

**A Supposed Franciscan Exploration of Arizona in 1538:  
The Origins of a Myth**

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**Introduction**

At the end of the eighteenth century, Fray Juan Domingo de Arricivita wrote, in the prologue of his Franciscan chronicle of New Spain:

*In the year 1538, in the month of January, the Fathers Fray Juan de la Asunción and Fray Pedro Nadal left Mexico City, by order of the Lord Viceroy; after having walked for six hundreds leagues in a northwest direction, they reached a river with a very large flow that they could not cross; and Fray Pedro, who was very clever in mathematics, noted the altitude of the pole at thirty-five degrees. [1]*

In Fray Domingo's day such an expedition was regarded as fact. Since that time many authors, including Adolph Bandelier [2], William Hartmann and Gayle Hartmann [3], Julio Montané Martí [4], have discussed this supposed exploration. Some support the existence of a 1538 expedition and propose that it was the first European entrance into Arizona. Others dispute this. As yet, no definitive conclusion has been reached. Nonetheless, the sheer number of publications dealing with this subject has reinforced the belief that the trip of Fray Juan and Fray Pedro was authentic.

This chapter demonstrates that their expedition was instead a mythical event, the accounts of which originated and evolved as a sequence of authors misinterpreted the writings of their predecessors. The key lies in Fray Marcos de Niza's journey to Cíbola and the way it was perceived in Mexico City. Modern readers think of Fray Marcos' explorations as occurring in 1539, because Marcos' report [5] opens with his departure from Culiacán in that year.

For residents of Mexico City, though, his trek had actually begun the previous fall, in September or October 1538, when he left Mexico City. On November 20, 1538 he had reached Tonalá, where he signed a receipt for his instructions from Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza [6]. He was traveling with the newly appointed governor, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, and at least one other friar named Onorato, under secret orders to explore to the north. Many rumors were already circulating about that region [7], partly due to news brought in 1536 by shipwreck survivors Cabeza de Vaca [8], the Moor Estéban, and their companions, who had passed through the northern country.

It is important to note that Fray Marcos de Niza was approved and released for this journey by the minister provincial of his Franciscan Order in Mexico City, Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo. The provincial certified Fray Marcos' report when he returned from Cíbola, stating, "I affirm that it is true that I sent Fray Marcos de Niza with another companion, a lay brother who was called Fray Honoratus, by the command of the lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of the said New Spain." [9]

Also figuring importantly in the origin of the legend of a trip by two friars in 1538 (separate from and preceding that of Fray Marcos), are several explorations undertaken, independently or together, by Vázquez de Coronado and Marcos early in 1539, before he finally departed for Cíbola. All these events were reported only imperfectly and at a distance by later chroniclers in Mexico City. Therefore, it is crucial to unraveling the legend to delineate carefully their chronology.

### **Chronology of Events in and around Culiacán**

After Marcos and Vázquez de Coronado left Mexico City in the fall of 1538, they headed west and north to the frontier, and Niza received Viceroy Mendoza's instructions in Tonalá on November 20, and signed for them. On December 15, 1538, the new governor (and presumably Fray Marcos) were in Compostela, the seat of the government of New Galicia, from which Vázquez de Coronado wrote a letter to the king carrying this date. The governor explained various administrative problems in Compostela and spoke of visiting the mines. He also sketched plans for improving the situation at the northernmost frontier outpost of Culiacán:

*In the city of Guadalajara... I investigated some matters that were of importance As I was about to leave for this city of Compostela, the solicitor of the town of San Miguel in the province of Culiacán came to tell me that the residents of that town were about to abandon it... He begged me, in the name of Your Majesty, to proceed there at once in order to remedy the situation. He affirmed that if I failed to go within forty days, the residents would leave...*

*As soon as I return from Culiacán, which will be as soon as I put things in order there, I shall try to pacify the Indians of this province... [10]*

As is clear from this letter and Marcos' instructions, there was considerable incentive to move on promptly to Culiacán. Cleve Hallenbeck estimated the number of trail miles from Compostela to Culiacán as 305-310 [11], from which we infer that the travel time would have been 16 to 20 days. If Vázquez de Coronado wrote his December 15 letter just before leaving (which seems likely), then he and Fray Marcos may have been in Culiacán as early as the first week of January 1539. Once there, in order to pacify the country, the governor had to campaign against the powerful cacique Ayapín, who threatened San Miguel's inhabitants. [12]

