knowledge that Pánfilo de Narváez had a contract to conquer the area from the Río de las Palmas to the Florida Cape. Guzmán had departed from Spain six months before Narváez was granted his contract in December 1526, and it seems unlikely, although not impossible, that he received word while still in the islands until May 1527, when he departed Cuba for Pánuco, about the royal order of 12 April 1527 that requested officials of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Española to assist Narváez in the procurement of ships and supplies (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 137, 159). Testimony taken in the *residencia* of Guzmán's governorship of Pánuco indicates that Guzmán's exploring party knew of the Narváez grant, because a member of the expedition had apparently threatened to desert Sancho de Caniego's party and seek out Narváez and his expedition (see chap. 15, sec. 1D).

Other reasons for which Guzmán wished to cast farther afield were his search for gold and silver, given that Pánuco per se had none, and accusations that the Indians of the northern area were making raids on the Spaniards as well as on settlements of pacified Indians. According to several participants, the results of this four- or five-month campaign to the north yielded nothing; Guzmán disagreed, saying that it had stopped the rebellion of Indians who killed Spaniards and sacrificed peaceful Indians (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 164). There apparently had been a second Guzmán expedition to the Río de las Palmas, claimed to have been undertaken for the purpose of establishing contact with Narváez and providing him with supplies (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 164).

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Guzmán (49–50) suggests that in Pánuco he extended Castilian dominion by pacifying many Indian settlements that were at war and others that he conquered, investing his own resources to do so. Furthermore, he declared retrospectively, he had done this despite the fact that of the more than 150 leagues of coastline of Francisco de Garay's discovery that the emperor had granted him, all but forty-five uninhabited leagues had been taken from his jurisdiction. Guzmán said further that, according to the lay of the land, it resulted that the crown had taken from him almost everything that it had originally granted, giving it all to Narváez before Guzmán had arrived in the province. Evidently aware of Narváez's grant by the time of his arrival in Pánuco or shortly thereafter, Guzmán most likely had in mind expanding his own territories with his early northward efforts before Narváez could arrive and lay claim to the area.

Guzmán's activities in Pánuco from May 1527 to April 1528, the time of his appointment as president of the First Audiencia, had not deterred the crown from placing increasing powers in his hands. At least until that time and for a considerable time afterward, through his appointment as governor of Nueva Galicia on 25 February 1531 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 235), the crown saw Guzmán as a talented administrator who served the royal interest.

5.c. *Overview of Guzmán's Governorship*

Guzmán's most bitter enemies were those who complained that he had reduced the number of slaves a single individual could collect (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 204–05). With respect to granting slaving licenses, Cortés and others exceeded Guzmán's activity many times over. Nevertheless, the horror of the exportation of slaves was the abominable conditions that prevailed aboard ship, and death in transit was common. As to numbers shipped to the islands during Guzmán's resident tenure in Pánuco, Zumárraga's estimates of nine or ten thousand are contradicted by the records that suggest (a still shocking) fifty-eight hundred slaves (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 212, 216–17) for the period of 20 August 1527 to 6 September 1529.

Chipman's (*Nuño de Guzmán* 217–18) evaluation of Guzmán's activity of the years of 1527–28 is solidly documented by a great quantity of detailed administrative records, considered in light of the values and practices against which Guzmán's activities were carried out. Chipman examined the evidence presented against Guzmán to show that, during this early phase, Guzmán's most bitter enemies were those individuals who had the most to lose by his imposition of policies and regulations that supported the interests of the crown.

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The chief criticism of Guzmán's role in Indian slavery during this period was that he redirected the shipment of slaves captured in Pánuco from México-Tenochtitlán in order to send them to the Antilles. That is, many of those who condemned his rerouting of slave traffic were those in Mexico who were concerned for their own loss of an abundant supply of slaves and not merely those who condemned Indian slavery in principle. In this manner, Guzmán was the object of condemnation in this early phase of his career not by those who sought to eradicate Indian slavery but rather by those whose own slaving interests were thwarted. This is the only plausible explanation for Guzmán's subsequent, supremely important appointment as the first president of the first high court to rule New Spain. The days of governing New Spain by autonomous town council, begun with Cortés's foundation of the *villa* of Veracruz on 21 April 1519 (Nader 215–20), were effectively ended in early 1529, when Nuño de Guzmán assumed the presidency of the First Audiencia.

6. PRESIDENCY OF THE FIRST AUDIENCIA OF NEW SPAIN (1528 TO 1530)

According to Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 170), Guzmán was named president of the First Audiencia of New Spain on 5 April 1528, the same date that the Audiencia received the commission to undertake the judicial investigation (*residencia*) of Cortés's conduct in office as governor of New Spain (CDI 26:280–86). The Audiencia of New Spain, consisting of a president and four judges, had been created by royal decree in Burgos on 13 December 1527 (Marín Tamayo 53). According to the 4 June 1528 regulations governing the new Audiencia (likewise applied to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo), the president would be a voting member of the body if he were a formally trained lawyer (*letrado*); if not, he could not vote and could not pronounce sentence except on the basis of a three-vote majority of the four judges (CDU 9:309–39, see 315). Guzmán would complain later about this prohibition, which applied to him because he lacked a degree in law.

Guzmán's appointment to head the newly created Audiencia reflected the crown's continuing confidence in him. Furthermore, his powers in Pánuco were extended; in the same year of 1528, he received the title of captain general for Pánuco—a title that Cortés had previously held for all of New Spain (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 171n53). He would retain the governorship and captaincy general of Pánuco simultaneously with his presidency. (He would be removed as president in 1531 and as governor of Pánuco in 1533.)

Bernal Díaz del Castillo (589b [chap. 196]) is one of our best sources on what the Guzmán presidency meant to the *encomenderos* and settlers of New

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Spain. Bernal Díaz proclaimed that the First Audiencia came to New Spain with powers greater than those of any subsequent viceroy or president. In his view, its purpose had been to establish the perpetuity of grants of Indians to the conquistadors and to favor them, "as His Majesty had commanded."

There are two dimensions of Guzmán's presidency that need to be taken up here. One is his work while in office, and the other is the execution of the Cazonci, the lord of Michoacán, on 14 February 1530. It was this action that came to characterize both his waning presidency and his subsequent career in Nueva Galicia. In fact, in the summary of his services to the crown, Guzmán (88) complained, regarding the execution of the Cazonci, that he had been tried for the same deed twice, both in the investigation of his presidency and in that of his governorship of Nueva Galicia.

Guzmán's (52–62) own account of the presidency, like that of his governorship of Pánuco, cited achievements of pacifying lands, founding municipalities, stimulating the development of agriculture and industry, and bringing under crown control areas of economic exploitation that Cortés and selected settlers were keeping for themselves in violation of royal legislation. The beginning of his account (Guzmán 50–51) reveals the politically treacherous risks of entering the heart of Cortés's domain. Guzmán recalled the coolness with which at first he had been received. The settlers of New Spain warned him that they owed their well-being to the marquis and that, in contrast, the emperor had invested nothing in their efforts nor compensated them for them. Thus they insinuated that they owed Guzmán, as president of the Audiencia, neither obeisance nor cooperation.

Guzmán immediately saw a hole in the united front that Cortés's most favored and powerful partisans presented: this was the interests of the conquistadors who had not been granted great rewards of Indian laborers. While he placated Cortés's more powerful partisans (overcoming, he said, his own quiet and reserved nature to cultivate their good will), he distributed Indians to some two hundred conquistadors, those who had actually won the lands but were now "destitute and dying of hunger" (Guzmán 51). He prided himself on his distribution and redistribution of Indian vassals and considered that a single case of misassessment (which he had executed following the instructions of a royal decree) had been the Achilles' heel that brought on all his subsequent difficulties.

Bernal Díaz's account of Guzmán's presidency suggests that he was successful with conquistadors who had not been especially favored by Cortés; Díaz del Castillo also reveals, although inadvertently, how the issue of slavery was easily an object of political manipulation. Bernal Díaz's own clumsy handling of it makes the point. He noted that Guzmán was wrong in his abuses of slaving; in Pánuco they branded so many Indians that they

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depopulated the province (Castillo 428b [chap. 158], 592b [chap. 196], 655a [chap. 210]). However, by the time Bernal Díaz began to write his account in the early 1550s, Guzmán's reputation for branding and exporting slaves was notorious in his *residencias*, and the furor of the preceding decades over the New Laws of 1542 and 1543 (reproduced in Santa Cruz 4:222–36 [pt. 6, chap. 43]; García Icazbalceta 2:204–27) had stigmatized the issue of Indian slavery even further.

Although Bernal Díaz acknowledged the various slaving licenses that he and other conquistadors had received from the crown and the Council of the Indies, he could not publicly condone them. In fact, in the penultimate chapter of his work, which appears only in the Guatemala manuscript and was therefore written close to the end of his life, he declared that he and a friend had secretly broken the royal branding iron in Coatzacoalco because of abuses by Indian caciques as well as Spanish *encomenderos* who wanted to take slaves illegally. He went on to claim, most improbably, that he wrote to the president of the Second Audiencia, Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal, urging him to abolish the branding of slaves in New Spain, and that Ramírez did so as a result of his urging (Castillo 669b–70b [chap. 213]).

At the same time, Bernal Díaz dismissed the seriousness of Guzmán's actions regarding Indian slavery as "certain errors" [algunos desatinos] in comparison to the good that he did as president of the First Audiencia (Castillo 592b, 594b [chap. 196], 655b [chap. 210]). Guzmán's great deed, according to Bernal Díaz, consisted of distributing Indians as rewards to conquistadors; his only shortcoming was the failure, due to "evil meddlers," to make those grants in perpetuity. Such had been the purpose for which Guzmán was sent to New Spain, as Bernal Díaz understood it (Castillo 655b [chap. 210]). Díaz del Castillo's account shows that he himself longed for grants of Indians in perpetuity, consisting of the lifelong slavery of Indians with continuing obligations to be fulfilled by their descendants. Thus his criticism of Guzmán's inability to foment Indian slavery is more an argument of political expediency to portray himself as a man of justice than to expound principles about Indian freedom.

As an ambivalent partisan of Cortés, Bernal Díaz revealed that it was desirable to condemn Guzmán for his slaving activities even though he reaped rewards from Guzmán's tenure in office. For Bernal Díaz, the dilemma was not one of condemning Guzmán's slaving activities while overlooking Cortés's abuses along these lines but rather how to enjoy the benefits of what Guzmán did for the conquistadors ("he did us more good than Cortés") while still showing the loyalty he owed his captain: "but since we Spaniards are so loyal, because of Cortés having been our captain we held him in great esteem and affection" (Castillo 594b [chap. 196]). Bernal Díaz shows us how

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the rivalry between Guzmán and Cortés could divide the loyalties of the conquistador class; Guzmán had found a way to build his own power base in Cortés's dominions.

Guzmán's (52) major complaint about the situation he found in the capital on taking over the presidency was that the interests of the Castilian state were represented nowhere, that all was in private hands. Thus, when he brought twenty new provinces and their Indian vassals under state control, he earned new enemies. As already noted, Guzmán (53) took special pride in opening roads, especially in making the main artery between Mexico and Veracruz serviceable for cargo transport, and he developed orchards and vineyards, complaining that the city had not even a *palmo* (the span of a hand) of land for the most minimal purpose, that all was in the hands of the marquis. Guzmán (53–62) emphasized that it was he who had conducted the first censuses (*visitas*) taken in the land, discovered the first silver mines, and founded and settled cities and towns.

With respect to the Church, he insisted upon the great veneration in which he held the friars. Since his own eldest brother, Fray Juan de Guzmán, was a prominent Franciscan, and Nuño ordered that his own body be buried in the monastery of San Francisco in Guadalajara, he could not in fact be considered "an enemy of the Franciscans" as he has often been portrayed. However, his enmity for the first archbishop of New Spain, Fray Juan de Zumárraga, knew no limits. Guzmán (55–56) accused Zumárraga (who, like Cortés, also had unlimited powers prior to the arrival of royal authority that Guzmán and the First Audiencia represented) as well as his colleagues "of wanting to rule like absolute lords," indifferent to the common good and detrimental to the Indians, and of giving him, Guzmán, grief when they should have given him thanks.

The power struggle between Guzmán and his judges and Zumárraga was a fierce one. Fray Juan de Zumárraga arrived at Veracruz with the four royally appointed judges of Guzmán's Audiencia on 13 November 1528 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 221), and he violently opposed Guzmán's treatment of the Indians. In July 1529, the archbishop prepared an inquiry (*información*) into Guzmán's slaving activities in Pánuco that condemned him (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 212, 228). Guzmán (57) declared matter-of-factly that he had had to intercept and censure Zumárraga's correspondence to Spain for the sake of the public interest. As a result, Zumárraga had a Franciscan preacher declare from the pulpit that the Audiencia and its president lied ("vuestra señoría y mercedes no dicen verdad"). Guzmán (57) narrated the incident, telling how he had had the friar removed bodily from the church. On 29 August 1529, Zumárraga (CDI 13:104–79) wrote a long report on the conquest of Mexico to the emperor, accusing Guzmán of destroying the province of Pánuco with his

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slave traffic and enslaving free Indians. He named Guzmán's subordinate, the Nahuatl interpreter García del Pilar, as responsible for capturing Indians in New Spain, smuggling them to Pánuco, and branding and shipping them to the Antilles (CDI 13:123–24, 144–47). Zumárraga excommunicated Guzmán and the Audiencia in March 1530, three months after Guzmán had left to pursue the conquest of Jalisco (Aiton 20).

