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# Introduction

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studies of the early Spanish period in the New World have become popular in recent years because of the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus (1492–1992). It was in the spirit of this Columbus Quincentennial that a number of scholars met at New Mexico Highlands University, Las Vegas, New Mexico, August 21–23, 1992, to discuss Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and his exploration of the Southwest, 1539–1542.

In 1988 the United States Congress amended the National Trails System Act, thus allowing for a study to determine if the route of Coronado's expedition fell within the meaning of that act. The National Park Service (NPS) was directed to review the available documentation on the route and to search for new data. The NPS was charged with assessing a particular Coronado route in terms of eligibility for National Trail designation (Ivey, Rhodes, and Sánchez 1991: 1).

After considering the number of differing locations for Coronado's route suggested over the past century, the NPS recommended that further work be done on the route (Ivey et al.: 102–103), perhaps with emphasis not on a specific route but on a broad *corridor*. But the status of Coronado studies is such that even such a corridor cannot be drawn with any surety. The August 1992 conference at New

Mexico Highlands University was organized specifically to further this Coronado trail research. A number of experts on Coronado, and on Southwestern protohistoric studies generally, assembled at Las Vegas. A few of the participants discussed Coronado's trip up the west coast of Mexico, but the major concentration was on the route within the present boundaries of the United States.

Before talking about individual papers, let me sketch in broad strokes the history of the Coronado expedition. In order to properly understand this Spanish penetration of the Southwest it is necessary to review the events of the decade before Coronado (see also Riley 1995: 147–207).

By the late 1520s, Spanish forces, operating from their base in the Valley of Mexico, had overrun much of the west central portion of Mexico. The Tarascan kingdom in what is now Michoacán had collapsed and the Spaniards controlled the coastline from present-day Guerrero north into Nayarit. The period around 1530 saw an expansion northward from that region into southern and central Sinaloa. The Spaniards under their ruthless western commander, Beltrán Nuño de Guzmán, were in part following up on rumors of Amazon kingdoms, rich cities and provinces farther north. Guzmán pushed up the Sinaloa coast, establishing Culiacán in central Sinaloa. From that beachhead, in 1533, Diego de Guzmán, a relative of Nuño, led a slaving party northward as far as the lower Yaqui Valley, the very edge of the Greater Southwest.

During the next three years the Spaniards made a number of slave raids into the coastal country to the north. In the spring of 1536 one such slaving group met a four-person party led by Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. These Spaniards were the sole survivors of the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition which, some years previously, had attempted to travel by improvised boats from Florida to Mexico. The expedition was shipwrecked on the Texas coast and many of its members lost. Those who managed to reach shore gradually died from native hostility, disease, and starvation. Only Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions managed the long journey across coastal plain, mountain, and desert to west Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca and his group eventually worked their way into the heavily settled Sonora River region where they met friendly people and heard stories of contacts with northern peoples who lived in large apartment-like dwellings and who traded turquoise and “emeralds” (perhaps uvarovite garnet or possibly peridots) for tropical birds and their feathers.

Cabeza de Vaca's story, coming at a time when accounts of Pizarro's conquest of the gold-rich Inca Empire in South America were still fresh in Mexico, made a considerable impression on the Spaniards. The viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, planned a major expedition to the north. A final decision to launch such an expedition came when Hernando de Soto, a veteran of the Pizarro party in Peru, was given permission to explore the northern *terra incognita* entering North America

from Florida. De Soto, with a party of six hundred, reached Santiago, Cuba, in May of 1538. A year later, with an augmented party, De Soto landed in Florida (see Chapter 7).

De Soto's activity spurred the cautious Viceroy Mendoza. In 1538 he had appointed the young courtier, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, governor of the new province of Nueva Galicia on the Mexican west coast. At a time when the Peruvian conquistador was still in Cuba, on March 7, 1539,<sup>1</sup> Mendoza and Coronado sent a Franciscan missionary named Marcos de Niza northward to explore the unknown lands. Marcos had recently returned from Peru and the Pizarro conquests and could be expected to know gold and other riches when he saw them. A second Franciscan, fray Onorato, originally slated to go, fell ill shortly after the beginning of the expedition and was left behind. Continuing with Marcos, however, was a black slave, Esteban de Dorantes of the Cabeza de Vaca party, a most valuable member of the expedition because of his ability to pick up native languages and his experience with peoples of the region north of New Spain. With Marcos also were central Mexican Indians and Piman-speaking natives who had come south with Cabeza de Vaca three years earlier.

The route of Marcos and Esteban is a matter of some controversy. I consider that they stayed fairly close to the ocean until they reached the Altar-Magdalena drainage in northwest Sonora, then cut inward to the Upper Southwest (however, see Chapter 5 for another routing). Whatever the exact route, we do know that Esteban was sent on ahead and was killed outside one of the Zuni towns in west central New Mexico. Marcos *probably* reached Zuni before retreating to Mexico (see Chapters 6 and 14). At any rate, Marcos, on his return in August 1539, reported a rich urban confederation of the Seven Cities of Cíbola. Marcos did not mention gold at Cíbola, but Mendoza and other Spaniards clearly believed that something like the recently conquered Inca Empire was at hand.

A second expedition led by Captain Melchior Díaz was sent north in the fall of 1539. Díaz wintered in northern Sonora or southern Arizona and met Coronado's army on his return the following March. His report tended to confirm that of Marcos, especially as to the reality of Cíbola.

The Coronado expedition was an ambitious one. It contained some 350 Spaniards, more than two-thirds of them mounted. There were five Franciscans: three priests and two lay brothers. In addition there were perhaps 1,300 native soldiers from the Aztec, Tlaxcalan, and Tarascan areas, plus additional servants and slaves. With the party were some 1,500 horses and mules, large herds of sheep (probably in the thousands), and apparently a number of cattle. Pigs were also purchased for the trip (AGI Justicia 336) but it is unknown whether they went as salted-down pork or on the hoof, as had been true of the Diego Guzmán expedition seven years

earlier. A separate sea expedition under Captain Hernando de Alarcón was to sail northward on the Gulf of California with supplies. The land party reached Culiacán on Easter Day, March 28, 1540. On April 22 Coronado went ahead with a vanguard of around eighty horsemen and some twenty to thirty foot soldiers. There were in addition a considerable number of Indian allies, plus black and Indian servants and slaves.