Letters from Vázquez de Coronado and secondhand reports from Viceroy Mendoza make it clear that he and Marcos undertook a number of activities to learn what was happening on the troubled frontier. Mendoza, in October 1539, recounted sending Vázquez de Coronado, the black servant Estéban, and "a few Indians of that region whom I had gathered" to the north:

*I sent them with Fray Marcos de Niza and one of his companions, a friar of the order of St. Francis to the town of San Miguel de Culiacán. Once the governor arrived, he sent the friars with some Indians of those I had given to their lands. They taught them to tell their people that Your Majesty had ordered that no more slaves be taken... After twenty days, more than 400 came back with these Indians; having met the governor, they told him that they wanted to see and know the persons who had done them so much good... they had been wandering and hiding like proud savages for years, for fear of being made slaves.*

*The governor consoled them with some good speeches, gave them food, and kept them with him three or four days: during this time the friars taught them to make the sign of the cross. At the end of this time, the governor sent them back to their homes, telling them not to be afraid, but to stay quiet, giving them prayers.*

*Their entry thus prepared, Fray Marcos de Niza and his companion [Onorato] left Culiacán ten or twelve days later, with the Black [Estéban], some slaves and the Indians that I had given them. And, as I had known about a province called Topira, located beyond the mountains, I had commanded the governor to learn what it was, considering this as very important, and he had decided to go there himself to see it. He [Vázquez de Coronado] had given orders to the said friar that, from this place of the mountain [Topira], he [Marcos] took the direction of a city called Los Corazones, 120 leagues from Culiacán, to meet him. [13]*

From this letter we conclude that if Vázquez de Coronado arrived in Culiacán in early to mid-January 1539, then the Indian emissaries who returned after twenty days would have arrived in Culiacán between the last days of January and mid-February, 1539. If Marcos then spent three or four days with the Indians and waited another ten or twelve days more before leaving, he could not have departed for Cíbola earlier than late February or early March. While he was under orders to seek Cíbola, he and the governor also wanted to reconnoiter the district of Topira, which is believed to be the region called Topía in modern Durango. Topira, in the mountains northeast of Culiacán, was said to be rich in metals, which rumors, though exaggerated, may have had some foundation since the area has a history of mining. The conclusion of Mendoza's letter suggests that Vázquez de Coronado planned to go to Topira and to rendezvous with Fray Marcos at the town of Corazones, (near modern Urés, Sonora) which had been reported by Cabeza de Vaca, Esteban, and their companions in 1536. This meeting never occurred.

Vázquez de Coronado himself recounted some of these same events in a letter to the Emperor that he wrote July 15, 1539:

*Upon my arrival [in Culiacán], the settlers became calm again. In addition, I distributed [some encomiendas among them]. After doing this, I set out through the province in order to bring an end to the bloodshed Little by little I succeeded in pacifying the natives I explained that they are your vassals [and] promised them in your name to pardon them*

*I took with me to this province of Culiacán a friar of the order of St. Francis, named Fray Marcos de Niza. The viceroy of New Spain had recommended that I send him inland, to explore, by land, the coast of this New Spain and to gain knowledge of the lands and peoples that are now unknown. In order that he might travel with greater safety, I sent some Indians of those who had been slaves to the towns of Petatlán and Cuchillo, nearly sixty leagues beyond Culiacán. I asked them to enlist some native Indians and to tell them not to be afraid In view of this and the fact that the messengers who came to appeal to them were free, which astounded them not a little, over eighty men came to me.*

*After having taken particular pains to make clear to them your royal will I charged them to take Fray Marcos and Estéban, a Black, to the interior of the land. [14]*

Petatlán was a native settlement north of Culiacán which had been raided for slaves by the Spaniards before Coronado restored calm and which was one of Marcos' first stops. Onorato fell ill there, and abandoned the journey, which was completed by Fray Marcos alone. As far as was known in Mexico City from the first reports, however, two friars had left for the north.