Pánuco was not the only item of Zumárraga's concern regarding Guzmán. The archbishop (CDI 13:177–78) also informed the emperor that Guzmán and the Audiencia had learned that Cortés was returning to New Spain and that they planned to arrest him on arrival. In the meantime, Guzmán and his judges had forced Cortés's partisans to absent themselves from the capital in a military incursion that Guzmán wanted to make to the land of the Teules Chichimecas, which Zumárraga described as a land known to be empty and poor. Yet the risks would be very high since Indians nearby were ready to revolt; to take the Spanish soldiers who were the "flower of the land" away from the capital would leave it vulnerable to total loss. Zumárraga (CDI 13:178) knew, furthermore, that Guzmán's plans were to "make war in those provinces already conquered [by Cortés] which serve Your Majesty, to rob the caciques of all the gold and silver they might have, especially the Cazonci of Michoacán."

6.A. *The Torture and Execution of the Cazonci of Michoacán*

Such plans were already under way. Five months into his presidency, on 15 May 1529 (Warren, *The Conquest* 212), Guzmán and the *oidores* formally resolved to wage war against the Chichimecas of Jalisco because of harm done to the Spaniards and the subsequent decrease in royal revenues. They were vigorously opposed by Zumárraga (CDI 16:369), who testified in 1531 that before the president began the war, the archbishop had given a formal written opinion declaring the war unjust; Hanke gives the date of Zumárraga's *parecer* as 16 November 1529 ("Studies" 201). In the 1531 "Información sobre los acaecimientos de la guerra que hace el gobernador Nuño de Guzmán a los Indios, para con los pareceres de las personas examinadas, tomar resolución" (CDI 16:363–75), Zumárraga declared that Guzmán's conquest ignored the royal laws and provisions issued at Granada in 1526; second, by leaving the capital and its environs unprotected, the dangers of war were far greater than its potential benefits; third, Zumárraga testified that he knew of no other reasons, apart from their idolatry and heathen rites, why the Indians should be subjected to war; fourth, if such a conquest expedition were to be carried out, it should be led by a captain with experience, not Nuño de Guzmán, who lacked it (CDI 16:369–71).

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Guzmán dismissed Zumárraga's objections in testimony, cited by Hanke ("Studies" 202n1) of 12 June 1532, after his return from the conquest. He claimed that Zumárraga's views could be explained by his support of Cortés's interests (Hanke, "Studies" 201n3). Since Zumárraga objected to the conquest before the fact (on 27 August 1529) on the grounds that Guzmán was planning to make war in provinces already conquered (CDI 13:178; Warren, *The Conquest* 149), it is easy to see why Guzmán would accuse him of partiality to Cortés.

In the same letter of 12 June 1532, Guzmán responded to the emperor's objection that he had not taken any ecclesiastics on his conquest expedition; he declared that they were the least essential of all adjuncts to military expeditions (Hanke, "Studies" 202). Apparently, the Franciscan guardian had refused to send his friars with Guzmán, and the Dominicans had so few friars in Mexico that the provincial could not release any to go along. However, testimony in Guzmán's favor affirmed that he had followed the law of the *requerimiento* by which the Indians were summoned to submit to the Spaniards or be subjected to war and enslavement. As we discuss elsewhere (chap. 1, sec. 4), we interpret this document as pertaining more to the conditions under which Indians could legally be enslaved than to the provisions for their proper treatment. Indeed, in the *información* gathered in 1531 about Guzmán's war of conquest, three of the five ecclesiastics consulted (Fray Martín de Valencia, Fray Francisco de Soto, and Fray Francisco Jiménez) considered that the Indians' failure to heed the *requerimiento* as well as their idolatry justified Guzmán's war, although they were divided as to whether it should be continued (CDI 16:371–75; Hanke, "Studies" 203).

The events that led to Guzmán's war of conquest in northwestern Mexico began with his summons of the principal native lords to México-Tenochtitlán (Warren, *Vasco de Quiroga* 78, *The Conquest* 144). One of them, Tzintzicha Tangaxoan, the Cazonci of Michoacán, who was probably the richest and most important native lord still living, had been described by one of the witnesses (a Guzmán partisan) as "as great a lord as Moctezuma and even richer in gold and silver" who ruled over thirty *cabeceras* ("which are like cities to us") with their thirty lords ("Primera relación" 162). The Cazonci did not bring enough treasure to suit Guzmán, so Guzmán commanded that he be kept under arrest in México-Tenochtitlán as more treasure was brought. Sometime during the summer of 1529, Guzmán was satisfied and allowed the Cazonci to return to Michoacán. Toward the end of August, Guzmán once again commanded that the lord of the natives of Michoacán (the Purépechas) be brought to him. Guzmán kept him under house arrest for four months while he planned an expedition to the northwest that

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would take him through Michoacán ("Cuarta relación" 96; Warren, *Vasco de Quiroga* 78).

According to Oviedo (*Historia* 3:560a [bk. 34, chap. 1]), Guzmán adopted the bold course of undertaking the conquest of Jalisco when he learned that his Audiencia was to be removed and that he was to be replaced as president by Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal. Cortés's men had already entered Jalisco in 1524–25 under the leadership of his cousin and deputy Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura. San Buenaventura had gone northward from Colima and passed through Autlán, Ameca, Etzatlán, Xuchitepic, Tetitlán, and Aguacatlán on the Tepic plateau; that is, he had passed from the present-day state of Colima northward through Jalisco and into Nayarit (Sauer, "The Road" 4–5; Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 42b). In the mid-1520s, Cortés had assigned some native communities of the area in *encomienda*, but the area could not be effectively controlled from Colima; there was some missionary activity by Franciscans, and *encomenderos* such as the Avalos brothers may have collected tribute (Reynoso; Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 42b). Nevertheless, the area had been generally neglected for five years—as Guzmán was quick to point out—when he began his incursions into it.

Guzmán (63–64) justified the conquest of Nueva Galicia by arguing that the Chichimecas from the province of Michoacán had come to within thirteen leagues of the capital to rob and plunder, that the lands bordering the South Sea were ripe for discovery and conquest, and that the Cazonci of Michoacán was in revolt, killing Christians, tyrannizing his entire land, and replacing legitimate lords with puppet rulers of his own choosing. Although Guzmán had kept the Cazonci prisoner in the capital prior to the expedition, he had sent Don Pedro Cuiniarángari, the Cazonci's chief adviser whom the Spanish would call "Pedro Panza" because of his girth (Oviedo, *Historia* 3:563b [bk. 34, chap. 3]; "Cuarta relación" 97), back to Michoacán "to oversee the provisioning of his slaves in the mines, to prepare armor in the Indian style, and to collect gold and silver" (Warren, *Vasco de Quiroga* 78).

The Guzmán expedition departed from México-Tenochtitlán on 22 December 1529 (Warren, *The Conquest* 287). Guzmán (65) took the Cazonci along on the conquest expedition. The party consisted of some four hundred Spanish foot soldiers and cavalry, according to Guzmán (64), roughly one hundred and fifty horsemen and over two hundred foot soldiers, according to Cristóbal de Barrios (CDI 16:363), who also mentioned an allied army of some ten to twelve thousand Indians; these allies were Mexica (Castillo 596b [chap. 197]) and Tlaxcalan.

The execution of the Cazonci of Michoacán and the war against the Purépechas were the events that brought immediate condemnation to Guzmán. As illustrated in the monumental 1552 Tlaxcalan petition to the

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emperor known as the Lienzo de Tlaxcala, the bearded and mounted Guzmán is shown following his Tlaxcalan allies into battle against the defending Purépechas of Michoacán (Martínez Marín 12; Chavero pl. 52; fig. 14). It was the type of condemnation that a year of branding and exporting slaves to the Antilles was only beginning to earn him (Carrera Stampa 17, 19). In addition to the deed itself was the repeated testimony given by García del Pilar, Guzmán's collaborator and Nahuatl interpreter. Before his death in 1532, García del Pilar was a frequent witness in Guzmán's *residencia.* García del Pilar (Carrera Stampa 178–79, 181) testified about the torture and death that Guzmán ordered to be executed upon the Cazonci. He asserted that the lord was repeatedly tortured to get him to give over all his gold and silver and to identify the locations of mines, and he declared that the Cazonci was burned alive and his ashes scattered in the river. García del Pilar was not altogether innocent himself. He had participated in Gonzalo de Sandoval's roundup of Huasteca lords in Pánuco who admitted killing Cortés's men due to the provocation of Garay's outrages (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 82). The Sandoval inquiry ended with the lords being burned at the stake; Guzmán (42) numbered them at three hundred. Pilar's exploitation of the Indians was widely known (Warren, *The Conquest* 143–44), and to show how widely slaves were taken as tribute, Zavala ("Nuño de Guzmán" 423) cited testimony about the large grants that García del Pilar received.

Pilar testified in his *probanza de méritos y servicios* that he had come to Mexico with Cortés and was the first one to learn the Mexica language, Nahuatl (Warren, *The Conquest* 143, 310n30). After Pilar's betrayal of his former employer, Guzmán gave his own testimony to discredit him. Besides being "a bad Christian, a perjurer, a man of ill repute, drunken, cursing, slandering, living in public concubinage with an Indian woman, bearing false witness, being a fickle man who went with the times," speaking ill of past governors to present ones, Guzmán (qtd. in Warren, *The Conquest* 144) condemned Pilar for crossing the line to barbarity and Indian idolatry in order to feed his greed: "and the said Pilar used to dress like an Indian with a loincloth and blanket over his naked body and with his feathers and gold ornaments, and he performed dances with the said Cazonci and ate and drank with them and performed sacrifices so that they would give him gold."

Weighing all the sources on the execution of the Cazonci, Warren (*The Conquest* 229–36) provides the best assessment of what took place. Under torture, the Cazonci and the Purépecha lords admitted to the charges against him. The Cazonci was garroted before his body was burned (Warren, *The Conquest* 234–35); his ashes were thrown in the Río Lerma, but his supporters evidently retrieved them for deposit in Tzintzuntzán (see map 10).

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Figure 14. The Michoacán phase of Nuño de Guzmán's conquest of northwestern Mexico as depicted by Guzmán's Tlaxcalan allies in the 1552 Lienzo de Tlaxcala. Reproduced from Chavero, pl. 52. Clements Library, University of Michigan (Ann Arbor).

Guzmán tortured and executed the Cazonci early in the expedition. Warren (*The Conquest* 287) offers a chronology of events based on primary sources: the Cazonci was imprisoned about 7 January 1530 and subsequently threatened with torture. He was accused on 26 January 1530 by Francisco de Villegas, an *encomendero* of Uruapan, of murdering many Spaniards and interfering with the operation of *encomiendas* in the area. The expedition moved northward from Tzintzuntzán to the Río Lerma, and further accusations against the Cazonci were made, specifically that he had reverted to idolatry, danced in the flayed skins of Spaniards, and prepared an ambush for Guzmán's army in the area ahead of them. Guzmán (65) stated that the Cazonci confessed to killing more than eighty Spaniards and to flaying four of them "to make celebrations with their skins in his private bouts of drunkenness." On 11 February 1530, the main witness against the Cazonci, his closest adviser, Don Pedro Cuiniarángari, who had been interrogated under torture on 6 February, produced the skins of the

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Spaniards (Warren, *The Conquest* 287). Guzmán (65) said that he had them sent to the Audiencia.

Contrary to the belief that Guzmán never produced the records of the suit brought against the Cazonci and his trial (Carrera Stampa 65n62), in 1952 France V. Scholes and Eleanor B. Adams published a copy of it found by Scholes in the Archivo General de Indias; one copy was made on 6 July 1530 for deposit with the Audiencia in México-Tenochtitlán; another was made on 25 January 1532 and filed with the Council of the Indies in Toledo on 23 February 1534 (Warren, *The Conquest* 223).

The execution of the Cazonci produced considerable controversy in its day, first of all, for the victim's importance. It was generally acknowledged that after Moctezuma, the head of the Triple Alliance of the central valley, the Cazonci of Michoacán was the richest and most powerful lord of Mexico. Oviedo (*Historia* 3:560b [bk. 34, chap. 1]) gave two accounts of this execution, initially condemning it. According to his sources, the Cazonci had cooperated with Guzmán, having received him and his men well and provided them with all necessary supplies. Oviedo dryly concluded, "[I]n payment for his services, he imprisoned him, and it was well known that he extracted more than ten thousand marks of silver and much gold from him, and that he took ten thousand to twelve thousand of his Indians with him; in order to prevent him from protesting, he had him burned to death along with other Indian lords, painting the affair as he saw fit."

Oviedo's second version of the same events, based on the account of Francisco de Arzeo, an hidalgo who was the *alférez* of Francisco Verdugo, one of the captains of the conquest, consisted of two parts: the first detailed the generosity of the Cazonci, similar to the earlier account; the second included his failed promises to produce wealth and provisions farther northward plus his confession, under torture, that his vassals had killed thirty-five Spaniards, when they were caught alone, and flayed their skins. Their hands, faces and hair, and feet, made into masks, could be found at a house five leagues from his town. The Spaniards found the flayed skins, which they understood the Cazonci had used in his pagan celebrations. After his confession, he was burned to death, and his people were gladdened, according to Arzeo, because the Cazonci had treated them badly (Oviedo, *Historia* 3:564a–65b [bk. 34, chaps. 3–4]).