Coronado's advance party reached the town(s) and surrounding polity of Corazones, so named by Cabeza de Vaca, and spent several days exploring the small principalities of the Sonora River region. Resupplying himself, he moved on and reached the westernmost Cíbolan or Zuni town of Hawikuh on July 7. His route is much disputed. I have suggested that Coronado and his group followed the Sonora River north, then cut across the flat country east of modern Cananea to the upper San Pedro River drainage. The party went down the San Pedro and eventually swung north and east into the Gila River Valley. They followed the Gila to about the modern New Mexico state line, then forged northward again, following the San Francisco River. Eventually they crossed into the drainage of the Carrizo Wash, following it westward, and then turned north to the Zuni River (Riley 1992; 1995: 158). Certain other experts on the Coronado expedition, however, route Coronado to the east of my suggested trail in Sonora, and west of it in Arizona–New Mexico (for a survey of routes see Chapters 1, 8, 13, and 18).

After overrunning Zuni, Coronado sent out parties westward to explore the Hopi area and eastward to the Rio Grande. Western parties were sent partly in an attempt to locate the sea arm of the expedition. Alarcón in fact reached as far north as the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers but, finding himself still hundreds of miles from the land expedition, returned to Mexico. He planned to sail again in 1541, but the savage Mixtón rebellion in Jalisco, which broke out in April of that year, forced all Spanish attention onto this region of west Mexico. Alarcón's failure to resupply Coronado had serious consequences for the expedition.

A trading group from Pecos reached Zuni sometime after Coronado arrived there and a small party of Spaniards led by Hernando de Alvarado and the priest Juan de Padilla was sent east with them. Alvarado penetrated as far east as the High Plains, guided in part by a captive Pawnee Indian whom the Spaniards named "Turk." This man described to the Spaniards large Indian principalities with much sophistication and wealth off to the east. His accounts sound very much like chiefdoms of the Mississippi Valley, but Turk also claimed that there was a great amount of gold and silver in this eastern area, which the Spaniards understood was called Quivira.

Pressed for details, Turk was reported to have blamed the Pecos Indians for stealing some golden bracelets from him. Alvarado imprisoned Turk as well as the

two Pecos leaders of the trading expedition, a young man called “Bigotes” (mustaches) and an older Pecos native whom the Spaniards referred to as “Cacique.” These men may have been war society captains or possibly bow priests. In any case, they were part of the leadership structure at Pecos. The captives were brought back to the Rio Grande Valley where in the winter of 1540–1541 they worked out what I have named the “Pecos plot.” It called for Turk to guide the Spaniards into the trackless reaches of the southwestern Plains and lose them.

At some point Alvarado advised Coronado to establish winter quarters in the Rio Grande Valley. Coronado’s camp master, García López de Cárdenas, had been sent in late August in an unsuccessful attempt to reach the lower Colorado River. On Cárdenas’s return, probably in mid-November, he was dispatched to the Rio Grande to prepare winter quarters. The body of the expedition, under its field commander Tristán de Luna y Arellano, finally reached Zuni a few days after the departure of Cárdenas. This main party had established the town of San Gerónimo de los Corazones in the Sonora Valley, a sort of halfway station so that Coronado could remain in contact with Mexico. Ordering Arellano to rest his group for twenty days before continuing to the Rio Grande, Coronado took thirty men and, with Zuni guides, marched east and south to the Piro region around modern Socorro (for another view, see Chapter 15). Sending one of his lieutenants to explore the southern Piro, Coronado himself went north, where, toward the end of the year 1540, he had a rendezvous with the other elements of his company. Cárdenas had settled on the province of Tiguex, the modern Tiwa, in the Albuquerque-Bernalillo region and had expelled the Indians from a town called Coofor (see Chapter 16).

The failure to meet with Alarcón and his ships with their supplies of food and warm winter clothing now became a serious matter. The desperate Spaniards forced the Indian towns to supply cotton garments and food. A series of violent reactions broke out in the twelve Tiguex towns. After some months of fighting, the Tiguex were scattered and their towns largely burned and looted. When Coronado launched his expedition to find golden Quivira on April 23, 1541, he left behind a ravaged Tiguex and a sullen Rio Grande Pueblo world. At the same time a small party under Pedro de Tovar was sent southwestward to San Gerónimo de los Corazones to bring back part of the garrison there and to rendezvous with Coronado either on the trail or at Quivira. It was arranged that Coronado would leave crosses in prominent places to guide Tovar on his return from Sonora. Although Coronado was unaware of the situation, the Mixtón War was now raging far to the south in Jalisco.

Marching with virtually his entire party, plus slaves made in the Tiguex War of the previous winter, Coronado commanded 1,700 or more people and had with him large numbers of horses and sheep. Reaching Pecos, Coronado met with not-

unexpected hostility. After a few futile days of attempted peacemaking, he went on, probably moving onto Rowe Mesa, then south to Cañon Blanco, and east to the Pecos River. Building a bridge over the Pecos, likely a little south of the juncture with the Gallinas River (see Chapter 17), Coronado quickly reached the bison herds of the western Great Plains. There he contacted two groups, the Querecho, ancestors of the eastern Apaches, and the Teya, linguistic kin to the Piro-Tompiro, as I believe. Reaching the featureless vastness of the Llano Estacado (Staked Plains), Coronado was led off to the southeast by Turk, fulfilling his part of the Pecos plot. A second Caddoan Indian, the Wichita native Ysopete, seems not to have been involved in the plot and warned Coronado that the Spaniards were off course.