In the just cited letter, Vázquez de Coronado omitted any reference to an attempt to reach Topira, probably because it was not successful. In another letter closer to the time of the

Topira trip, the governor revealed that his attempt to reach Topira had not occurred until after Marcos' departure for the north. In fact, it had been delayed until April, probably because of the pacification activities described in the letter above. The March 8 letter stated, "With the help of God our Lord, I will leave this land of San Miguel de Culiacán for Topira on April 10." [15]

In summary, in spite of all the uncertainties, it is important to note the broad picture: Vázquez de Coronado, Marcos de Niza, and at least one other friar left Mexico City in 1538 and arrived in Culiacán. After emissaries were sent and received from nearby regions, Marcos departed to the northwest toward his ultimate goal, where he subsequently reported the prosperous villages of northern Sonora, and the multistory pueblos of Cíbola, while the governor probed northeast into the mountains for Topira, finding nothing of interest. As we will show, these facts are identical with the earliest versions of the supposed 1538 exploration by two friars other than Marcos and Onorato.

### **The Problem of Marcos' Departure Date and the Exploration of Topira**

The above events conform to the later legend of a probe northward in 1538 by two friars, supposedly Juan de la Asunción and Pedro Nadal. Somewhat subordinate to this issue, but still relevant, are a host of problems about Fray Marcos' movements while at Culiacán and his actual departure date on his northward exploration.

One interpretation (more traditional and favored by William Hartmann) is that Marcos spent time in Culiacán befriending the Indians who had come from Petatlán and then left with them for the north on March 7, 1539. This fits the more "relaxed schedule" mentioned above: Vázquez de Coronado and Marcos arrived in Culiacán in mid-January, checked out the situation for a week or so, sent out emissaries to Petatlán (who arrived twenty days later around mid-February), spent three or four days with the Indians, sent them back to their villages, and finally Marcos departed ten or twelve days later with some of them for the great unknown on March 7. This departure date from Culiacán is stated explicitly by Niza himself in the opening lines of his Relation:

*I departed from the villa of San Miguel in the province of Culiacán, Friday, the seventh day of March, year of 1539, taking with me Father Friar Honoratus, Estéban de Dorantes, a black, certain Indians of those which the said Lord Viceroy liberated and with many other Indians from Petatlán and from the town that is called Cuchillo... And with the company that I have said, I took my way toward the town of Petatlán, receiving on the way many hospitalities and presents of food, roses and other things of this sort, and huts they built for me. [16]*

This seemingly straightforward interpretation, however, is thrown into doubt by several documents. First is Vázquez de Coronado's letter dated in Culiacán March 8, 1539, one day after Marcos supposedly left from that place for the north. The letter not only gives no indication of Marcos' recent departure, but states, instead, that he had left a month before, on February 7, and that the governor already had received a letter from him, indicating he must have been on the trail for more than a day:

*With the help of God our Lord, I will leave this land of San Miguel de Culiacán for Topira on April 10; I will not be able to do it earlier, because at this time only the powder and fuse that Your Lordship has sent will have arrived; I think that they should already be in Compostela. Another reason is that I have to travel so many leagues among mountains that are so high they reach the sky, and there is*

*nowhere to cross a [certain] river that is now so big and swollen. But I think that this will be possible in April. I had been told that from here to Topira is no more than fifty leagues, but now I know that it is more than eighty.*

*I do not remember if I wrote to Your Lordship about the report that I received concerning Topira, and even if I did it, it seems to me that I have to write those lines to Your Lordship, because I have been informed of more things.*

*I have been told that Topira is a very populated country between two rivers and that there are more than fifty inhabited locations. Further, there is another great country (and the Indians could not tell me its name) where there are large quantities of food, corn, beans, sweet red peppers, melons and marrows, and a lot of native chickens. The inhabitants wear gold, emeralds, and other gems, and they customarily use gold and silver, with which they cover their houses. And their chiefs wear large, well-made, gold chains around their necks and are dressed in painted clothing.*

*I have been told to not go there because I have few men in this country, and the Indians are numerous and courageous. What I tell you I heard from reports of two other Indians, neighbors of those [of Topira].*

*So, I will leave on the date that I told you, taking with me 150 horsemen and twelve more horses, 200 footmen, crossbowmen, and arquebusiers. I will take pigs, sheep, and all that I could find to buy.*

*Your Lordship may be sure that I will not come back to Mexico [City] without being able to say what I have seen with the greatest certainty. If I find profitable things, I will say nothing until I inform Your Lordship and you command what to do.*

*And if, by misfortune, there is nothing, I will attempt to go one hundred leagues farther, where I hope there will be something Your Lordship will be able to use for all those horsemen, and the ones that will follow. I think that there is nothing more to add. The water, the climate, and the aspect of the country will dictate what to do.*