No doubt because of the divergence of testimony on matters such as the death of the Cazonci, Oviedo (*Historia* 3:563a [bk. 34, chap. 2]) concluded his account of the conquest of Nueva Galicia with an inquietude that prompted him to mandate further investigation of the matter by himself or his successor. Oviedo (*Historia* 3:577b [bk. 34, chap. 8]) pledged that, should he gain further information on the conquest of Nueva Galicia, he

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would continue his inquiry into it or refer it to whomever "would continue this history beyond the end of my days."

Gómara (*Historia general* 302 [chap. 211]) gave an account of the Cazonci's death similar to Oviedo's first one, that is, that the Cazonci gave Guzmán ten thousand marks of silver and much base gold (*oro bajo*), plus some six thousand men as warriors and carriers; Guzmán then "burned him with other lords, so that he could not raise a protest." Like Oviedo, who had acknowledged the Cazonci's friendship with Cortés, Gómara (*Historia de la conquista* 233 [chap. 148]) emphasized the point by telling how after the fall of Tenochtitlán the Cazonci, a great enemy of the Mexica, sent Cortés his ambassadors and offered him his allegiance; Cortés then sent Cristóbal de Olid to settle Chincicila in Michoacán with the blessing of the Cazonci, who facilitated their work, gave them riches, and "offered his person and kingdom to the king of Castile, as Cortés implored him to do."

As Gómara seemed to have relied on one of the accounts that Oviedo had also used, so too Bernal Díaz would depend (despite all his protestations to the contrary) on information provided by Gómara. Bernal Díaz (Castillo 596b [chap. 197]) reported that the Cazonci did not produce the amount of gold that Guzmán demanded and that this was why he tortured him and burned his feet and ultimately executed him. The Cazonci gave much gold (although poor because it was mixed with silver) and took with him many people from that province to the place where Compostela would later be founded. Bernal Díaz del Castillo (596b [chap. 197]) called the torture and death of the Cazonci "one of the worst and ugliest things that any president [of the Audiencia] or other persons could do, and all those who went with him in his company considered it an evil and cruel thing."

The torture of the Cazonci by burning his feet is one of the episodes told by Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias.* Written in 1542, the year of the publication of Cabeza de Vaca's *relación,* and published in Seville in 1552, the Frankfurt edition in Latin of 1598 featured the Cazonci's torture as the subject of one of its several copperplate engravings (Casas, *Narratio* 53, *Brevísima* 95–97; fig. 15). The incident there pictured, as recounted by both Las Casas and Bernal Díaz, was based probably on García del Pilar's testimony, reproduced in Carrera Stampa (177–93). The "torment by fire" consisted of placing the victim's feet above the flames, bringing them nearer and nearer and finally into the burning embers, occasionally pouring oil on the burning flesh to intensify the victim's suffering (Carrera Stampa 178n279).

More than any other act of Guzmán's, the torture and death of the Cazonci of Michoacán became, as Warren (*The Conquest* 240) observed, "the prime exhibit for accusations against him of excessive cruelty"; partisans of Cortés

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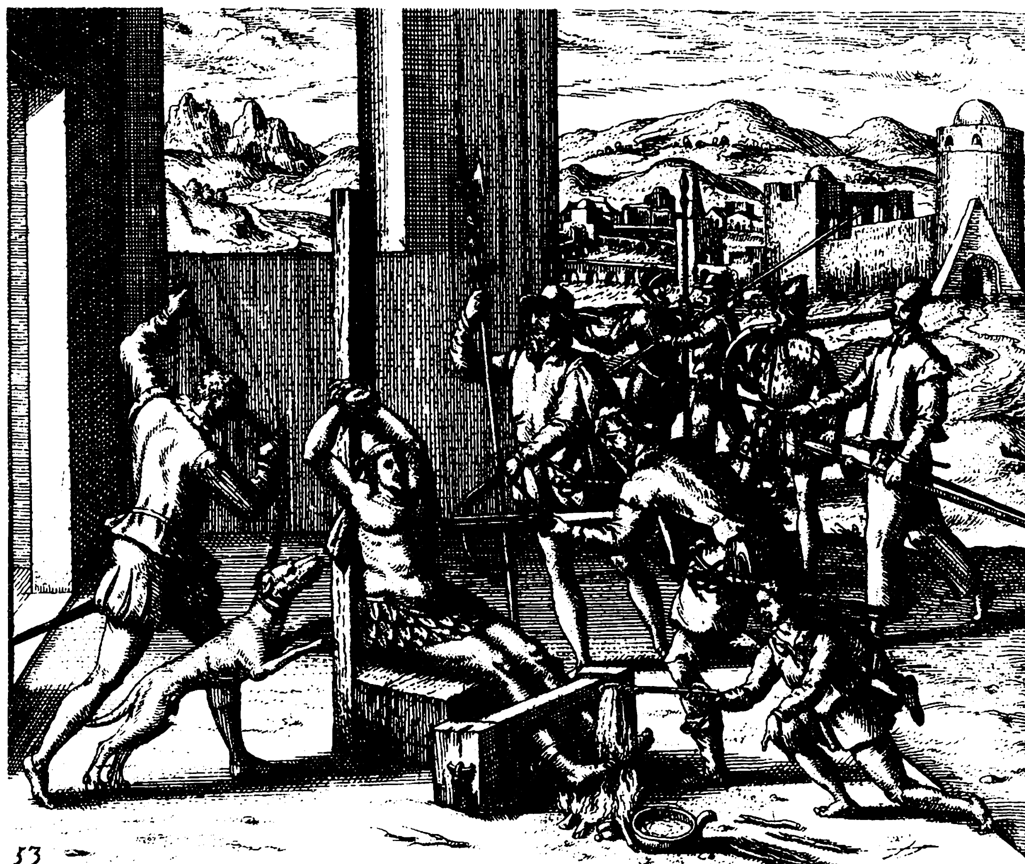

Figure 15. Nuño de Guzmán's 1530 torture of the Cazonci of Michoacán as depicted in Theodor de Bry and Johann Sauer's 1598 Latin edition of Las Casas's 1552 ***Brevísima relación de la destruición de las Indias.*** Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

made of the Cazonci "an impeccable martyr, sacrificed to Guzmán's greed." The enmity of Cortés's followers, plus the prominence of the Cazonci and his execution, severely blemished Guzmán's record as president of the First Audiencia of New Spain.

6.B. *The End of Guzmán's Presidency*

During 1529, news had begun to spread of royal dissatisfaction with Guzmán and affairs in New Spain, and late that year the crown began looking for suitable candidates for the new office of viceroy and making plans to appoint a Second Audiencia to replace the original one (Aiton 21). Reasons given in the complaints against the First Audiencia were peculation in office, the excessive granting of licenses to brand Indian slaves, the sale of justice, harsh treatment of Cortés's friends, and the failure to cooperate with the Church

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in its efforts to improve the treatment of the Indians (Aiton 20). Perhaps Bernal Díaz (Castillo 655b [chap. 210]) summed it up best: it was true that Guzmán and his judges reassigned Indians to the conquistadors and settlers, but these officials were not as prejudicial to the *encomenderos*' interests as they had been made out to be; "if they removed them at one fell swoop from the Royal Audiencia, it was because of the conflicts they had with Cortés and because of branding free Indians as slaves." Bernal Díaz did not condemn Indian slavery as such; he adopted instead the common line that condemned the enslavement of Indians who were neither enemies vanquished in a just war (*esclavos de guerra*) nor already enslaved in Indian society by their own lords (*esclavos de rescate*).

Guzmán was officially removed from the presidency when he was replaced by Sebastián Ramírez de Fuenleal on 11 April 1530; four new judges had been appointed a week earlier, on 5 April 1530 (Aiton 22–23). The new *oidores* did not arrive in New Spain until the end of 1530, and the president did not take up his new duties until September 1531 (Aiton 24). In the interim, Cortés returned to New Spain in 1530 to fill, if only unofficially, the vacuum left by the removal of Guzmán and the absence of his replacement.

Guzmán's slaving activities have always been cited as the principal reason for his removal from the presidency in 1530. Yet the old soldier Bernal Díaz probably offered the best insight into the situation as understood at the time. Nuño de Guzmán got into trouble for two reasons, one being his notoriety in enslaving Indians, the other, his challenge to the hegemonic powers of Hernán Cortés and the resultant attacks by Cortés and his powerful allies, including the archbishop Zumárraga, against him.

7. GUZMÁN'S TRANS-MEXICO OBJECTIVES: THE CONQUEST OF "GREATER SPAIN" AND APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF NUEVA GALICIA (1531)

Nuño de Guzmán's conquest of northwestern Mexico must be understood as his effort to extend his dominion and effective powers beyond those of Hernán Cortés, whose absence from New Spain was only temporary. According to Bancroft (*History of the North Mexican States* 27), Guzmán would have been spurred to this northwestern pursuit by the information he had gathered about Cortés's plans for maritime and land exploration of the northwest; since he had just presided at the trial of Cortés, he would have learned enough about the conqueror's projects to become extremely interested in pursuing the northward quest as his own.

Guzmán departed from México-Tenochtitlán to Michoacán on 22 December 1529. His expedition from there to the north in early 1530 was not

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confined to a new region; rather, Guzmán hoped to define and conquer the territory north of Cortés's holdings at Colima (possibly overrunning them), travel northward along the coast of the South Sea, and then cross overland to the east to connect the freshly conquered territories with those of his governorship of Pánuco.

Guzmán (CDI 13:356–93) declared these goals in his letter to the emperor from Omitlán, Michoacán "of Greater Spain" [de la Mayor España] on 8 July 1530. He also reported on his conquest of the area of the "Teules Chichimecas," which he described as bordering New Spain (CDI 13:388). He stated that he had taken possession of the Río Grande de Santiago, naming the river the Espíritu Santo and his conquest "[t]he Conquest of the Holy Spirit of Greater Spain"; he requested that the emperor confirm these names, which were "so appropriately and so justly given that day" (CDI 13:388). Then he announced plans to conquer Azt[at]lán to search for the Amazons, about which "some say they live in the sea, others, on an arm of the sea, and that they are rich and taken by the inhabitants of the land to be gods" (CDI 13:392). He intended to enter inland toward the North Sea and send others along the coast of the South Sea to discover what lay there. He had already taken possession of the South Sea in the emperor's name near Tepique (Tepic), declaring that this jurisdiction would hold "until that which better pleases Your Majesty's service may be done, since this was a new discovery and conquest not included in the area of New Spain" (CDI 13:386). As president of the First Audiencia of New Spain, conqueror of Nueva Galicia, and governor of the province of Pánuco, he would truly be the lord of the dominion he boldly called Greater Spain (Mayor España), as opposed to Cortés's New Spain (Nueva España).

This objective was also clear in the letter that Guzmán wrote to the emperor from the western coast of Mexico in southernmost Sinaloa on 16 January 1531 (CDI 13:408–14). Writing from "Chiametla in Greater Spain" [Chiametla en la Mayor España], Guzmán had heard of his removal from the presidency of the Audiencia, done, he said, on the basis of false reports, without giving him the opportunity to be heard on the subject of whether the charges were true or about the services he had rendered. His pretext for writing the letter was to inform the emperor about an armada going up the coast under the command of Sebastián Cabot, and his purpose was to stake a larger claim to the lands he had already called in his letter of 1530 "Mayor España."

He told the emperor that he wished to inform him that he had reports about the areas inland as consisting of "great and rich provinces," the people being more warlike than the others, and there being among those provinces one inhabited by women who cohabited with men only at a certain time

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of the year. If they bore female children, they raised them; if male, they killed them. He planned, eight days hence, to pursue his course "straight to the north" and then turn inland and go to the other sea, "because it is presumed that in the middle there are great provinces, although what has been indicated until now is that there are rugged sierras, tall and uneven, but these, they say, eventually come to an end" (CDI 13:409).

By early 1531, Guzmán was appointed governor of the new areas he had conquered. Although the official letter of appointment seems to be lost, the earliest references to it are from that year (Bancroft, *History of Mexico* 365n56). A letter of 25 January 1531 from the empress at Ocaña to the president and judges of the Second Audiencia of New Spain notified those officials that the appointment had taken place: "[w]e have agreed to name him [Guzmán] our governor of the land that he has conquered and pacified, which we have ordered to be named Galicia of New Spain" (qtd. in Aiton 25n22). Guzmán's brother Gómez Suárez de Figueroa understood that the royal commission had been issued at Ocaña in the name of the empress and signed by Juan de Sámano and members of the Council of the Indies on 25 February 1531 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 235–36). However, the letter cited by Aiton reveals that the appointment had been made over a month earlier. Given the similarity of the two communications, it is possible that Guzmán's brother referred to the same document that Aiton has partially transcribed. As we know, the province came to be called Nueva Galicia, or Reino de Nueva Galicia, rather than Galicia de Nueva España, and Guzmán was surely disappointed that the crown denied his request of 8 July 1530 to have the area named "Greater Spain" (CDI 13:388).

In the autumn of 1531 Guzmán founded the *villa* of Espíritu Santo, which would later become Nueva Galicia's capital, near the native settlement of Tepic. In 1533–34, he made a march from Compostela to Pánuco and back in the hope of establishing his power over the entire area, uniting the two territories of which he was governor in order to rule a vast area stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific (Guzmán 66–67; Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 243–45). Guzmán attempted to declare that the *villa* of Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipa, which he had founded in Pánuco in 1533 near the source of the Río Pánuco at its western end, belonged to Nueva Galicia. Given his expressed aspirations, it is clear that he wished to stake his claim to a domain that stretched from sea to sea. His plans were foiled, however, by a royal decree of 19 March 1533 that returned Pánuco to the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of New Spain (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 247–48; Gerhard, *A Guide* 356a).