At this point Coronado decided to send the bulk of the expedition back to Tiguex and with some forty men, most of them mounted, set off for Quivira. The two divisions separated at what the expedition called a great barranca. This was clearly one of the caprock canyons that cut into the east side of the Llano Estacado, perhaps Blanco Canyon. The main army marched back to the Pecos and then on into the Rio Grande Valley. Coronado with his party of horsemen moved north to Quivira, which was the Wichita region in the Great Bend of the Arkansas River in central Kansas. In my opinion they followed a trade route used by the Teya through extreme western Oklahoma, the area of the Wheeler Phase people (Riley 1992; 1995: 195; also see Chapter 20). Although neither man knew it, Coronado and De Soto, during the late summer of 1541, were both in the Arkansas River Valley, though De Soto was exploring the lower reaches of the river and Coronado traversed part of its middle course.

Finding no gold or other precious metal, Coronado rejoined the main party on the Rio Grande in September 1541. A short time later Pedro de Tovar returned from Sonora with dispatches that must have told of the Mixtón War. He also reported that the commander of the San Gerónimo outpost, Diego de Alcaráz, had endangered the garrison with brutal and ill-advised behavior. Tovar moved the site of the town upriver and then took about half of the soldiers with him as ordered. It left his link with the Spanish world woefully shorthanded.

The remainder of the Coronado expedition was an anticlimax. The general still believed that there was gold in Quivira and planned another expedition to that eastern region in 1542. However, events were now beginning to overtake the Spaniards and their dreams. The unknown outcome of the Mixtón War must have been a constant worry to Coronado. At this time the general also lost his main deputy, for López de Cárdenas had word that he had come into an important inheritance and left for Mexico.

After Cárdenas's departure, sometime around the beginning of the year 1542, Coronado, on one of his daily rides, had a saddle girth break and fell under the



hooves of a companion's horse. The general was severely injured and was apparently unconscious for days. He had barely begun his recovery when Cárdenas returned with the terrible news that Alcaráz and a number of his men had been killed in a native uprising at San Gerónimo and the Spaniards no longer controlled the line of the Sonora River. This information led to a relapse on the part of the general and the decision to return to New Spain.

When Coronado left the Rio Grande in early April of 1542, several groups stayed behind. Father Padilla, in the far-fetched belief that a legendary Portuguese kingdom existed somewhere on the High Plains, led a small party back to Quivira. One of the Franciscan lay brothers, Juan de Úbeda, chose to stay and missionize Pecos. Various of the Mexican Indians, both Nahuatl and Tarascan speakers, also elected to stay in the Southwest.

Father Padilla lost his life at Quivira, but members of his party eventually escaped back to Mexico. Nothing more was ever heard of fray Juan de Úbeda, but a number of the Mexican Indians were still in the Southwest when Spanish expeditions of the early 1580s again reached that area. At least one Pueblo Indian woman returned with the Spaniards as a wife of a Spanish soldier. All in all, the Coronado expedition failed in virtually all its expectations. There remained a memory of the Upper Southwest and a number of documents described the approaches thereto. However, forty years later, when the Spanish crown next launched a party to explore the Pueblo world, it was from the northern interior of Mexico.

With this broad outline in mind, let me turn to the individual papers in this volume.

One of the conference participants, Albert H. Schroeder, a major figure in Southwestern archeology, and a friend to many at the Las Vegas conference, died in 1993. His paper for the conference, an account of Schroeder's own novel routing of Coronado in the Plains (Schroeder 1992; 1993), will not be included here. Three participants, Waldo R. Wedel, Kirk Bertsche, and Waldo M. Wedel, presented a paper on carbon-14 dating of a piece of chain mail that has been attributed to the Coronado expedition. The results from this interesting new approach to radiocarbon dating were equivocal and publication will be delayed, pending greater refinement of the methodology. After the conference several additional papers were solicited from interested scholars and these have been incorporated into this volume. The individual chapters are discussed in the remainder of this introduction.

## Part I: Hypotheses and Evidence

Joseph Sánchez considers the route of Coronado as past experts have seen it, commenting on the varying interpretations and identifications in Chapters 1, 8, 13, and 18. Here, I shall treat all four segments of Sánchez's work as a unit. Sánchez

was co-editor of the National Park Service report on the Coronado trail (Ivey, Rhodes, and Sánchez) so has been concerned for some years with the overall problem of the route. Sánchez draws on the materials in the National Park Service document but also cites later attempts to discover the route. He concludes that we may never discover the exact route and (as per his recommendation in the NPS document) suggests that perhaps we should think in terms of a corridor instead of a narrow trail. Sánchez does hold out the hope that future research in the various colonial archives and increased attention to the contact period archeology of the area will give us additional valuable data. He describes and analyzes various of the Coronado route proposals that have been made over the past century for one or the other segment of the trail.

Father Charles Polzer also discusses the complex and very important matter of documentation of the expedition. Polzer points out that no amount of reading about the expedition will really add much more to the delineation of the Coronado route. He quite correctly pleads for reconnaissance on the ground. Polzer also stresses that all of the documents of the expedition “with the exception of a couple of letters” were written after the journey was over, in some cases many years afterward. He points out another problem, that we are not clear as to what names in the documents actually *meant*. For example, when a given chronicler spoke of Corazones, did he mean town, a group of towns, or a province?

Polzer rightly says that we need to reconsider the documents, especially in terms of modern anthropological analyses of their content. The anthropological input of men like Bandelier and Hodge was fine for their day, but they are a half century to a century out of date and anthropology is now much more methodologically sophisticated.

Polzer generally does not commit himself on specifics of the route, though he argues (on the basis of extrapolations from latitude measurements) that the ruined town (and province?) of Chichilticalli was near the modern international border, rather than near the upper middle Gila River where many modern scholars place it. Polzer's essay is largely a plea for more extensive and sophisticated use of the documents and for associated archeology.

Dr. Polzer's cautionary notes are ones we all need to heed. I have one minor caveat with his statement about the time lapse between event and written documentation. In my opinion Dr. Polzer overemphasizes this point. Several crucial documents (the Coronado letter to Mendoza, the latter man to King Carlos I, Coronado to the king, the Marcos account, and the Alarcón account) were all written on-the-spot or within a few weeks after the events described. On the other hand, it is true that the most comprehensive of all the documents, the account of Pedro de Castañeda, was composed many years after the events of the expedition.