*Fray Marcos went farther into this land on the seventh of the past month of February, and with him [is] Estéban. When I left them they were in the company of more than one hundred Indians of Petatlán. The chief with whom they had come held the friar by hand in the best possible way. We could not ask to portray his departure better than I did in the reports I wrote from Compostela and San Miguel. I wrote them as best I could, and though they reflect only the tenth part, they are a great thing.*

*With this letter, I add one that I received from the aforesaid friar. All the Indians say that they love him. I believe that, in this way, he could walk two thousands leagues! He says that, if he finds a good land, he will write to me. In that case, I will let Your Lordship know about it. I hope in God that, one way or another, we will find something good. [17]*

A common interpretation is that the dates in this letter (February 7 and March 8) are simply wrong, since they disagree with Fray Marcos' own certified account; or that copying errors were made by the time it was published in Italian translation by Giovam Battista Ramusio in the 1550s. Ramusio's book is known to contain other errors in translation, as comparison with Spanish originals reveals.

Historian Lansing Bloom, however, suggested an alternate interpretation. He argued for accepting the February 7 departure date and concluded that Marcos thus had a whole extra

month to complete his journey to Cíbola, which would render fatuous assertions by other historians that the friar had insufficient time to travel as far as he said he did. [18]

Yet a third interpretation (favored by Michel Nallino) is that Marcos actually did depart from Culiacán on February 7, but not on his northward trip, but rather on a foray toward Topira. In support of a possible trip by Marcos to Topira is the Italian summary of a lost letter from Vázquez de Coronado to a secretary of the Viceroy, dated March 8:

*[This letter] says how Fray Marcos de Niza went to the province of Topira, where he found that all the Indians had run away into the mountains out of fear of the Christians. And how, because of his love, they all decided to go down and meet him with great happiness and safety. The men are of a sound constitution and whiter than the others, and the women are more beautiful. There is no large city; however the houses are very good and built of stones. In their houses they have much gold, which is as good as lost since they do not use it in any way.*

*The inhabitants wear emeralds and other valuable jewels. They are courageous and have weapons made with a very good silver, worked as figures of various animals. They love the things that they have in their houses as if they were gods, for example herbs and birds. And they sing them prayers in their language, which is not much different from the one at Culiacán.*

*They said to the friar that they wanted to be Christians and vassals of the Emperor, because they had no government. This on the condition that no one hurt them. They also said they would exchange their gold for things that they lacked and were not able to produce themselves. It was ordered that they be received without any harm being done to them. [19]*

In this view, the "tighter time schedule" is favored, with Fray Marcos arriving in Culiacán in early January, receiving emissaries by later January, spending 10 to 12 days with them, and then leaving to probe toward Topira on February 7. It is possible he was not with Vázquez de Coronado in Compostela on December 15, 1538; his presence there at that time is only inferred, not proven. Marcos and the governor had different goals and activities. Vázquez de Coronado commenced his duties as governor in Compostela and later had to pacify the region of San Miguel de Culiacán. Fray Marcos, on the other hand, had to instruct the Indians and to prepare his northward journey. Thus, he had little apparent reason to spend time in Compostela and might have preceded the governor to Culiacán, rather than waiting for him.

Proceeding directly from Tonalá (November 20) to Culiacán, without stopping in Compostela for more than a short rest, he would have been able to arrive in Culiacán as early as mid-December, and so have time to send Indians north, wait twenty days for their return, spend three or four more days teaching them, send them back to their homes, and wait ten or twelve more days before finally departing himself on February 7.

We cannot be confident about the reports of gold and jewels in Topira, since Ramusio or his editors Marica and Milanese are known to have added similar passages while "translating" other Spanish documents, in order to make them more attractive to European readers. There is, however, no clear reason why Ramusio would have fabricated the reference to a Topira trip.