Guzmán nevertheless continued trying to uphold his retrospective claim. As late as 1534, he was obviously still attempting to defend his interests there; the first reporter of the conquest of Nueva Galicia ("Primera relación" 162)

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observed that the *villa* of San Luis, founded by Lope de Mendoza, located 20 leagues from the city of Pánuco "inland toward Jalisco" and 102 leagues from Tonalá, remained in the jurisdiction of Jalisco even after the emperor put Pánuco under that of New Spain.

The "second anonymous reporter" of the conquest of Nueva Galicia, Jorge Robledo ("Segunda relación" 175–76), said he went to report to the governor after his return from the Río Yaqui to Culiacán on 24 December 1533, and thus he discovered the great need Culiacán and San Miguel suffered. He went on to Jalisco but learned that the governor was in the Pánuco area, in the *villa* of San Luis in the valley of Oxitipa. He traveled across Mexico and encountered Guzmán there in San Luis during Holy Week of 1534, just as Guzmán was about to depart for Jalisco. Knowing that the governor had departed, the settlers of Pánuco attacked San Luis, only to be fended off by Pedro de Guzmán with the help of Robledo and others ("Segunda relación" 175–76).

Prior to his departure from Oxitipa, Guzmán wrote to the emperor on 10 March 1534 from the "villa de Santiago de los Valles de la Nueva Galicia" (CDI 13:436–42), which he had founded in 1533, according to Gerhard (*A Guide* 356a), in order to extend the dominion of Nueva Galicia, not to accept under protest his removal as the governor of Pánuco.

Oxitipa was the site of Guzmán's new *villa*, and he declared that he made his new foundation and put it under the jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia "with the authority to do so that Your Majesty has granted me" (CDI 13:437). Thus he underscored implicitly Cortés's lack of authorization to make private grants. Guzmán described the governorship of Pánuco as "the port and road through which that of Galicia is to be supplied" and stated that he had served as governor of Pánuco "without any personal interest or gain" and had succeeded in the conquest of Nueva Galicia, at his own expense, to deposit a city and five *villas* and wealthy lands with mines of gold and silver in the hands of the emperor (CDI 13:439–40). Despite his protestations to the effect that he had scrupulously avoided serving his own personal interests, it is clear that his removal from the governorship had thwarted his plans to rule both Nueva Galicia and Pánuco as the route by which the western provinces were to have been supplied.

These territories had been contested for years. Cortés had originally claimed Oxitipa and half of Tamohí (Tamoín)—the most populous and lucrative settlements in the province of Pánuco—in 1522, according to an *información* drawn up by Cortés in 1531 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 92n30). However, in 1527, Guzmán (no doubt aware that Cortés had held no royal authority to make *encomienda* grants to himself or anyone else) reassigned these and other places. After the crown ordered Guzmán's removal as

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governor of Pánuco on 20 April 1533, it began in 1534 to cancel most of Guzmán's grants, take others for itself, and make new assignments to residents of Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipa (Gerhard, *A Guide* 354b).

After the fact, in the post-1539 memorial of his services, Guzmán (66–67) modified his views on his trans-Mexico aspirations to emphasize exploration and the search for the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition that had been sent to *Florida*:

> [I]t is widely known that I conquered the province of Michoacán and gave it to His Majesty on account of the judgment that was made against the Cazonci, which province is now more settled and calm than that of Mexico. And the conquest and settlement that I undertook of Nueva Galicia was completed all the way to the sea, from which the Cazonci had said Indians he had subjugated were going to kill the Christians and their Indians, and that on this account, the land would be of no use to us. From there I went to the province of Tonalá where the city of Guadalajara is founded—a place never before explored or invaded by any Christian—where I left much livestock and one or two Christians. And from there I went to conquer the coast of the South Sea, where I was for two years with much danger to my person in battles and skirmishes that I had with the Indians, and I spent many bad nights and days exposed to the open air and evening dew and rain in a straw hut and going through swamps and marshes to the depth of my head as well as powerful rushing rivers full of reptiles, throwing myself onto rafts and walking through valleys, mountains and peaks as high as the sky, without roads and doing it on hand and foot and carrying weapons and often without the bread of the land. And passing to the North Sea to learn what that area contained and to find out about Pánfilo de Narváez, I traversed thirty leagues of mountain ranges with no roads and very rugged land—I was emaciated and suffering—where we lost many horses and mares and much livestock.

Guzmán (67) continued, asserting that as he was engaged in these labors he was exposed to dangers "with no benefit or interest" to himself but rather only with the desire to serve God and His Majesty more fully, "to place his royal name in lands where it was unknown and bring all to know and truly love his royal name with great loyalty and provide justice and law to lands where it did not exist nor ever had." For all this, he complained, he was rewarded with the news of his removal from the presidency. He blamed his removal, as well as that of the judges of his Audiencia, on Hernán Cortés, whose enmity he had earned, in his own view, because he had served the imperial goals of the emperor rather than the private interests of the marquis (Guzmán 67).

Guzmán clearly interpreted his expeditions all of a piece, as a series of concerted and related efforts to establish a large domain over which he would

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rule as a royal official and in the name of the emperor. His acknowledgment of Cortés as the source of his removal from the presidency reveals his own sentiments about competing against Cortés—a competitiveness that bore fruit in the conquests of Michoacán and Nueva Galicia as first steps to a potential trans-Mexico jurisdiction.

8. PEOPLES AND PROVINCES OF THE AREA OF THE CONQUEST OF NUEVA GALICIA

Guzmán effectively set the southern boundary of his conquest at the Río Grande de Santiago in 1531; the river established a frontier between New Spain and Guzmán's new conquest in regions that were beyond the control of Cortés's *encomenderos* (Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 44b). According to Gerhard (*The North Frontier* 45a), this boundary ran "from the north shore of Lake Chapala around Izatlán and then southwesterly to the Pacific coast below Purificación" (see map 10); this would remain the southern boundary of Nueva Galicia until 1787, although in 1562–65 the province of Nueva Vizcaya would be carved out of the northern frontier of Nueva Galicia.

At the end of 1531, Guzmán had theoretically established his domain as far north as the Río Culiacán and the valley of Culiacán and, by the end of 1533, as far north as the Río Yaqui. With the hope of keeping the eastern boundary of Nueva Galicia fluid until it could be established at the North Sea, the territories Guzmán claimed, though did not control, included the area constituted by the present-day states of Nayarit, the northern half of Jalisco, Guanajuato, Aguascalientes, the western portion of Querétaro, western portions of San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas, the southern half of Durango, all of Sinaloa, and the southern portion of Sonora, claimed in October 1533 when Diego de Guzmán took possession of the Río Yaqui under the name of the Río San Francisco (Smith, *Colección* 98–99; CDI 15:333).

In 1530–31, Nuño de Guzmán was to explore three hundred miles north of the Tepic country, reached in 1524 by Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura, and the expedition he sent in 1533 under the command of Diego de Guzmán would extend that limit to six hundred miles beyond the territories explored by Cortés (Sauer, "The Road" 13).

Regarding climate and vegetation, Gerhard (*The North Frontier* 39ab) described the area of Nueva Galicia as follows:

> In general, the coastal plains are hot and humid with a natural cover of dense tropical scrub that extends inland on the barranca [canyon] floors, the westward-facing slopes receive the greatest precipitation, the high sierra is cool and forested, and the upland plateaus are temperate with adequate

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rainfall in the south, becoming increasingly dry with great seasonal and diurnal extremes of temperature in the interior continental basins.

As to the native peoples of the area, hunter-gatherers along the coast were divided from agriculturalists by a line extending from the eastern shore of Lake Chapala north and northwestward (Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 39b). According to Sauer ("The Road" 7), the agriculturalists lived in small political units, usually involving a single valley. Fertile floodplains provided abundant crops, supplemented by fish and shellfish from estuaries and streams. These peoples lived in large, compact villages strung along the alluvial valley as far north as the Río Culiacán but with many small settlements lying in and along the margins of the interior basins, "which stretch north and south, and form a sort of foothill belt to the high mountains behind." The Río Culiacán was the northern border of the high native culture in Mexico (Sauer, "The Road" 6), and so it is not surprising that the province of Culiacán constituted the settled northern extreme of Nueva Galicia.

With respect to the archaeological cultures of western and northwestern Mexico, this resource-rich area has long been appreciated as a zone through which long-distance trade could travel; this is apparent from the experiences of Cabeza de Vaca and Coronado. However, the study of the area's possible role as a hearth or subhearth of agriculture and/or sedentary lifestyles is a new development in archaeological study. Weigand and Foster (2–3) observed that there is much evidence for the existence of complex societies during the Classic period in Western Mesoamerica, which survived until about A.D. 900 or 1000; however, by the time of the Spanish invasion of the western area, no complex or urbanized societies existed there except for the Purépecha state (Weigand 48). A resurgence during the fourteenth century culminated in the Tarascan (Purépecha) kingdom and smaller conquest and trading states of Acoliman, Sayula, Tlala, Etzatlán, Sentispac, Acaponeta, and others (Weigand and Foster 3).

Augmenting the understanding of Sauer's day, contemporary archaeology argues that two routes of commerce and perhaps occasional migration connected the metropolis of central Mexico with the rare-resource provinces of the far northwest: the coastal route and the inland. The coastal route, which is the one with which we are concerned here, was self-maintaining, passing through areas of high ecological potential and high populations; it appears to have operated almost continuously (Weigand and Foster 3–4).

Sauer ("The Road" 7) maintained that Guzmán's and Coronado's armies followed "old established Indian roads through the dense *monte* or thorny bush savanna and scrub steppe that covers all the coastal region of Sinaloa." These roads were at the place where the smooth coastal plain met the interior

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basins that aligned north and south with numerous water gaps leading from them into the coastal plain; the only difficulty in going northward was finding roads through the dense *monte* and avoiding the hazard of floods from the great rivers coming from the mountains.

Guzmán would establish four Spanish *villas* to defend his conquest, according to Sauer ("The Road" 8): San Miguel de Culiacán at the northern border (not on the Río Culiacán but on the Río San Lorenzo), Espíritu Santo on the Río Presidio of southern Sinaloa (called the Río Quezala in the province of Chiametla, in the period sources), Compostela on the intermediate plateau of Tepic, and Guadalajara on the central plateau (map 10).

9. NUÑO DE GUZMÁN'S CONQUEST OF NUEVA GALICIA

9.A. *Guzmán's Expedition of 1530 to 1531: Tepic to Culiacán*

Was Guzmán prepared to lead a conquest expedition? On recalling the general devastation of the area of Nayarit and Sinaloa that his conquest occasioned (Sauer, "The Road" 7; Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 42b–43a), the reader is reminded of the objection lodged before the expedition by the archbishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga (CDI 16:371) to the effect that Guzmán should not lead any such expedition because he lacked experience in military leadership and had led men by force when they were in chains. Although Guzmán (Chipman, "The Will" 244) made the general claim of having served the emperor "in wars as well as in all other matters" since his youth, no evidence is available to suggest that he had a military background.

His preparations for the conquest are illustrated in the 1531 Huejotzingo Codex, in which a native artist depicted on *amatl* paper the provisions for war furnished by the people of Huexocingo (fig. 16), a jurisdiction adjacent to and allied with Tlaxcala (Gerhard, *A Guide* 141a). The eight male and twelve female yoked slaves at the bottom of the painting were apparently sold to Indian merchants in order to purchase the gold leaf for the Madonna banner, which was probably one of the earliest native Mexican representations of the Madonna and child (USLC, *Harkness Collection Guide* 51, 62–63).

After leaving Tepic, which was the northern limit reached by Francisco Cortés de San Buenaventura in 1524, Guzmán and his army proceeded in a northwesterly direction to the Río Grande de Santiago, carrying with them by force Purépechas as warriors and bearers. There, as mentioned, he established the southern boundary of his conquest, naming it "the Conquest of the Holy Spirit of Greater Spain" and appointing the customary royal treasury officials: Hernando Chirinos (Cherino) as inspector of mines, Francisco de Verdugo as treasurer, Juan de Sámano as factor, and Cristóbal de

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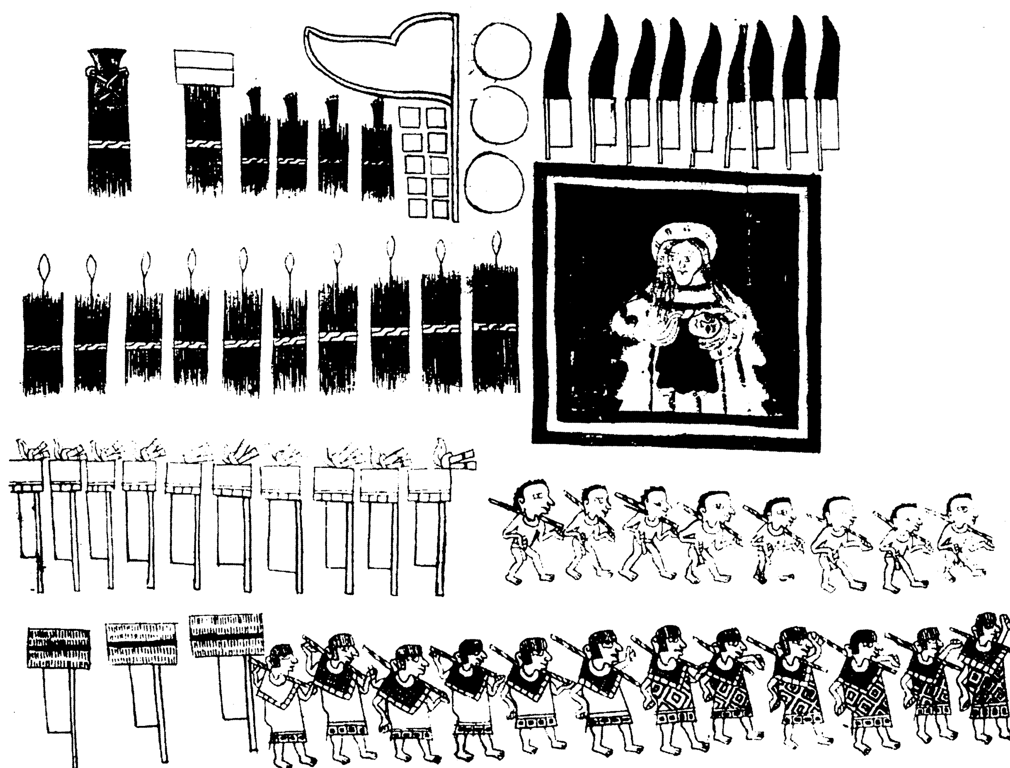

Figure 16. One native community's contribution to Nuño de Guzmán's war chest for his conquest of northwestern Mexico as depicted by a native artist in the 1531 Huejotzingo Codex. Painting 5. USLC, Manuscript Division, Harkness Collection, HC-M2.