The question of crossbow darts, usually called bolts or quarrels, is addressed by Diane Rhodes. As Rhodes points out, by Coronado's time the crossbow was in the process of being replaced by powder-driven weapons like the arquebus. Twenty-one crossbows are listed in the Coronado inventory, whereas none are given for expeditions to New Mexico in the 1580s and 1590s. It is of course possible that isolated, unrecorded crossbows may have been used in later expeditions.

All crossbow bolts in early New Mexico sites were made from copper rather than iron, the latter more commonly used in European crossbow boltheads. However, one of the thirty-plus boltheads found to date in the Llano Estacado *was* made of iron. It is known that Cortés utilized native metallurgical skills to produce copper boltheads (points) in his conquest of the Aztecs. It seems likely that such copper crossbow boltheads were still being produced twenty years later, in Coronado's day. In the Southwest, five copper boltheads have been found at Hawikuh, thus seeming to confirm Coronado's battle at that place. They have also been found at a scatter of sites in the Rio Grande Valley. Several come from Santiago Pueblo, one located in the chest of a skeleton on one of the room floors. There are also reports of boltheads from Pecos, Comanche Springs, and Piedras Marcadas (Mann-Zuris).

Crossbow quarrel heads in such numbers surely related to the Coronado expedition. The finds also would seem to indicate that Santiago Pueblo played an important role in Coronado's time, though whether it was Coofor, Moho, or another site altogether is still not clear.

With Richard Flint's paper we move to a more general analysis of the Coronado expedition. Flint asks, what do we know about the native components of the Coronado expedition through their material culture? To date, relatively few materials that relate to his force have been found in the Southwest, and most of those (boltheads, glass beads, lace tips, etc.) are European in manufacture. We know from the historical documents that a large number of central and west Mexican Indians, 1,300 or more, were with Coronado, and from equipment lists we are aware that even the Spaniards often used native equipment. Flint can find records of only a few actual artifacts from this period in the Upper Southwest. He points out a number of object classes that should be found in the Southwest specifically from the Coronado expedition. These would include obsidian, widely used in weapons and tools. There might perhaps be other lithic and metallic materials (such as sandal-making tools and *comales* (see also Chapter 16). It also seems likely that some native pottery was brought north, though none in any dependable context has as yet been found.

The inventory of material items now being compiled by Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint will be of great value to future contact period archeology in the Southwest. It will be a sort of handbook for what might be *expected* to appear in

contact sites and give at least a preliminary indication of the provenance of such artifacts.

## Part II: Precedents, 1538–1539

William Hartmann is interested not in Coronado as such, but in the pioneering effort of Marcos de Niza, sent by Coronado to the Southwest in the spring of 1539. Hartmann summarizes what little we know of the Franciscan friar's background, his service in Peru where he was elected *custodio*, his activities during the Coronado expedition, and the quiet life he led thereafter. Hartmann shows that the persistent rumors about gold and other wealth in Cíbola are the result of misunderstandings due to the powerful expectations about the situation in the north. He makes the perceptive observation that even if Marcos did exaggerate a bit (an accusation not proven), it was because he was so anxious to save souls in the new lands. Though Hartmann does not bring up this point, the early Franciscans in the New World believed that their conversion of the Native Americans, the last pool of heathen souls to be contacted, would hasten the second coming of Christ.

Much of the Hartmann paper is devoted to refuting the scurrilous attacks on Marcos's reputation by certain scholars, especially Carl Sauer and Cleve Hallenbeck. Hartmann demonstrates conclusively that these attacks have little or no substance and that the Marcos narrative is probably basically true. There still remains the task of interpreting the account in terms of a specific route for Marcos. Hartmann presents cogent arguments for his own routing of Marcos.

With Madeleine Rodack's paper we move northward to consider the identity of the original town reached by fray Marcos de Niza. Rodack summarizes what we know of the good friar and his trek northward to the Zuni area. She refrains from entering the long argument as to where exactly *were* various points on the Marcos trail. For example, the settlement of Vacapa has been located as far south as the Río Fuerte, as far north as the Altar-Magdalena Valley, and at several points in between.

Rodack's interest is in pinpointing the Zuni settlement that was seen by Marcos in 1539. That settlement has usually been identified as Hawikuh, the southwesternmost of the Zuni towns. Rodack argues, however, that the topography of Hawikuh is all wrong. Rodack and her husband Juel have extensively explored the region south and east of modern Zuni Pueblo. Drawing on this exploration, she argues that the Franciscan friar followed Mullen Canyon and from the north end of that canyon, looked across the flats to the town of Kiaki:ma that sits on the south slope of Dowa Yalanne, the Zuni sacred mountain.

Although less certain about the Coronado expedition, Rodack does list several factors in favor of Kiaki:ma being the town of Granada overrun by Coronado in 1540, though she remains equivocal on this identification. I might say here that

Rodack makes a good case for Kiaki:ma as the town visited by Marcos, but her identification of Kiaki:ma as *Coronado's* first Cíbolan town seems to me unlikely for reasons given by Edmund Ladd (see Chapter 14).

The final paper in this section takes us away from the Coronado expedition to the contemporary De Soto expedition. Charles Ewen directed excavations at the Martin Site, in the area of Anhaica, the main town of the Apalachee Indians, where De Soto spent the winter of 1539–1540. There have been attempts over a number of years to identify Anhaica, which was known to be somewhere near Tallahassee, the present-day capital of Florida. What seems to be Anhaica was discovered in 1987 in a residential area of Tallahassee about a mile from the capitol building. The site contained an assemblage of native materials but also Spanish olive jars and sixteenth-century majolica pottery. There were also chevron and Nueva Cadiz beads, a crossbow quarrel head, and five early sixteenth-century copper Spanish and Portuguese coins. A bone from a domesticated pig also suggests that the site is associated with De Soto since this is the first southeastern expedition known to have brought pigs as food sources.