The results of both Marcos' and Vázquez de Coronado's expeditions to Topira are known from a 1539 letter from Mendoza. His use of pronouns in that letter, instead of names, unfortunately inhibits our comprehension :

*He [Vázquez de Coronado] went through this province [Topira], and found it, as I told in my other letters, in a state of great starvation. And the mountains were so rough that he could not find any way to go further, and was obliged to go back to San Miguel. In selecting [Fray Marcos] to go, as well as in preventing [Vázquez de Coronado] from finding a way, God our Lord showed the door to a poor shoeless friar and hid it to all the other people who, by the use of their human strength, wanted to try this undertaking. In that way, he [Marcos] began to enter the land farther on. His entry having been prepared so well, he was very well received. [20]*

Fortunately, the account by Castañeda who was part of the subsequent full-fledged expedition in 1540, clarified the meaning of Mendoza's letter. The chronicler confirmed that Vázquez de Coronado explored Topira after Marcos left for Cíbola:

*After Francisco Vázquez de Coronado had sent Friar Marcos de Niza and his party on the search already related, he was engaged in Culiacán about some business that related to his government, when he heard an account of a province called Topira, which was to the north of the country of Culiacán. He started to explore this region with several of the conquerors and some friendly Indians, but he did not get very far, because the mountain chains, which they had to cross, were very difficult. He returned without finding the least signs of a good country, and when he got back, he found the friars [21] who had just arrived [from the discovery of Cíbola], and who told such great things about what the Negro Stephen had discovered and what they had heard from the Indians, and other things they had heard about the South Sea and islands and other riches, that, without stopping for anything, the governor set off at once for the City of Mexico, taking Friar Marcos with him, to tell the Viceroy about it. [22]*

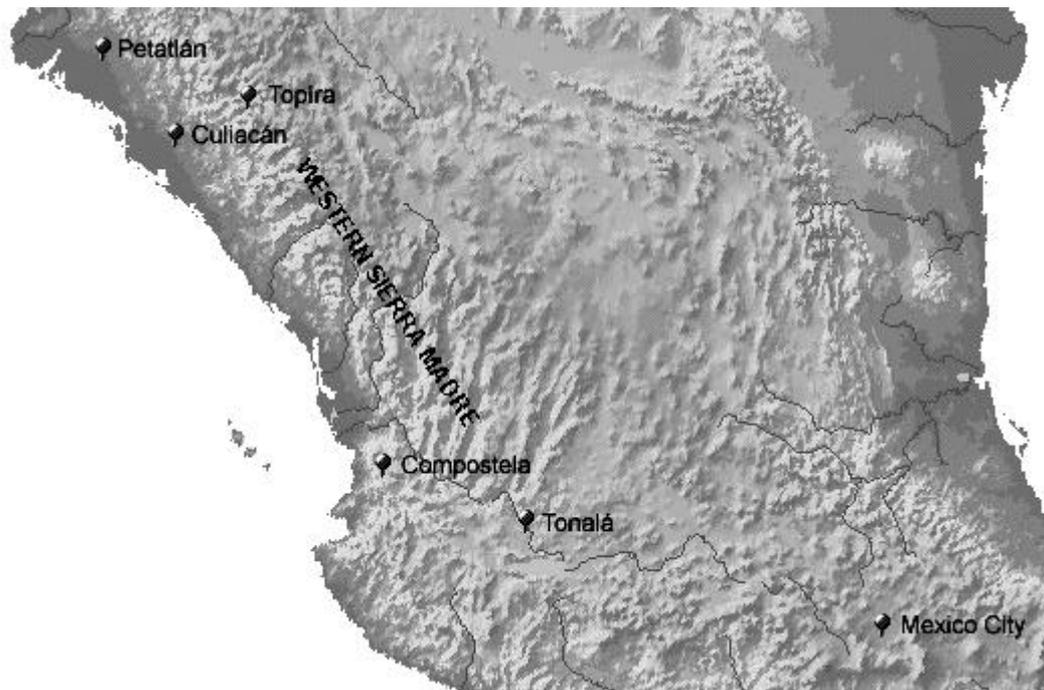
Because the governor's March 8 letter implies that Fray Marcos had been on the road for some time and had sent messages back, and because Mendoza's 1539 letter suggests an intended route from Topira to Corazones, it may be inferred that Marcos went toward Topira, sent back a report, and headed directly on toward the northwestern country. In this interpretation, all the dates in the Coronado March 8 letter are correct, while the date of March 7 in Marcos' Relación is wrong. This interpretation also requires that Marcos reached Petatlán directly from Topira, incorrectly reporting later that he went directly from Culiacán to Petatlán (with no mention of Topira); this would explain why the friar did not provide many details about the road between Culiacán and Petatlán, for which he has been reproached by some historians. [23]