Oñate as comptroller (CDI 14:429). In the official inquiry into these actions, Guzmán was described by a hostile witness, Pedro de Carranza (CDI 14:358), as having declared himself "president and governor of New Spain, and he called that land from the river onward Greater Spain," commanding that henceforth it should be so called as he went forward taking possession, slashing trees with his sword.

Shortly thereafter the hardest battle of the expedition was fought at Tecomatlán ("Tercera relación" 136–37), and then another at Sila, or Cillán, between Ixcuintla and Sentispac (Sauer and Brand 43). The expeditionaries reached the Río Trinidad (today called the Río San Pedro) and established themselves at Omitlán for forty days ("Tercera relación" 137). From there, probably near present-day Tuxpan, according to Sauer and Brand (43), Guzmán (CDI 13:356–93) wrote his account of 8 July 1530 of the conquest of Michoacán. Sauer and Brand (43–44) observed that this floodplain country must have been densely populated, given the fact that the Spaniards, with their army of thousands of native allies, sustained what they considered to be

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a major encounter, their army being fed at a single town for almost a month and a half. Witnesses, including Gonzalo López, testified to the agricultural richness of the area (CDI 14:431; "Tercera relación" 137).

Guzmán's conquest of the area north of the Río Grande de Santiago to the Río Culiacán, heavily aided (and encumbered) by Mexica and Tlaxcalan allies and recently enslaved Purépechas taken in the conquest of Michoacán, met with little resistance in the areas the army traversed. From the Río Trinidad (today's San Pedro), which was claimed and named by Guzmán after Easter of 1530 (CDI 13:391) to the Acaponeta valley, the expeditionaries traveled across marshes; they arrived at Aztatlán and were met by squadrons of warriors who threatened them and then fled ("Tercera relación" 137; "Cuarta relación" 108). They were overtaken by terrible flooding of the Río Acaponeta in the province of Aztatlán and spent five months there ("Tercera relación" 137). The expedition was nearly lost, as the toll in provisions and livestock was great, and Spaniards as well as Indian allies and local natives began to fall ill and perish ("Tercera relación" 138; "Cuarta relación" 108–09). According to Sauer and Brand (44–45), the natives of the area had constructed many artificial mounds to protect themselves from the seasonal summer flooding, but witnesses (CDI 14:437; "Cuarta relación" 108) recalled that most of the natives' houses were lost. "All the land had become a sea," recalled Gonzalo López (CDI 14:437).

Famine and mortality marked the end of the flood, and the army proceeded to Chiametla by a narrow strip of land that was the passageway between mountain and estuary. López (CDI 14:439) estimated that some three thousand of their Indian allies had perished due to the floods ("las grandes humedades"). Before they left Aztatlán, however, López (CDI 14:437–38) testified that some soldiers had arrived from Jalisco, saying that the Indians of Jalisco had killed livestock and beaten the Spaniards and that the Indians of Zacualpa had killed Indian messengers who went forth to send for them; in Aguacatlán the Indians had robbed and stolen from the Spaniards. López (CDI 14:438) was sent south to Jalisco to collect and brand slaves, while the army marched the fourteen leagues from Aztatlán to Chiametla.

All witnesses agreed that slaves were taken at Jalisco and Aguacatlán ("Tercera relación" 138; CDI 14:361; "Cuarta relación" 111, 113). Guzmán's partisans and enemies disagreed on the extent and legality of the slave taking. Guzmán (73–74), Gonzalo López (CDI 14:462), and the third reporter ("Tercera relación" 138) declared that the only Indians to be enslaved by war were those at Jalisco, Aguacatlán, and Zacualpa; Guzmán's critics claimed that it was done with excessive cruelty by leaving Indians from the south in the north permanently as slaves ("Cuarta relación" 111–14; CDI 14:361, 363, 369). From Jalisco, Zacualpa, and Aguacatlán, López (CDI 14:462) testified

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that about a thousand slaves were taken in all; this would have been during the months of November and December 1530, after the September 1530 floods at Aztatlán.

At Chiametla the army was met peacefully by the natives, who later rebelled at being forced to carry heavy cargo ("Tercera relación" 138–39; "Cuarta relación" 110–11); they fled and went to war against the Spaniards, "and they are at war to this very day," said the fourth reporter in late 1531 or early 1532 ("Cuarta relación" 111). From here, Guzmán sent Francisco de Verdugo back south to populate the *villa* of Espíritu Santo at Tepic before the army marched farther northward. It was at Chiametla, according to Gonzalo López, that they learned about the great province of Culiacán (CDI 14:439).

The army marched on to the coastal mesas of the Río Presidio in the district of Quezala ("Tercera relación" 140; "Cuarta relación" 115) and went well inland by way of a wide road opened for them by the natives along the settlements that bordered the sierra. The third reporter ("Tercera relación" 140–41) noticed in particular that from there onward, the people were different in language and way of life, with the houses being more sparsely settled than those seen previously, such as at Aztatlán. From the northern end of the jurisdiction of Chiametla, Guzmán sent exploring expeditions downriver to the sea and others to the sierra. Accounts ("Tercera relación" 140) emphasize that this area in Sinaloa was well populated, not only along streams but away from them. It seems that this country was "dotted in all directions with small settlements and with a major streak of population following the [Río] Presidio" (Sauer and Brand 46). They called the area Los Frisoles because they saw great fields sown with beans ("Tercera relación" 141; "Cuarta relación" 115; CDI 14:440); the floodplains here were restricted to narrow strips, with most of the area being residual basins and low ranges (Sauer and Brand 46).

Continuing north, Guzmán's expedition arrived in the province of Piaxtla; the Río Piaxtla area had little food and even lacked sufficient water for the army ("Tercera relación" 142); the river was settled on both sides, but while the Spaniards were there, the people did not come forward to submit themselves, and so "leaving the settled area destroyed, we went on," declared the fourth reporter ("Cuarta relación" 115–16; Sauer and Brand 46–47). Three leagues farther, Guzmán's force came to the Río de la Sal (today's Río Elota), called Pochotla by the natives ("Tercera relación" 142; "Cuarta relación" 116), which was much superior to the Piaxtla in alluvial land. There were larger settlements again, and the army burned the entire populated area; at the next great settlement, the men found few people but much food (Sauer and Brand 47). Obviously, the inhabitants had fled in advance of their arrival. According to the third reporter ("Tercera relación" 142), food and fish were plentiful;

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the province had many settlements attached to it, and from Piaxtla onward, the houses were well made and close together, with straw roofs ("Tercera relación" 142).

The next great river was the one Guzmán's expeditionaries attributed to the habitation of the Amazons, today's Río San Lorenzo, known to the Spaniards of 1530 as the Río Ciguatán, or "of the Amazons," earlier reported by Hernán Cortés in his fourth letter (see chap. 16, sec. 4.B). Oviedo (*Historia* 3:577a [bk. 34, chap. 8]) correctly observed that Ciguatán meant "settlement of women." As León-Portilla (38) noted, the Spaniards' expectations may have been created by this information from their interpreters. The third reporter ("Tercera relación" 140, 142) stated that they had learned about the Amazons at Chiametla and had intelligence about Ciguatán "for about a year," although the great promise he understood it to hold did not materialize. He added that they learned from their interpreters the story of Amazon women and concluded, "The secret of it all could not be discovered because the interpreters we had were not very good" ("Tercera relación" 143). The expeditionaries soon had to concede that the preponderance of women was due to the fact that the men had abandoned the area in order to attack the Spaniards from elsewhere; they proceeded northward from this area, "leaving the land at war" ("Cuarta relación" 117). According to the first anonymous account of the conquest of Nueva Galicia ("Primera relación" 157), at this point Guzmán decided to pursue a search for the "Seven Cities," an area of settlements as large and rich as those of Mexico. We will return to this theme later.

At the Río Ciguatán (today's San Lorenzo), the main body of the expedition overran the valley and left a trail of burned houses and fields; this river valley was densely populated. There were "very good settlements," and foodstuffs (maize, vegetables, fish, fruit) were plentiful; at the place on the Ciguatán that they would later settle as the *villa* of San Miguel, they heard once again about the rich province of Culiacán still to the north ("Tercera relación" 143; "Cuarta relación" 117).

The following march took them to the Río Tamazula, the settlement of which they found well up into the hill country, at the threshold, according to Sauer and Brand (48), of the country of Culiacán about which they had heard reports farther south, at Ciguatán ("Tercera relación" 143). The Río Tamazula, as one of the main tributaries of the Río Culiacán (Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 238b, 256a), should not be confused with the Río Tetamochala (today's Río Fuerte), located north of the Río Sinaloa; it was at the Tetamochala, sometimes called the Tamachola ("Segunda relación" 166–67), that the Diego de Guzmán expedition heard of the outcome of Cortés's Diego

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de Hurtado Mendoza expedition to the South Sea (Smith, *Colección* 101–02; see chap. 16, sec. 6.B and map 9).

The expeditionaries turned downstream to come upon great numbers of small settlements with the houses placed close together ("Tercera relación" 143–44; "Cuarta relación" 119). After spending several days in the hilly country of the Tamazula, they arrived at a wide valley floor ("Primera relación" 156) and a very large settlement, called Humaya ("Tercera relación" 144), situated on the alluvial plains bordering the Tamazula. Next they went to the Río Humaya and subsequently arrived at another large settlement, called Colombo, close to the confluence of the Humaya and Culiacán rivers ("Tercera relación" 144). After a major battle fought with some twenty-four to thirty thousand Indian enemies, the expedition captured the lord of Colombo; unable to bring these peoples to peace, the men continued ahead toward Culiacán ("Tercera relación" 144–45; "Primera relación" 156).

The first reporter ("Primera relación" 156), who would later become the chief administrator of San Miguel de Culiacán, described this area of the Culiacán valley as land more densely populated than any he had seen in the Indies, nine leagues of it being lined with native settlements on both sides, each one with five or six hundred houses located three quarters of a league to a league apart. The third reporter ("Tercera relación" 150) declared that there had been enough food there to sustain not only the entire army for three months but also, for half a year, the men who settled there (*vecinos*); he remarked that there were more than two hundred settlements subject to the lords of Culiacán.

We know from the Joint Report testimony as studied by Oviedo (*Historia* 3:611b [bk. 35, chap. 6]) and Cabeza de Vaca's *relación* (f57v, f58r, f59r) that Nuño de Guzmán's conquest of Nueva Galicia led to slave hunting still practiced in 1536 by his captain, Diego de Alcaraz, and others. Defending his conduct of the conquest, Guzmán (73–74; ENE 2:147–48) expressed his antipathy toward Indian slavery and claimed to have taken slaves only in the province of Jalisco in preparation for his conquest march northward. According to the testimony of the fourth reporter ("Cuarta relación" 112–13), Guzmán had taken a thousand slaves in Aguacatlán, Zacualpa, and Jalisco as he prepared in 1530 for the conquest of the north. Gonzalo López (CDI 14:438, 461–62), Guzmán's second-in-command (*maestre de campo*), gave the same testimony, obviously not intending to condemn his commander but rather to insist that Guzmán had acted in accordance with laws in effect at the time. All these, according to Guzmán, were slaves taken in a just war (*esclavos de guerra*). With respect to the other mechanism for enslavement, exchanging for goods Indians presumably acquired by barter or purchase who were already enslaved in their own societies (*esclavos de rescate*), Guzmán (ENE

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2:147) denied any such practice, as did Gonzalo López (CDI 14:461), who testified that his superior did not permit his soldiers to trade Indian slaves for other goods.