For a study of Coronado, information on the De Soto expedition (covering as it does the same period of time) gives information on material culture—weapons, trade objects, especially beads, which should help in future identification of Coronado period finds. It also helps put the Coronado expedition into the perspective of the larger world of Hispanic North American exploration. The similarities in the two expeditions can be taken as given, but the differences are rather striking. Coronado ran a tightly planned and controlled expedition that opened a large segment of the Southwest to Spanish exploration and control by the end of the sixteenth century. By contrast, De Soto's party wandered aimlessly through the eastern United States, suffering steady attrition. Eventually, Luis de Moscoso led the tattered remnants of the expedition back to Mexico. The Spaniards were unable to follow up significantly on De Soto's explorations, and much of the area he traversed was eventually explored as *terra nova* by the English and French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### Part III: The Coronado Expedition, Compostela to Cíbola

The study by Jerry Gurulé is a most useful compilation of place names for the western part of the Coronado route. Some of these are well known and others, for example, the Señora Valley, relate only to the sixteenth century. This work of Gurulé's is a section of a planned, much larger work.

With Daniel Reff we turn to specific studies of the possible routes of Coronado through Sonora. Reff points out two main schools of thought about Coronado's Sonora route. The first, associated with Carl Sauer, among others, held that the

general went up the Sonora Valley to the north-flowing San Pedro, eventually reaching the Gila. The second, largely pioneered by Charles Di Peso, routed the expedition up the Cedros River, then into the Nuri River drainage and on to the Yaqui River proper. Di Peso added the complication that from the Yaqui, Coronado's vanguard traversed the west loop of the Bavispe River while the main expedition, following a few months behind, went down the east loop of the Bavispe. Both segments then followed the Batepito River and then the San Bernardino River northward, crossing the present international border somewhat around modern Douglas, Arizona.

Reff accepts the routing of Sauer, who brings the Coronado party to Corazones in the Ures Basin and Señora north of the Ures Gorge. In defending this route, Reff cites the excavations and surveys of the Sonora Valley with their indications of large towns and large populations, very much as they were described in the sixteenth-century accounts of Castañeda and Obregón. He also points out that the Di Peso routing really does not fit the explorers' accounts, especially in terms of distances.

Reff poses an important question. Why did the Spaniards in the sixteenth century report such large and complex settlements while the Jesuits who reached Sonora in the next century saw scattered *rancherías* of Ópata and Pima Bajo Indians? He questions the belief by some modern scholars that the Jesuit accounts were necessarily more accurate or more honest than the sixteenth-century members of the Coronado and Francisco de Ibarra expeditions. In fact, statements from *both* periods were reasonably accurate. Between the time of Ibarra in the mid-sixteenth century and that of the Jesuit missionaries in the early seventeenth, this region of Sonora had been decimated by disease. The large towns noted by Coronado and Ibarra had dwindled to *rancherías*, and there remained only shattered remnants of the extensive populations of earlier times.

Reff's case is a strong one, combining as it does archeology and historical documentation. Reff himself was associated with the Rio Sonora Archaeological Project of the 1970s and so has firsthand experience in northeast Sonora. In addition, Reff, himself, has done extensive work on the timing and distribution of European diseases on the Mexican west coast.

Richard A. Pailes concerns himself primarily with the Sonoran background for the Coronado entrada. Pailes, the director of the Rio Sonora Archaeological Project, sketches the distinctive topography of northeast Sonora, the north-south-trending ranges with permanent streams in the fertile upper and middle valleys—important in prehistoric times as they are today. To the south, Coronado's route (and those of other Spanish explorers) is not in doubt for there is only a narrow corridor between the sierras and the coastal plain. Pailes believes that from the Fuerte River north-

ward, the explorers were channeled inland along the Arroyo Cuchujaque to near modern Alamos and then along the Río Cedros. Farther north, a Río Sonora or Río Moctezuma route would be feasible, a Yaqui route somewhat less so.

Aboriginally, Pailles sees a widespread Río Sonora tradition with southern and northern branches. The southern Río Sonora peoples were influenced by the Mexican west coast cultures farther south. In the north, there developed hierarchical settlements and public architecture, the region of the Serrana or the Sonoran statelets. At some point in the past, Taracahitan peoples (in historic times including the Tarahumar, the Ópata, and the Yaqui and Mayo) spread along the live streams, reaching the Gulf of California in the lower Yaqui. In doing so, they split the Tepimans into a northern Piman enclave and a southern Tepehuan group. Pailles believes that the Serrana groups were Ópata and that these Indians were still expanding at the time of arrival of the Spaniards.

A number of years ago, I suggested (Riley 1979; see also Riley 1987: 48, 351) that the Ópatan Serrana civilization may have originated in Casas Grandes. This idea has been challenged by Doolittle (1988: 59), who thinks in terms of an *in situ* development of the Sonoran statelets. More recently, Phillips (1989: 390) has revived my Casas Grandes hypothesis. Pailles, however, points out that if the Serrana area chronology is correct, the statelets cannot be a remnant Casas Grandes population, though they may represent peoples indigenous to or related to the Chihuahuan region. Let me suggest another scenario in which the Serrana Culture and Casas Grandes both rose from a Chihuahuan/Mogollon base. However, around A.D. 1150–1200, Casas Grandes experienced a sudden and dramatic quickening that rapidly influenced the Sonora region, and was responsible for the sophisticated culture there. Whether, after the collapse of Casas Grandes, certain remnant populations made their way to the Sonoran valleys is still an open question.

Although Pailles's major excavation project in the Sonora Valley (the San José Site just north of Baviácora) covers over sixty acres, Pailles does not believe that it was a first-tier site. He suggests that the primary sites are situated under modern towns like Baviácora, Aconchí, and Arizpe. Like Reff, Pailles sees a basic collapse of the rich towns of the Sonora and other valleys in the decades between the Coronado and Ibarra entradas and the arrival of the Jesuits, a collapse due to epidemic disease.

The Duffen and Hartmann chapter on the 76 Ranch excavations represents a bit of archeological history. A large Salado town on this ranch, dating to the fourteenth and perhaps to the early fifteenth century, was believed by the archeologist Emil Haury and the historian Herbert E. Bolton to be the Chichilticalli of Coronado. The site is about ten miles southeast of Eagle Pass, which opens northward into the Gila Valley. One of the compounds that make up the large Salado Site on the 76

Ranch was partially excavated by William A. Duffen in 1936, the only scientific excavation on the site. Except for a small article by Duffen in 1937, nothing has been published previously on the 76 Ranch Site.