### **Marcos' Journey, from Mexico City to Petatlán**

There is little question of copying error in Fray Marcos' Relación. Three copies of the manuscript are available in Sevilla and in Vienna. [24] One of us (Nallino) suggests that Fray Marcos' report might represent a censored or altered version, the censoring being done in part to avoid reference to the failure at Topira and to make the route north sound shorter and more appealing than it in fact was. This may have been part of an effort to promote the Coronado expedition, which was organized in the weeks after Marcos' report was filed and certified, and to encourage more conquistadores to invest their lives and savings in the effort. This also accords with suggestions that other parts of the report were "softened" for the same reason. Examples of such "softening" may include Marcos' vague wording that he visited the coast and

confirming that the coastline turns west near latitude 35 degrees and his lack of any discussion of metal in Cíbola.

The inconsistencies regarding Marcos' departure date open the door for various interpretations. Regardless of these problems, though, the important point for our purposes is that none of the reports gives the slightest hint of an entrada by friars preceding Marcos and Onorato. Later stories of such an undertaking were based solely on the fact that Fray Marcos and Vázquez de Coronado departed in fall 1538 from Mexico City for Culiacán, from where Marcos subsequently embarked for Cíbola. Before making his final departure for Cíbola Marcos may have made an expedition into the mountains toward Topira that was later repeated by the governor. Now we look at how those expeditions have led writers to build and develop the myth of a trip made by earlier friars.



Marcos' journey map, from Mexico City to Petatlán

### **Origins of the Olmedo-Asunción Story**

That Marcos' dramatic *Relación* precipitated a quasi-military expedition in 1540, led by Vázquez de Coronado is well known. Marcos participated in the expedition as guide, and he returned to Mexico City after the battle of Hawikuh between the expeditionary force and Zuni / Cíbola warriors.

After his return from Cíbola at the end of 1540, Marcos de Niza's reputation collapsed because there had been no city of gold, and he almost disappeared from public life. The Catholic Church and Franciscans themselves wrote little about Marcos for many years. It was not until 1620 that a biographer, Diego de Córdova de Salinas, published a complete work on Fray Marcos, particularly on his life in Peru. [25]

Meanwhile, in 1540, Fray Toribio de Benavente, also called Motolinía, in his "History of the Indians of New Spain" had published a garbled account of Marcos' journey. Motolinía's text is

no more than a summary of the Marcos Relación, though it never identified the friar by name and did not mention Estéban nor details from the Relación:

*In the year of 1538, this same provincial Fray Ciudad-Rodrigo, sent two friars in the direction of the South Sea, going north to Jalisco and to New Galicia. A captain went with them to make discovers. Once they had crossed the land already discovered, known, and conquered, they took two completely open paths. The captain chose to go to the right in the direction of the interior of the land. After a few days he arrived among mountains so rough that he could not pass farther and was obliged to return by the same route he had taken on the outbound journey.*

*Of the two friars, one fell ill and the other, with interpreters, took the path to the left, going toward the coast, and followed it. After a few days he arrived in a land inhabited by poor people, who met him and called him messenger of Heaven, and all touched him and kissed his habit. [26]*

This is clearly an abbreviated account of the Vázquez de Coronado - Marcos - Onorato experiences, without names. We can identify the "messenger of Heaven" with Fray Marcos, who mentioned in his Relación:

*These Indians gave me many receptions and much food, and they tried to touch my robe, calling me Sayota, which would want to say, in their language, man from the Heaven. [27]*

The "friar who fell ill" is Fray Onorato, who Marcos reported "was seized with illness" in Petatlán [28]. And Francisco Vázquez de Coronado is the unlucky captain who, at Topira, took the path toward the right, eastward, into the rugged Sierra Madre that he could not cross, reported by Mendoza as mentioned earlier.

Motolinía dated the beginning of the travel as 1538 because that was actually the year the trio left Mexico City for Culiacán. Since the two friars and the governor had left Mexico City together, Motolinía wrongly reported that they also traveled together to Topira.