The fourth reporter ("Cuarta relación" 124), a witness against Nuño de Guzmán in the testimony presented before the Second Audiencia, charged that Guzmán distributed Indian slaves to the conquistadors as booty and that he issued slaving licenses in order to do so. Specifically, he charged that Guzmán left in the north the Indian allies from the central valley of Mexico and Jalisco, distributing them, "free men made slaves," to the newly settled residents of the *villa* of San Miguel de Culiacán. He mentioned by name seven other witnesses who he said could corroborate his testimony on this matter ("Cuarta relación" 124–25). The fourth reporter also testified that Guzmán's granting of slaving licenses for the purpose was a matter of public knowledge. (Zavala ["Nuño de Guzmán" 417] published an example of a slaving license that Guzmán had issued not in Nueva Galicia but in Pánuco two years earlier [3 March 1529] for taking *esclavos de rescate.*)

From this point, the major part of the expedition did not go forward, as it found no route to the north (Sauer and Brand 49). At Culiacán, which was about halfway to the pueblo country, Guzmán began a series of attempts to scale the mountain barrier to the east. According to the third reporter ("Tercera relación" 145), the expeditionaries could not determine what settlements, if any, lay ahead, because their interpreters (some under torture) gave contradictory reports; at the same time, they could not go via the coast because of the dense vegetation. Guzmán determined to explore possibilities upriver and inland and overland to the North Sea, as well as to the north along the coast of the South Sea. The trek north revealed uninhabited areas and the lack of any potential passageway by which to traverse them. The explorations eastward led to some upland areas that were well populated and rich in foodstuffs, but the sierras were too rugged for the full army or even small reconnaissance parties to successfully penetrate, and the plains beyond were understood to be mostly unpopulated ("Tercera relación" 146; "Cuarta relación" 120). We examine more closely below Guzmán's attempts to go overland to the North Sea.

9.B. *Other Roads to Pánuco: Gonzalo López's Overland Explorations (1530 to 1531)*

From this western coastal region of Mexico, Nuño de Guzmán's men made three attempts to find another "road to Pánuco." Proceeding from north to south along rivers that would carry them eastward, Gonzalo López and his men explored the Culiacán-Humaya-Tamazula river system. They began at

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the Río Humaya, the northernmost main affluent of the Culiacán. Finding that route impossible, they went to the next major tributary to the south, the Tamazula. With no success there, they left the Culiacán system and proceeded still farther south to the Río Ciguatán (today's San Lorenzo). Again unsuccessful, they returned downstream. Upon their return, Guzmán decided to found a Spanish settlement as the northernmost outpost of his conquest. It is for this reason that the *villa* of San Miguel de Culiacán was founded on the Río Ciguatán, as indicated by the primary sources, and not on the Río Culiacán, as is often misinterpreted by modern scholars.

Gonzalo López narrated his personal recollections of these particular explorations in his account of the conquest of Nueva Galicia (CDI 14:411–61, see 450–59), and Pedro de Carranza (CDI 14:367–68) mentioned each briefly. Sauer ("The Road" 9–10) summarized them as follows: the first entry was led by Cristóbal de Oñate and Gonzalo López in two sections up the Humaya river valley; they stopped when they encountered the sierra rampart. The second was Gonzalo López's attempt via the southern headwaters of Culiacán, that is, the Tamazula drainage; he got to the sierra country of Topia before being stopped by the ruggedness of the terrain. The third attempt was a still more southerly route, going from the headwaters of the Río Ciguatán and reaching at least the valley of Durango (map 10).

To appreciate the challenge met in these explorations, we refer the reader to Gerhard's (*The North Frontier* 39a) description of the area that Gonzalo López would seek to traverse. The region to be called Nueva Galicia "climbs from the Pacific coast to the Sierra Madre Occidental, then sweeps across the great plains of north central Mexico to foothills of the Sierra Madre Oriental. The mountainous western half is extremely rugged country cut into by great canyons (*barrancas*) dropping off to a narrow alluvial plain on the edge of the sea."

The first mission was on the Río Culiacán and its affluents. Cristóbal de Oñate was sent downstream on the Culiacán but found nothing. Gonzalo López went up the Humaya for twenty leagues into a sparsely populated area; he was stopped when he arrived at a huge precipice that he could not traverse (CDI 14:450). His next journey took him south to the Río Tamazula, which he then followed eastward; it led him to a well-populated area, but he found nothing of note except large parrots, the inhabitants having left the settlements. He and his men went farther and found areas sown with frijoles; they pursued their course until they could find no way out of the sierras, "either ahead or behind" (CDI 14:453).

Next, Guzmán sent Lope de Samaniego northward. The only published account of this reconnaissance mission is found in the account of the third anonymous reporter (as identified by García Icazbalceta), who participated

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in this mission ("Tercera relación" 146–47). According to this testimony, Lope de Samaniego and his men (twenty horsemen, twenty foot soldiers) went up the coast with a guide who communicated by signs that there was a great river far ahead that came down from the sierras and was well populated by a warlike people; they would have to endure a ten-day journey without food or water to get there. The trip was as the guide promised; traveling sometimes in the sierras and sometimes along the plains, they found no water, except for pools of rainwater. Arriving at the river, which came to be known as the Petatlán, they followed it downstream to a settlement of some five hundred houses made of reeds (*petates*) where twenty-five hundred men of war awaited them. There was a skirmish. The Spaniards marveled at the primitive nature of these people and the style of their dwellings, which this witness compared to covered carts like those used in "La Mancha of Aragón in Spain" ("Tercera relación" 147). These people dressed in skins from the game they hunted; their houses were oriented toward the sea, and they did not cultivate. The terrain was so impassable that the exploring party went no farther and returned to camp in the Culiacán valley ("Tercera relación" 147–48).

The third attempt to go overland to Pánuco then commenced, with Nuño de Guzmán and his men being led by the advance party of Gonzalo López. It originated on the Río Ciguatán, up which López and his men were led by a guide who promised to take them to a very well populated area in the plains country. López led them to the origin of the Río Ciguatán (San Lorenzo) and through passes in mountains (some horses collapsed; he sent for more) and to a very beautiful settlement with an abundance of prickly pears (CDI 14:453–56). Having seen them coming from afar, the inhabitants had fled. After getting them to submit peacefully, the expeditionaries discovered that they had no interpreters who could understand them. Continuing toward the east, López and his men came at last to plains, and they descended to them with great difficulty. Later attacked, they nevertheless continued on with the hope of finding well-inhabited areas lying ahead. Traveling sixty leagues farther, López found nothing but encampments of Chichimecas; finally, he arrived at a river where there were many prickly pears and where the banks were lined with trees that produced mesquite (*mezquiques*) (CDI 14:457–58), suggesting they were in a terrain similar to that traversed in 1535 by Cabeza de Vaca and his companions. Called "mesquite" by Oviedo (*Historia* 3:604b [bk. 35, chap. 5]), *mezquiquez* was described by Cabeza de Vaca as "a fruit that, when it is on the tree, is very bitter, and it is like carobs" (f45r). This river flowed sometimes eastward, sometimes southward; here, the guides with López knew neither how to take the exploring party away from the river nor how to follow it. López decided not to go forward, concerned for

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the jeopardy they would be in if Nuño de Guzmán should bring the entire company through the unpopulated lands. Guzmán did bring his men into the sierras, and he made the ascent to the highest point López had gained; there Guzmán decided not to go farther due to the risk to the entire army. Given these circumstances and the fact that he had traversed such a broad, unpopulated area and had no provisions to cover the seventy-league return journey, Guzmán determined that they should all turn back (CDI 14:459).

Sauer ("The Road" 10) estimated that the Guzmán and López parties thus went at least as far as the "Sierra of Durango, one of the most terrific mountain barriers in North America." He also suggested that Guzmán's goal was not the Seven Cities but rather Pánuco in order to establish "a frontier province from Atlantic to Pacific north of New Spain" (Sauer, "The Road" 10). The evidence presented by Guzmán himself supports this interpretation, as we observe. Guzmán would make no further attempts to cross Mexico from the northern reaches of Nueva Galicia via the river valleys of Sinaloa; when he did so successfully, it would be from the south, departing from the capital at Compostela.

9.C. *Settlement at San Miguel de Culiacán*

After the Guzmán/López expedition's return to the Río Ciguatán, they remained there for some four months; during this time, in 1531, Guzmán founded the *villa* of San Miguel de Culiacán (CDI 14:460–61; "Tercera relación" 143, 151). Guzmán located it on the "Río de las mujeres," as Pedro de Carranza (CDI 14:368) referred to it, or, as Oviedo (*Historia* 3:577b [bk. 34, chap. 8]) said, "in the province of the non-Amazons." The first reporter ("Primera relación" 158) referred to this river as the Horabá rather than the Ciguatán and noted that the settlement's original site was five leagues upstream from its current site; both he and Gonzalo López (CDI 14:460) remarked that this situated the *villa* in a location that could be served by the peoples of the area, extending from the Río Culiacán south to the Río Piaxtla.

The men incorporated the settlement and elected magistrates and councilmen; Guzmán named Diego de Proaño chief magistrate and military captain (*alcalde mayor y capitán*) ("Cuarta relación" 124). According to the fourth reporter ("Cuarta relación" 124), an anti-Guzmán witness, Guzmán gave permission to the residents to take slaves, since it was "a new land and the residents very much in debt," and he left in the province of Culiacán in Sinaloa as slaves—some chained by the neck and others in stocks—free Indians from the central valley of Mexico and Jalisco who had served the Spaniards in the conquest. Both Guzmán and witnesses on his behalf claimed

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that he ordered the taking of war slaves (*esclavos de guerra*) only in Jalisco; he and they were silent on the subject of taking slaves by barter.

Upon his return to Jalisco, Guzmán (70, 72) founded the Spanish municipalities of Espíritu Santo and Guadalajara. This Espíritu Santo, officially founded in 1531 by Francisco de Verdugo under orders from Guzmán (ENE 2:11–13), was the one he had already settled in 1530 at Tepic ("un lugar de indios") (CDI 13:438) on the march north. It would be renamed Compostela and become the capital of Nueva Galicia in 1532 (ENE 2:143). It is not to be confused with the already founded but short-lived *villa* also called Espíritu Santo on the Río Quezala (modern Río Presidio) in the province of Chiametla that Guzmán would shortly send Cristóbal de Barrios to populate once the Jalisco *villa* was officially founded (Guzmán 73; "Primera relación" 160). When the Diego de Guzmán expedition later passed through Chiametla on its way home at the end of 1533, Jorge Robledo reported that they found Espíritu Santo in dire straits; the Indians were up in arms, and they had killed the captain, Diego de la Cueva, as well as many other *vecinos* ("Segunda relación" 175). Nuño de Guzmán (72) did not found Guadalajara himself but sent Juan de Oñate to do so. It was located at Teul/Tonalá some thirty leagues from Jalisco, "toward Mexico and toward Pánuco," according to the first reporter ("Primera relación" 158; CDI 14:461; Oviedo *Historia* 3:577b [bk. 34, chap. 8]).

The foundation of these *villas* is significant, not only for strategic reasons of holding territories claimed and controlling the regional native population. These foundations reveal as well, according to Helen Nader (214), the assumptions that most Spanish conquistadors and settlers had about how the Indies would be organized and governed, namely, as self-governing municipalities like those of Castile, in which the conquistadors as new settlers would become the leading citizens. In these assumptions both laymen and clergy agreed. Nader (219) cited as a prime example the first such foundation, the creation of La Rica Villa de la Veracruz, which underscored the conquistadors' idea of importing the autonomous Castilian town to the Indies when it was founded in the time-honored tradition of Castile by the Cortés expedition to Mexico on 21 April 1519.

The details of that occasion illustrate the points relevant to Guzmán's foundation of San Miguel de Culiacán, the two Espíritu Santos (one in Chiametla, the other in Jalisco), and Guadalajara. In Veracruz in 1519, the five hundred men who accompanied Cortés to Mexico "assembled in town meeting and asked him to appoint interim judges and town councilmen for the town they wanted to establish" (Nader 219). The following day, Cortés accepted their request, appointed magistrates and councilmen, and received from those present the solemn vow that was customary in such cases (Cortés,

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Cartas de relación 136). The men elected Cortés as their captain and leader and chief justice (*alcalde mayor*) of the town as well as representatives to go to Spain to seek royal recognition of the municipality (Cortés, *Cartas de relación* 138). Such were the typical features of the establishment of the Spanish *villa* in the Indies and the type of procedure Guzmán no doubt followed.

Upon learning that he was no longer president of the Audiencia and that Luis de Castilla had been sent as Cortés's lieutenant to pacify and settle the province of Jalisco with the authority of the Second Audiencia, Guzmán (70–71) quickly moved to establish the already mentioned municipality in Jalisco at Tepic in late 1531, calling the *villa* Espíritu Santo (later Compostela), where he had Castilla captured and sent to México-Tenochtitlán ("Cuarta relación" 126–28; "Primera relación" 159). According to Bancroft (*History of Mexico* 369), Cortés as captain general "commissioned Luis de Castilla, a knight of Santiago, of noble family, to proceed with a hundred men to settle and rule the country bordered on the north by Rio Tololotlan." The royal commission Castilla carried had apparently been issued under false pretenses because the province of Jalisco had never been subjugated by Cortés; Guzmán responded by having a notary draw up his answer and protest, and the governor threatened Castilla with "a traitor's doom" (beheading) if he did not depart within four hours (Bancroft, *History of Mexico* 370–71). This attempt by Cortés to expel Guzmán from the land south of the Río Santiago failed, according to Parry (*The Audiencia* 25), who observed that the "immediate and practical result was to confirm to New Galicia the region between the Santiago and the strongly-held *pueblos* of Avalos." Thus the boundary between Nueva Galicia and New Spain was effectively established (Gerhard, *The North Frontier* 44b–45a).