The authors include some of the original 1936 field notes on the site and discuss the incompletely known archeology. They then examine the various Coronado narratives for clues to Chichilticalli, including the occasional mentions of flora and fauna, and come to the reasonable conclusion that Chichilticalli could be identical with the 76 Ranch Site or with one of the other Salado towns in the general area. However, I rather doubt their statement that “being Nahuatl, even the name supports the idea that Chichilticalli was on a significant trade route.” As both Schroeder (1955–1956: 293–295) and I (Riley 1987: 126–127) have pointed out, the name Chichilticalli (“red house” in Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs and Tlaxcalans) is a rather perplexing one. It is unlikely that the site *originally* had a Nahuatl name. However, given the numbers of Nahuatl-speaking Indians with Marcos and Coronado (and perhaps also with Díaz), a sixteenth-century Nahuatl renaming of the compounds with their red-plastered walls seems quite possible.

#### Part IV: The Coronado Expedition, Cíbola to the Rio del Cicúye

With Edmund J. Ladd we have a quite different perspective on the Coronado expedition. Ladd is an anthropologist who is also a member of the Zuni Tribe. Therefore, he looks at the Coronado *entrada* both from the viewpoint of a highly trained ethnologist and also that of a Pueblo Indian whose ancestors were involved in that invasion. Ladd gives us a scenario of probable events in the fateful years 1539 and 1540. In the spring of 1539 the black stranger, Esteban, arrived in Zuni. Ladd believes that the Zuni already had news of the Spaniards through traders. They were profoundly suspicious of these ruthless newcomers who were already spreading up the west coast of Mexico. Esteban was considered to be a spy for the approaching Spanish forces and, as a spy, he was set on and killed. Marcos, warned by fleeing members of Esteban’s party of the latter man’s death, made a hurried reconnaissance of one of the Zuni towns and returned to Mexico where, for reasons unclear, he exaggerated its size and wealth.

When Coronado arrived at Zuni in the summer of 1540, he interrupted the summer solstice cycle of ceremonies that must have been going on at just about that time (July 16 or 17 in the Gregorian calendar). The first skirmish with the Zuni came when Coronado’s men interrupted a party of pilgrims moving toward or returning from the sacred lake Ko:thluwala:wa. The smokes observed by Coronado’s party and considered to be signal fires were in reality part of a ceremony of the fire god. When Coronado arrived outside Hawikuh, Zuni priests put down a line of cornmeal across his path, indicating that the Spaniards should go no farther until



the ceremonies were completed. The battle for Hawikuh was based on a series of misunderstandings, brought about by the Spanish ignorance of Pueblo customs and religion.

Ladd makes the interesting suggestion that the name “Cíbola” originated when Marcos met bearers of Zuni goods including bison hides. The Zuni word for bison is *si:wolo* and this was transformed into the name of the group. This is certainly a possibility, though we need to remember that the Zuni were well known in the Lower Pima and Ópata regions through trade contacts. To me it seems more likely that Cíbola is simply a Spanish attempt to pronounce *shiwana*, the Zuni name for their land. The term “Cíbola” was also picked up by Melchior Díaz in the winter of 1539, and Díaz (Hammond and Rey 1940: 157–158) specifically says that he got information from individuals (presumably traders) who had lived in the Zuni area “for fifteen to twenty years. I have learned this in many diverse ways, questioning some Indians together and others separately.” Surely his informants knew the name of the region.

Aside from that minor objection, I consider Ladd’s explanation of the activities of Esteban, Marcos, and Coronado to be extremely important. It allows us to make sense of events that are reported in a very distorted way in the Spanish chronicles.

The geographer Elinore Barrett turns her special expertise to examining the placement of various sixteenth-century pueblos in the middle Rio Grande Basin. She uses Spanish accounts, including Castañeda from the Coronado expedition, Gallegos from the Rodríguez/Chamuscado party, Luxán from the Espejo expedition, Castaño de Sosa’s *Memorial*, and various of the Oñate documents. Barrett then matches information from those accounts with archeological information contained in the site files of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico.

Barrett believes that both the Tiguex and the Tutahaco towns, as listed by Castañeda from the Coronado expedition, were part of her Middle Rio Grande Subregion, extending from the lower Jemez River to the mouth of the Río Puerco. This conflicts with the idea of many scholars who consider Tutahaco to represent the Piro pueblos and thus extend well south of Socorro. I have recently suggested that not only is Tutahaco another name for Piro, but that the next entry on the Castañeda list, four pueblos “*por abajo del río*,” were, perhaps, Manso towns (Riley 1995: 166). Although it seems to me that the balance of the evidence favors my position, that evidence is admittedly scanty and Barrett’s placement of Tutahaco opens up a new way to look at Castañeda’s account. It certainly must be taken seriously.

Barrett has worked out a series of intriguing relationships between the site names of late sixteenth-century Spanish explorers and actual ruins found by archeologists.

As base data, these will give us a clearer understanding, especially of Tiguex. She also makes the interesting suggestion that the Tiguex town of Puaray or Puala may have been moved a few miles to the north between 1583, when Espejo's men sacked and burned the settlement, and 1691, when Castaño de Sosa recorded it. Such a move, not too surprising considering Espejo's aggressive activities, would explain the discrepancy in distance reported by different Spanish parties.

In the late fall of 1540, the various divisions of the Coronado party moved into the Rio Grande Valley. The Spaniards took over a Tiguex village that they called Coofor, for which a number of locations have been posited, one of which is Santiago Pueblo (LA 326) on the west bank of the Rio Grande across from the south end of modern Bernalillo. Some years ago Bradley Vierra directed the partial excavation of site LA 54147 on the mesa a few hundred meters west of Santiago Pueblo. Here were found prepared floors of a campsite that clearly dates from the Spanish period because of the finds of bones of domesticated sheep. Excavation data suggest that the campsite was used during the fall and winter.