9.D. *The Seven Cities Myth*

The myth of the Seven Cities was a powerful one, and it found its way even into the testimony gathered from witnesses in the years after Nuño de Guzmán's original expedition of 1530–31. However, we find it in none of the accounts of participants in the expedition—neither in those of the third and fourth anonymous reporters nor in the ones of Gonzalo López, Pedro de Carranza, or García del Pilar. Guzmán himself never mentioned the pursuit of seven fabulous cities, either in his July 1530 letter from Omitlán (CDI 13:356–93, see 392), in which he discussed his pursuit of the settlement of women, in his "Memoria" (66–67), or in his letter to the emperor of 10 March 1534 (CDI 13:436–42). Nevertheless, it would become after the fact a topos of his northwestern exploration and conquest; we examine it briefly here.

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Guzmán's supposed pursuit of the Seven Cities was mentioned in two of the accounts of his conquest of Nueva Galicia, neither of which was written by members of the original 1530–31 expedition. Both the first anonymous relation and the second one, by Jorge Robledo, made reference to them. According to the first reporter, Guzmán sent Gonzalo López in the spring of 1531 into the sierras to look for the cities, "of which he had notice at the time of his departure from Mexico," after Lope de Samaniego had gone north as far as the Río Petatlán and found only poorly clad people in a narrowing coastal plain; López's mission was unsuccessful, traversing unpopulated, very flat highland territory after struggling up into the sierras ("Primera relación" 157).

The secondhand character of the first reporter's information is revealed by his ignorance of the chronology; Guzmán had already sent Gonzalo López on two reconnaissance missions into the sierras prior to sending Samaniego northward (not afterward, as the first reporter states). Furthermore, López's goal had been to reach not the Seven Cities, as claimed by the first reporter ("Primera relación" 157), but rather Pánuco. Jorge Robledo ("Segunda relación" 173), who participated not in the Nuño de Guzmán conquests of 1530–31 but rather the Diego de Guzmán expedition of 1533, claimed after the fact that the goal of Diego de Guzmán's and Nuño de Guzmán's previous missions had been the Seven Cities. In this somewhat bizarre intervention, Robledo claimed that Diego de Guzmán's party went not only to discover the fabled cities, "because the governor had news of them," but also to find a river that emptied into the South Sea that was to have been four or five leagues wide and across which the Indians had placed a chain of iron to stop the boats that came down it.

Just as the passage of time no doubt colored the tale that Jorge Robledo told about the objectives his company had pursued in 1533, so too Pedro de Castañeda Nájera's account of the Coronado expedition (1540–42, written well after the events [c. 1560–65]) (Mora 43), wove fantasies of even greater dimension. By framing his account of the Coronado expedition with the story of Nuño de Guzmán's Indian guide (called Tejo by the Spaniards), Castañeda in effect claimed that Guzmán's information motivated Coronado's search for Cíbola; Guzmán was to have learned of rich and populous cities to the north, thanks to an Indian in his service from the valley of Oxitipa near Pánuco, whose merchant father had visited the far northwestern interior (Mora 63–64 [pt. 1, chap. 1]).

The Indian Tejo had reported that his deceased father had been a trader and that he had accompanied him when a child. Trading plumes for the gold and silver that abounded in that faraway land, Tejo said that as a boy he had seen there seven very large settlements (pueblos), in which the streets

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were lined with silversmiths' shops. The distance (presumably from Oxitipa) was calculated as two hundred leagues, necessitating some forty days' travel through deserted country bare of vegetation but for grasses a span high. The direction was along the land between the two seas, following to the north, said Castañeda (Mora 64 [pt. 1, chap. 1]). Castañeda's (Mora 65–66 [pt. 1, chap. 2]) second declared justification for the expedition was Cabeza de Vaca's contribution to the Seven Cities myth, that is, his alleged report to the viceroy Mendoza about "powerful pueblos with houses four or five stories high, and other things very different from what turned out to be the truth" on the Coronado expedition of 1540–42.

The attempts of Nuño de Guzmán and Gonzalo López to go into the sierra and eastward in 1530–31 had more to do with the prospect of cutting across the continent to Pánuco than with a search for legendary cities. Although he was unsuccessful in 1530–31, Nuño de Guzmán would make that journey in 1533. Ironically, Cabeza de Vaca and his companions were not the first Europeans to cross the breadth of North America through northern Mexico; that distinction belongs to Nuño de Guzmán, although, unlike that of his compatriots, little attention has been paid to the route he might have taken.

9.E. *Guzmán's Crossing of Mexico (1533 to 1534)*

Nuño de Guzmán's reasons for crossing Mexico give the lie to any notions attributed to him about the search for the Seven Cities. As is by now abundantly clear, his goal was not the pursuit of fanciful chimeras but the creation of "Greater Spain" (Mayor España) from which he would rule a domain larger than that of Hernán Cortés and in defiance of increasing crown authority over the Indies. His crossing of Mexico was pursuant to this objective, and the native guide from Oxitipa in his service since his Pánuco days no doubt facilitated this successful west-to-east journey and return.

We have already cited Guzmán's reference in his "Memoria" (67) to his crossing of Mexico, from Compostela to Pánuco, in 1533, where he wrote of "passing to the North Sea to learn what that area contained," traversing "thirty leagues of mountain ranges with no roads and very rugged land . . . where we lost many horses and mares and much livestock." He calculated the entire distance as exceeding two hundred leagues. Guzmán (77–78) spoke of this in greater detail somewhat later, telling that he brought thirty horsemen (forty, in his account of 10 March 1534) (CDI 13:437) to make the crossing of some two hundred leagues through uninhabited lands where feeding the party was difficult and horses and a mule and black slaves were lost due to drowning, since it was flood season. Guzmán sent ahead an order to the Spaniards at Santisteban del Puerto to conquer the valleys of Oxitipa,

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which he estimated to be twenty leagues from Pánuco; he then founded Santiago de los Valles upon his arrival in 1533, settling in it twenty-five *vecinos* and organizing the service of native local communities already attached to Pánuco to the new Spanish settlement, "so that the Indians could serve the Spaniards without hardship and receive better treatment from them," the distances being shorter and more manageable (Guzmán 78). This was, as Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 243) pointed out, the second Spanish *villa* established in the Pánuco region. Just as he was adjudicating matters of justice and establishing order in the region, Guzmán (78) lamented, he received word that he had been removed as governor of Pánuco.

Guzmán (79) calculated his absence from Nueva Galicia to be almost a year, and it may have been slightly longer. The latest notice of his presence in Nueva Galicia is 26 January 1533, and in a letter of 9 February 1533 (ENE 3:22–23), the Second Audiencia notified the empress that Guzmán had informed them that he was searching for a road through the sierras that would link Nueva Galicia and Pánuco; his original letter to Ramírez de Fuenleal explaining the project accompanied the Audiencia's letter to the empress but is not known to be extant. A letter from the Audiencia to the emperor of 11 May 1533 indicated that Guzmán was "engaged in the settlement of Galicia and of some places in the Valley of Oxitipa and elsewhere, previously settled by former settlers of Pánuco" (qtd. in Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 245). Guzmán arrived in Santisteban del Puerto in July 1533 (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 244). Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 244, 248) has been unable to specify the date that Guzmán founded Santiago de los Valles, although Guzmán (CDI 13:437) stated that he did so prior to his arrival at Santisteban; also undetermined is the date by which the governor received word of his removal from office in Pánuco. As to the date of his return from Pánuco to Compostela, he wrote to the emperor as late as 10 March 1534 from Santiago de los Valles (CDI 13:436–42), but the letter, as Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 248) states, offers no information about when he intended to make his return trek. Jorge Robledo (the second anonymous reporter), however, provided a fair estimate.

Robledo said that, upon his return from the Diego de Guzmán expedition to the Río Yaqui at the end of 1533, he went to the *villa* of Guadalajara to report to the governor. Arriving on Shrove Tuesday (Carnestolendas) and learning that Guzmán was in Pánuco, Robledo set out and arrived at the *villa* of San Luis during Holy Week, thus indicating that this second west-to-east trek across Mexico was a march of six weeks' duration ("Segunda relación" 175). Robledo said this Spanish municipality was in Huxitipa, which Carrera Stampa (160n235) identifies as Ojitipa (Oxitipa), where Guzmán had founded the *villa* of Santiago de los Valles the previous summer. Robledo

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("Segunda relación" 175) stated that he met the governor at San Luis and that Guzmán departed from there for Nueva Galicia on the second day of Easter ("segundo día de Pascua"), 1534. Neither this seasoned veteran of Mexican exploration nor Nuño de Guzmán offered any further clues about the trans-Mexico route or their journeys. Guzmán (CDI 13:437) simply remarked that the trek was extremely long, the lands uninhabited, and the waters abundant. Castañeda's report of the Indian Tejo confirms the time required for the journey (six weeks or forty days), the distance (two hundred leagues, which was Guzmán's own estimate), and the terrain (the barren plateaus of short grasses like those that Cabeza de Vaca [f50v–f51r] and his companions would later traverse).

10. DIEGO DE GUZMÁN'S EXPEDITION OF 1533

As just mentioned, while he was away in Pánuco in 1533, Nuño de Guzmán also sent out the expedition of Diego de Guzmán. Diego de Guzmán went northwest from Culiacán, crossing the rivers Mocorito, Sinaloa, Fuerte, and Mayo before arriving at the Yaqui, of which he took formal possession in October 1533, on the 4th or possibly the 18th or 19th (CDI 15:324, 333; Smith, *Colección* 98–99). According to Sauer ("The Road" 11–12), the expedition crossed the Fuerte (the Río Tetamochala in the 1533 accounts) on rafts because of the summer flooding and took a side excursion toward the coast to the settlement of Oremy (also Orumeme or Ahome in the accounts) before returning upriver. They took a three-day march to the Teocomo; three and a half days beyond that they arrived at the Río Mayo and then, some days later, at the great bend in the Río Yaqui at Cócorim. From a camp on the Yaqui, they reached the Indian settlement of Nebame on the third day. Nebame, which Sauer identified with Cumuripa, had been attacked by enemies from the north and was deserted (CDI 15:333; "Segunda relación" 171). The expedition was well guided over trails connecting the several rivers along which these related peoples lived (Sauer, "The Road" 13).

Robledo estimated the distance from Culiacán to the Río Petatlán to be fifty leagues and the distance from the Río Mayo to the Yaqui as seven or eight days' travel. There was only one major battle on this expedition, above the Río Yaqui, which the Spaniards and their allies easily won. The largest populations were found in Sinaloa province ("Segunda relación" 168), two days' journey to the south of the Río Mayo (CDI 15:329) (map 9).

Diego de Guzmán attempted to send reconnaissance parties up the Río Yaqui and into the sierras, but their passage was blocked by a canyon above Cumuripa that was impassable at that season because of the high waters. Guzmán (CDI 15:334) then sent Jorge Robledo downstream on the Yaqui

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toward the sea; it is this assignment that allows us to identify Robledo as the author of the second anonymous report ("Segunda relación" 172). It was south of the Río Mayo that a scouting party discovered relics of European manufacture at lower settlements on the Río Fuerte and on the Petatlán upon their return to Culiacán. They learned that these items were from the Diego Hurtado de Mendoza expedition to the South Sea, and they heard about the massacre of Cortés's crew the previous year ("Segunda relación" 166–67; Sauer, "The Road" 13). Just as Cabeza de Vaca (f56v) and his companions would later find at the Río Yaqui, these natives had taken the metal belt fasteners and hung them from strings to wear on their arms for adornment (see chap. 8, sec. 8). Regarding Cortés's Hurtado de Mendoza expedition and how Spaniards coming into the area learned about it from the natives, as well as about Cortés and Nuño de Guzmán's rivalry over the area, see chap. 16 (sec. 6.B).

11. REMOVAL FROM THE GOVERNORSHIP OF NUEVA GALICIA (1537) AND *RESIDENCIAS*

All his problems notwithstanding, Guzmán's promises of success had

> brought him appointment as governor over Nueva Galicia, instructions to the second audiencia to advise and favor him in every way possible, the payment of his salary in his old position up to the date of the arrival of the new government, a loan of money on security, permission to undergo residencia *in absentia*, and instructions to Cortés to stay out of New Galicia and confine his discoveries to the South Sea. (Aiton 25)

Cortés had in fact been instructed by the crown to stay out of the jurisdictions of both Nuño de Guzmán and Pánfilo de Narváez in decrees granting the marquis the rights to South Sea exploration of 9 May and 9 June 1530 (CDI 14:77–83). (For his initial 1529 grant, see chap. 16, sec. 6.B.)

As to the official inquiry into his presidency of the First Audiencia, Nuño de Guzmán was summoned to the capital "to answer at Mexico to the fast accumulating charges, including not only abuses as head of the administration, but the illegal appropriation of treasury funds for his expedition, the torture and execution of Tangaxoan [the Cazonci] and other outrages" (Bancroft, *History of Mexico* 368). But Guzmán refused to return, insisting that the conquest continued to demand his full attention. The Audiencia resolved to postpone the case, but orders came from Spain to investigate the main charges. Thus, instead of instigating a full-scale *residencia*, the judges "confined themselves to seizing Guzmán's goods, and to collecting evidence of the uselessness and rashness of his expedition,

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and the danger to which he had exposed the kingdom of New Spain by deserting his post" (Parry, *The Audiencia* 24). Depositions were taken and forwarded to Spain. Nevertheless, Guzmán was granted permission on 26 September 1530 to undergo *residencia* in absentia, owing to his conquest of the northwestern regions, for which he had departed at Christmastime in 1529 (Aiton 25n26; Warren, *Vasco de Quiroga* 78). Among the depositions was the brief *información* with its testimony by Zumárraga and other friars to which we have already referred (CDI 16:363–75) (sec. 6.A).

Guzmán was removed from the governorship of Nueva Galicia in January 1537; he was arrested by Diego Pérez de la Torre, the judge who was in charge of the *residencia* of Guzmán's governorship of Nueva Galicia, on 20 January (Chipman, "New Light" 347). Bernal Díaz (Castillo 598b–99b [chap. 198]) narrated how Guzmán was enticed into coming to the capital at the viceroy's invitation and then spirited out of the viceroy's palace and arrested by Pérez de la Torre after being feted by Mendoza, who was reluctant to participate in the arrest. After being jailed in the capital for a little more than three weeks, Guzmán wrote to the Council of the Indies on 13 February 1537, complaining that suddenly three *residencias* had been convoked against him at once (CDI 13:450–51). He expressed surprise that a *residencia* of his governorship of Pánuco was being called some eight or nine years after his one year of resident tenure there. He protested his imprisonment, carried out "as though he were a traitor," for the investigation of his governorship of Nueva Galicia, and he complained that the *residencia* of his presidency of the First Audiencia had been undertaken when he was absent and relied on native witnesses who had been bribed and Spaniards who were mostly subordinates and partisans of Cortés (CDI 13:453). He asked the members of the council to "not look at the surface of what the charges seem to be, but the way in which they were taken and the spirit in which it had been done" (CDI 13:455).

"Punished prior to sentencing" [Preso antes que sentenciado], as Guzmán (86) complained later from Spain, he had been put in the public jail in México-Tenochtitlán, "where blacks and thieves and other people were being held, and there I was for eighteen months and eighteen days a prisoner, without leaving a single day, and they tortured thieves and blacks and other people in my presence." His accounting was probably correct. Bancroft (*History of Mexico* 460) calculated (although most likely on the basis of Guzmán's calculation and without citing any other source) that he obtained release, thanks to the offices of Sebastián Rodríguez, on 30 June 1538; Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 278) concurred. His *residencia* as governor of Pánuco was carried out from March to September 1537 with Juan Álvarez de Castañeda as judge (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 253–54, 271–72). On the basis of a royal order given by the emperor on 17 March 1536,

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Guzmán's *residencia* as governor of Nueva Galicia was also undertaken in 1537 (Bancroft, *History of Mexico* 457).

Despite the fact that the *licenciado* Castañeda failed to declare him guilty of a single charge, Guzmán was not released, for his *residencia* as governor of Nueva Galicia dragged on after the completion of the other one (Chipman, *Nuño de Guzmán* 277). When freed from jail in México-Tenochtitlán in 1538, he was ordered to board the first ship bound for Seville and to appear there before the officers of the Casa de la Contratación. As Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 277) emphasized, Guzmán "was strictly forbidden to direct his own defense in the residencia of Nueva Galicia; rather he was to appoint a procurador . . . who would appear before Licenciado Diego Pérez de la Torre."

"And for one year in office, ten under investigation" [por un año de presidencia diez de residencia], Guzmán (88) lamented at the end of his post-1538 memorial. There he complained of having lost fifteen years of his life and his estate, being separated from it and his king by two thousand leagues, putting his life at risk among infidels without law or virtue, and suffering dangers "on land and sea, on mountain peaks, in valleys and rivers" without benefit to himself or service to God and king. Guzmán's *residencias*—as governor of Pánuco, president of the First Audiencia of New Spain, and governor of Nueva Galicia—occupied him from 1537 through the end of his life. According to Chipman's (*Nuño de Guzmán* 280–81) examination of the three *residencias* undergone by Guzmán, it appears that the Council of the Indies never made final dispositions in the case of any of them.

12. *CONTINO* OF THE ROYAL COURT (1540 TO 1558)

Unlike the popular accounts, begun with Hodge (Hodge and Lewis 285) and repeated until today (Pupo-Walker, *Naufragios* 302n871) to the effect that Guzmán died in obscurity in 1544, Donald Chipman's investigations, published three decades ago (1963, 1967) revealed that, on the contrary, Guzmán survived his return to Spain at the end of 1538 or beginning of 1539 for far more than a mere five years and not in obscurity but rather attached, once again, to the court of the emperor. This time, however, he was not designated solely by royal appointment but confined there on the orders of the Council of the Indies in consultation with the emperor.

Chipman ("New Light" 347–48) discovered that in 1539, Guzmán returned to his former position as *contino* (member of the royal bodyguard) of the royal court under Charles V; his name appeared on the *contino* roles over a period that began with the year 1539 and ended with the year 1561, when his entry was marked "deceased." However, as Chipman ("New Light" 348)

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revealed, Guzmán was a prisoner of the court for the duration on orders of the Council of the Indies; in certain annual roles, the notation "he is a prisoner in the court" appeared beside his name.

Oviedo mentioned that he met Guzmán at court in this capacity in 1547 (the same year Oviedo twice met Cabeza de Vaca at court), but he discreetly refrained from mentioning the circumstances little befitting a man of Guzmán's station. Oviedo (*Historia* 3:577b [bk. 34, chap. 8]) recalled that he took the opportunity to inquire of Guzmán about the existence of Amazon women, the notice of which Oviedo had reported in his account of Guzmán's conquest of Nueva Galicia. Oviedo said that Guzmán assured him that such reports of women living without men were nonsense and that on a second visit to their area he had found these women in the company of their male companions.

In 1552, Guzmán drew up an *información* offering proof of his residence in the court of Charles V from January 1540 to December 1551 (Chipman, "New Light" 348). Four witnesses who were also attached to the court reported that Guzmán made only two brief absences from court, and one suggests that he had done so with the express permission of the Council of the Indies, on whose orders he was confined there. Guzmán remained at court for the rest of his life, according to Chipman ("New Light" 348, *Nuño de Guzmán* 281), who has discovered that Guzmán died at Valladolid, according to his brother Gómez Suárez de Figueroa, on 6 October 1558. However, with the discovery of Guzmán's last will and testament, Chipman ("The Will" 248n11) was able to correct the date to 26 October 1558.

Guzmán's last will and testament, dated 19 October 1558 and thus prepared less than ten days before his death, reads more like a *relación de méritos y servicios* to the king than a final disposition of his earthly possessions. On the former score, he reiterated his services to the crown and made one last plea for remuneration, asking that the crown restore "to me all my Indian vassals with the fruits and rents from them from the day that they were taken from me" (Chipman, "The Will" 245).

Specifically, he listed the Indians that he had in the jurisdictions of the city of Compostela, Tepic, Sentispac, the town of San Miguel (de Culiacán), the city of Guadalajara, and the province of Tonalá. Since Guzmán was unmarried and left no legitimate heirs, he requested that all these Indians, and all past salaries if granted, be given to his brother the ambassador Gómez Suárez de Figueroa (Chipman, "The Will" 246).

According to Chipman (*Nuño de Guzmán* 115–16), Gómez Suárez was at the time ambassador to Genoa, a position in which he served for thirty years prior to his death in 1569. He had been appointed captain of infantry in the Spanish army in 1518, received the habit of the Order of Santiago in 1523,

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and served at arms in Italy in 1524 and 1525. After the battle of Pavia on 24 February 1525, he and his brother Hernán Beltrán de Figueroa served in the retinue that escorted the captive French king, Francis I, to Madrid, passing through Guadalajara on 9 August 1525. In his long years of diplomatic service, he had attained the titles of vicar of the emperor and captain general of the state of Milan.

Guzmán (Chipman, "The Will" 245) remarked that he had served the emperor since his youth, not only in wars but also on all other missions on which His Majesty had seen fit to send him. Here he reiterated the fruits of his labors as governor of Pánuco, from which he claimed the salary of eight years (1527–35) that the crown was unable to pay him except for a small portion because "his majesty did not have rents from which he was able to pay me, and thus he owes me almost all of the said salary as will be evident from the accounts of the officials" (Chipman, "The Will" 244). He asked that these sums be granted to him from the incomes from New Spain.

Next, he recalled his service as president of the Audiencia of New Spain, where he added to the emperor's estate more than "200,000 vassals and twenty provinces none of which he had at that time, and now he has and possesses them and they produce much for him" (Chipman, "The Will" 245).

Finally, Guzmán (Chipman, "The Will" 245) reiterated what he considered to be his greatest achievement:

> I went to discover and conquer New Galicia—which it is now called, at my expense and with my blood and sweat, with bad nights and worse days—which I populated and I conquered and founded many cities and towns extending 250 leagues inland from the coast and a city of Guadalajara, which is the best of all and produces much income, and there is much conversion of Indians, [many] churches and monasteries, an *audiencia* and chancellery and officials which are paid for with my sweat and toil.

For these reasons, he asked, now that he was deprived of his "service and toil and sweat and destroyed in a hospital [where] I am now," that all his Indian vassals and the incomes they produced be restored to him (Chipman, "The Will" 245).

Apart from a final recapitulation of his lifetime of service to the emperor, Guzmán's will also reveals something about the eighteen years of his life confined to the court. The list of his expenses and debts at the time of his death casts light on what untitled nobility (*hidalguía*) came to mean by the middle of the sixteenth century for those whose resources were now less than their pedigree. Here, the destitute but proud hidalgo of *Lazarillo de Tormes* is recalled in contrast to the prosperous hidalgos, described by such observers as Oviedo and the Gentleman of Elvas, who financed their own

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participation in the expeditions of exploration and discovery to the Indies in the 1520s and 1530s.

Nuño de Guzmán combined in his person both dimensions, from the personal investments he made on his royal appointment to the expenses and debts he accumulated while living out his life confined at court. In addition to providing for his funeral and burial, several high solemn masses (*misas cantadas*) were to be offered in Valladolid, three hundred low requiem masses in Guadalajara, seven hundred low masses in Valladolid, and some small contributions to charities (Chipman, "The Will" 240–41). He detailed the bequests and debts of his household.

First of all, he asked that a "cloak and hood of common mourning" be given to each of his servants and that their wages be paid, and that Sabina de Guzmán forgive the amount due her for the silken veil of hers the housekeeper stole: "[a]nd I beg of the said Sabina that she accept this willingly and that she not demand anything of her" (Chipman, "The Will" 241). Sabina de Guzmán was a relative of Guzmán's who lived under his roof and whom he described "for the goodness and kindness she has given me in my illnesses and otherwise" as "an orphan of noble birth and my relation." To her were to go his "scarlet bed with all the linens, mattresses and sheets, pillows, quilts and blankets and bedstead," as well as the dozen cloth emblems in the house, "and also all the gold and red embossed leather and all the images and crucifixes that I have" (Chipman, "The Will" 243).

Guzmán freed a personal slave named Francisco who had served him a long time. Chipman ("The Will" 241n4) points out that the language of this article of the will made it apparent that his liberation was not unconditional. Guzmán noted debts with Zamora, the merchant, and Jerónimo, the tailor, who had no security for the credit they extended him. He had borrowed against jewels and other things belonging to himself and to his relative Sabina. His debts were numerous. The articles of the document (Chipman, "The Will" 242–43) state that Guzmán owed money to one merchant "towards a taffeta gown of Sabina's with several jet trinkets decorated with gold and buttons of the same, and ten necklaces of eight links each that belong to the said Sabina, and a dressing gown with gold strips." To another he owed money "towards a loan on a gold ring which has a very fine turquoise"; he had debts with the lacemaker and another tailor. A large debt was outstanding to Pero Ruiz de Roa, "resident of this town," who held for security "a large and very good pear-shaped pearl pendant, and a small gold jewel with three fine pearl pendants" as well as two emeralds and a sapphire. He expressed hope that his brother might send him money from Genoa and that silver, jewels, gold, or money might come to him from the Indies; with such receipts, he

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urged that his debts to Ruiz "and the other debts and legacies of this my will be paid without any delay" (Chipman, "The Will" 243).

Especially concerned about his relative Sabina, he asked that she be paid a thousand ducats from his Indies salaries "for the abundant and good service she has done for me and for the burden which I am to her" (Chipman, "The Will" 244). He asked that the common beds be given to two hospitals outside the town of Valladolid and that "the pewter and kitchen things which I have in my house" be given to Sabina (Chipman, "The Will" 247). Further debts—one with Sebastián Rodríguez, prosecuting attorney for the Council of the Indies, and another with "a jeweler whom Ponte knows"—should be paid and the collateral of jewels be recovered (a silver cup, a cameo, a pearl, three gold rings with stones [a large pear-shaped pearl, a ruby, and a fine diamond], three gold buttons with three pearls in each one, and a gold trinket with an amethyst and a fleur-de-lis) (Chipman, "The Will" 247–48). Guzmán added, "I state that I have also pawned other jewels and pearls in the hands of various people that I do not remember. I order that which is owed for them be given and paid" (Chipman, "The Will" 247).

In short, this litany of debts and assortment of finery was all that seemed to remain of the life of one who briefly had been one of the most powerful men in New Spain. With Nuño de Guzmán, the gold and pearls of the Indies, whose promise of wealth had stimulated ruthless competition between men like Cortés and himself, reached their not uncommon end: as collateral and sources of extended credit to support a way of life that hidalgos and private entrepreneurs could not sustain at the level of their expectations in a nation-state that made increasing claims to the sources of wealth of the Indies that men like Guzmán thought would be infinite.

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