Vierra and Stanley Hordes, who did historical research on LA 54147, discuss the various expeditions (Coronado, Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, and Juan de Oñate) known to have brought domesticated animals into the Southwest during the sixteenth century. The evidence, including such items as crossbow boltheads, points strongly to the Coronado expedition. There were a number of metal objects, a broken obsidian blade from the Valley of Mexico, a projectile point of (probably) central Mexican origin, and what the excavators called "comales."

Vierra and Hordes suggest that Santiago Pueblo was either Coofor or the pueblo of Moho, destroyed by the Spaniards after a siege of some two months. If Coofor, it seems likely from Vierra's data that the campsite was used primarily (or totally) by Coronado's Mexican Indian allies. If Moho, this likely was part of the Spanish encampment surrounding the beleaguered town. My own educated guess (but I would not bet the farm on it) is that Santiago was Coofor and LA 54147 the campsite of some of Coronado's Indian auxiliaries (Riley 1995: 177–178). We badly need further excavation at the site to help resolve this problem.

Richard and Shirley Cushing Flint discuss their projected route for Coronado from the Indian town of Pecos in the Pecos Valley to the bridge built over the Pecos River. Although several previous analyses of the route have Coronado going down the Pecos River, the Flints point out that the Pecos Indians likely would have steered the expedition away from this route because of danger to native cornfields. In any case an easier route and one that would have avoided the apparently flooding river is over a natural ramp at Rowe, then down the gently sloping Rowe/Glorieta Mesa to the large Cañon Blanco. Water would have been available for humans and livestock on this route. In the spring, Rowe Mesa has numerous shallow ponds and the

canyon itself is dotted with pools and, perhaps, even a small running stream. The bridge was built on the Pecos just downstream from the juncture with the Gallinas, the most important tributary on the upper Pecos River.

### Part V: The Coronado Expedition, Río de Cicúye to Quivira

Donald Blakeslee's paper goes into the question of where Coronado might have ventured in the Caprock canyon country on the Texas Panhandle. In the spring of 1541 the Coronado party discovered two very large barrancas or canyons in the territory of Indians called Teyas. In the first of these, called "a large barranca like those of Colima," the Spaniards experienced a horrific hailstorm, one that destroyed much of their pottery. The second barranca, also called "large" (*barranca grande*) by Castañeda, extended two to three miles from bank to bank and here the army camped for a number of days. In the 1940s the historian Herbert E. Bolton identified the first barranca with Tule Canyon on the northeast edge of the Llano Estacado and the deep barranca with Palo Duro Canyon a few miles farther north and the northernmost major canyon of the Caprock group.

Blakeslee reevaluates these locations and also the Canadian River route of Albert H. Schroeder in terms of his reordering of the documentary sources, especially with a consideration of botanical distributions. He feels that both Bolton and (especially) Schroeder have the Coronado expedition going too far north. Blakeslee believes that possibly Blanco Canyon was the "large barranca" and that the main expedition returned to the Pecos by following Yellow House Canyon westward, crossing the almost flat region that divides the Yellow House from the Pecos drainage. Recent discoveries of copper crossbow boltheads and a chain mail gauntlet in upper Blanco Canyon suggest that this canyon was one of the areas visited by Coronado (see Chapter 23).

Part of my own chapter is, like that of Blakeslee, a survey of the route of Coronado. In the matter of routing, I substantially agree with Blakeslee. However, my primary task is to more clearly identify the Teya, that southern Plains group so important to Coronado. I make three major points about the Teya: that they are identical with the archeological Garza Culture; that they are the group called, from mid-century on, the Jumanos; and that they spoke a language similar to the Piro/Tompiro. Each of these three points has been suggested before, though I may be the first to weave all three into one fabric. I also argue for a route to Quivira that ran through the Wheeler Phase region of western Oklahoma, thus both avoiding the Querecho-controlled country farther west and utilizing the route between the Teya and their Wheeler Phase trading partners.

The chapter by David Snow approaches the Coronado problem from another angle, that of Pueblo trade wares in the southwestern Plains. In this wide-ranging

critique, Snow perceptively points out the dangers of assuming a simplistic succession of glazewares in the Pueblo area. There seems to have been significant overlap of the various glaze types, an important factor for those using glazes as temporal markers on the southern Plains. Along these same lines, Snow doubts that site LA 54147 contained only Glaze E pottery (Vierra and Hordes, Chapter 16, concede this possibility). He also suggests that glazed pottery going into the Plains, whether by indigenous trade or brought by Coronado's expedition, must have served rather specialized purposes because of the awkwardness of transporting fragile pots.

W. Michael Mathes examines Castañeda's statement that the first *barranca* described by the Coronado party was "like those of Colima." Mathes points out that the principal route from the town of Colima to the crossroad Sayula region cuts through an area containing canyons that resemble Blanco Canyon in the Llano Estacado. He concludes that "there can be little doubt that Castañeda was describing Blanco Canyon."

As far as I know, no earlier writer has tried to match up Colima with Llano Estacado canyons. Mathes's chapter is an important bit of corroborative evidence for the scholars who believe Coronado's first canyon was Blanco. However, I must take issue with Mathes on his statement that there is "little doubt" in the matter. After all, Castañeda was writing twenty years after the expedition and his memory may have become muddled as to which canyon was which. Possibly, he saw other similarities that in his mind equated Colima with one of the northern canyons.

In the final chapter of this volume, Blakeslee, Flint, and Hughes discuss recent discoveries at Blanco Canyon on the eastern margin of the Llano Estacado, surely one or the other of the large canyons identified by Castañeda. Material found in the canyon includes both copper and iron crossbow boltheads, chain mail, horse-shoes and nails, and Rio Grande glaze sherds, especially of Glaze E type. Other objects include a Mesoamerican-style blade and two sherds of unknown but possibly Mexican provenance. All of these objects can fit a 1541 date, and it does seem that Blanco Canyon was one of the areas in the Llano Estacado visited by Coronado. But was it the "*barranca grande como las de colima*" (the first *barranca* mentioned by the Spaniards) or was it the second "*barranca grande*"?

The evidence that Blanco Canyon was the first *barranca* has to do with marching time between the two *barrancas*. From the rather confused statement of Castañeda, it would seem that the Spaniards marched for several days. One logical routing, distance-wise, would take the expedition from Blanco Canyon along a well-known trail into the Palo Duro Canyon at the mouth of Cita Canyon. This is out of Teya (the archeological Garza) country and so would fit with Castañeda's statement that the army had reached beyond the last of the Teya rancherías (Hammond and Rey 1940: 239; see also Castañeda 1596: 83v), and his later comment (Hammond and

Rey 1940: 242) that, returning to the Rio Grande, the main party had to leave the *barranca* to get back into the Teya region.

I do have one problem with this routing. Even assuming that the second *barranca* lay beyond the cluster of Teya towns, it does seem to have been a location where the Teya felt comfortable. The Palo Duro area has settlements of the enemy Querecho (archeological Tierra Blanca) Indians, an unlikely place for the Teya to lead the Spaniards. Perhaps we should consider John Morris's (personal communication 1995; 1997: 100–101) suggestion that Coronado may have launched his Quivira expedition from farther down Blanco Canyon in modern Crosby County, Texas.

Clearly the Spanish expedition utilized Teya guides, and in fact Coronado, on his way to Quivira, sent back to the main expedition for a second set (Castañeda 1596: 86). If the trail led into Wheeler Phase country as I have argued (Riley 1991, 1995; Chapter 20), it probably would not have extended across an area settled by the Querecho, unless the Spaniards were mistaken about the enmity of the Teya and Querecho. From Teya country to the Wheeler Phase sites of western Oklahoma, a lower Blanco Canyon starting point might be logical, the route then skirting the Caprock canyons to the east.

The contention that Blanco Canyon was the second *barranca* relates to the distances marched by the expedition from the Rio Grande basin and the fact that the return route of the main unit would make the most sense if it were launched from Blanco Canyon. This is a cogent point. However, another argument involving Turk's intentions is less so. The authors suggest the possibility that Turk was in fact trying to lead the Spaniards to the relatively sophisticated Mississippian towns of the lower Mississippi River Valley. According to this line of reasoning, the "Pecos plot" never existed except in the imaginations of the Spaniards. Taking the Spaniards into the rich Llano Estacado would lead them into what—from Turk's point of view—was a food-rich area, so that he could hardly have been trying to "starve" them.<sup>2</sup>

This explanation does not convince me. The idea that Turk was tempting the Spaniards by a description of the rich Mississippian culture is hardly new; in fact, I pointed it out twenty-five years ago (Riley 1971: 304–306). It does not follow that there was no attempt to get rid of the Spaniards. Turk and his Pecos collaborators simply wanted to take the Spaniards somewhere distant from both the Pueblo and Pawnee lands. Given other considerations, such a route would necessarily be to the south or southeast. Failing that, the plan was to weaken the invaders, presumably by leading them off the rich Llano Estacado into the broken country to the south and east. Castañeda's account of this situation is quite matter-of-fact (Hammond and Rey 1940: 241–242). When challenged by the Spaniards about his "treachery,"

Turk told them that

the people of Cicuye had asked him to take the Spaniards out there and lead them astray on the plains. Thus, through lack of provisions, their horses would die and they themselves would become so feeble that, upon their return, the people of Cicuye could kill them easily. . . . This, the Turk said, was the reason that he had misdirected them, believing that they would *not know how to hunt or survive without maize* [italics mine]. As to gold, he declared that he did not know where there was any.

Turk, according to Castañeda (ibid.) was speaking through the Teya guides, which suggests sign language, probably a communication system widespread in the south and central Plains. The Spaniards would by necessity have known this system after some months in contact with the Querecho and Teya, and it does provide for reasonably complex interchanges. Castañeda, incidentally, was not the only Spaniard to repeat the stories about Turk trying to lead the Spaniards to disaster. See also the account in the *Relación del Suceso* and the statement of Jaramillo in the Coronado period documents (Hammond and Rey 1940: 290–291, 301). During the mid-1540s investigation of Coronado's activities, several witnesses spoke of Turk's perfidious behavior. Juan de Zaldívar, for example, told how Turk followed instructions given him by the Pecos leaders to guide the Spaniards "where there wasn't any water or food so that they would all perish" (Walsh, 1993: 186–187). López de Cárdenas, in 1551 testimony, also describes Turk's leading the Spaniards astray in order that they "perish from hunger and thirst" (Hammond and Rey 1940: 363).

This book presents us with more questions than answers. In fact, the main value of the book is the framing and clarification of questions about early Spanish exploration in the Southwest. We need more documentary data, and especially more archeological work, directed at these queries. For example, we can now say something about the inventory of material objects carried by the Spaniards. Archeology on contact period sites should verify and clarify the kinds of objects listed, sometimes very vaguely, in the inventories. Such data should also allow us to increase our knowledge of the range of materials with Spanish parties in the Southwest.

Perhaps even more important is a consideration of the influences of central and west Mexican Indians in the Coronado and other early entradas into the Southwest. The Native American component of these parties was often very large, in the case of Coronado making up perhaps 80 percent of the total personnel. Many of the Indians with Coronado stayed in the Southwest and thus they continued to affect the native culture. We need archeological and documentary studies of the

homelands of these visitors. With such knowledge we can begin to understand the range and depth of Mexican Indian contributions to Southwestern culture.

It may be that we will never completely delineate Coronado's trail, especially in Arizona and/or southwestern New Mexico and in the Plains. Even there, however, where the documentary evidence is so mixed and uncertain, further excavation may reveal important points of contact—note the recent dramatic finds of cross-bow boltheads and other metal objects in the Blanco Canyon. And in the Rio Grande Valley, where the Spaniards spent much of their time between the late fall of 1540 and the spring of 1542, work like that of Vierra will slowly reveal the secrets of this earliest European history of the Greater Southwest and the first interaction between Spaniard and Native American in this great region.

### Notes

1. All dates in this paper, unless otherwise noted, are Julian calendar.

2. The idea that Turk was heading for the Mississippi Valley is drawn from a perceptive paper by Mildred M. Wedel (1982), which uses my 1971 paper as a launching point. Wedel has a thoughtful alternative view of Indian-Spanish interaction in 1541. However, in my opinion the evidence really points in another direction.