In 1596 another Franciscan, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, also wrote about the first exploration of the north. Mendieta, being a spiritual heir of Motolinía, wrote an account which is nearly identical word for word with Motolinía's:

*In the same year of 38, he [Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo] sent two other friars by land, following the same coast of the South Sea towards the north, to Jalisco and the New Galicia. Accompanying the two friars, was a captain who went to discover new lands, but with different destinations. Once they had crossed the land that was already discovered, known, and conquered, they found two fully open paths. The captain chose the one on his right hand, which seemed to go in the interior of the land, and arrived after a few days in such hard and painful mountains that he could not go further and was obliged to return. One of the friars fell ill. [29]*

This account of the Topira episode was the same summary of Marcos' account, as in Motolinía. At the end of the summary, however, Mendieta added this surprising conclusion:

*At that time the provincial of this province of the Holy Gospel was Fray Marcos de Niza, born in the same city of Nice, in the Duchy of Savoy, a man of great knowledge and religion. In order to certify what the other friar [who had come back from travel to the north] had published, he wanted to do the work again and*

*took over, before the others could decide, and left with the best courage he could. Having verified the report and indications that the friar had given about the regions where he travelled, he [Marcos] came back to Mexico City and confirmed what the other one had seen. [30]*

As we have emphasized, there is not the slightest indication in the "eyewitness testimonies" of Vázquez de Coronado and Marcos de Niza that any such foray toward Cíbola had been undertaken prior to their arrival in Culiacán. Moreover, neither Marcos nor the chroniclers of the 1540 expedition, who talked to natives in the area of northern Sonora, southeast Arizona, and Zuni, ever reported any tales of such prior explorations, but instead indicated that Fray Marcos had been the first discoverer of places along the road to Cíbola.

Apparently, though, Mendieta, or others of his generation, misinterpreted Motolinía, which gave rise to the idea that the captain and two friars reported by Fray Toribio represented a separate expedition, before Marcos de Niza's. This is the genesis of the myth that Marcos de Niza had received his initial information from an earlier Franciscan journey to the north. From this moment, a succession of authors have repeated and amplified this myth.

The first to repeat the story was Fray Juan de Torquemada, who in 1615 wrote in his "Monarquía Indiana", the following :

*[Fray Marcos de Niza] then came to New Spain, to this province of the Holy Gospel, where by his letters, religion, and good uses, he was received with much pleasure. In a few years he was elected the third provincial minister, after the holy and brave Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo had finished his term. With the office of provincial, he left in quest of the new land of Cíbola, of which he had heard in the report of another friar, as we tell in another part of this work. [31]*

In "another part of this work" we find once again the episode of Topira, a summary of Marcos' Relación, and repetition of Mendieta's assertion that Marcos sought to verify the discovery of another friar. Torquemada's wording is almost identical to Mendieta's.

Another twist to the story was added in 1653, when Fray Antonio Tello, following in the footsteps of Mendieta and Torquemada, wrote his "Crónica miscelánea de la Sancta Provincia de Xalisco" and added a name to the apocryphal friar who preceded Marcos. His name he said was Juan de Olmedo. Fray Antonio's phrases echo the earlier literature, but tell a confused story:

*Before this, according to a confused chronicle, large armies and fleets had been sent, by land and by sea, to discover the land, but God permitted only a Franciscan friar, ragged and mended, to find it first. Having suffered great troubles, hunger, and adversity on such a long road, he came back to Mexico City and reported to his prelate, who was the father Fray Marcos de Niza, who had been general commissary of Indies, an erudite and very religious man, who was at that time provincial of the province of the Holy Gospel. He also reported to Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza.*

*Some authors do not agree on the names of those religious. Francisco López de Gmara, part I, folio 28 and following, says that one was Fray Juan de Olmedo, and that those two friars left with the authorization of their prelate Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo for the province of Jalisco, for which they had long been destined. Once they had reached it, they stayed there some time because they were ill, and then went to Culiacán, where Fray Pablo remained a few days. Father Fray Juan de Olmedo went further, up to the provinces of Sinaloa, the province of*

*Sonora, of the Imires and Yaquis, and all the places referred to above. From there he came back to give a report to his superiors. In his way he met his companions, who were already in Sinaloa looking for him.*

*In order to confirm what the other friar had reported, the blessed Father Fray Marcos de Niza, decided to go and see. He started his journey on foot, shoeless, being already of great age, with the enthusiasm of the saving souls. Though he was disturbed by other friars, he did not give up his journey, as reported by Herrera, Decade VI, book I, chapter I, page 201. He took with him the Father Fray Juan de Olmedo, who was from the Province of Xalisco, and though Torquemada says that he took him as guide, it was not the only reason. Instead, he did not want to offend the Holy Province of Xalisco, of which Father Fray Juan de Olmedo was a son. [32]*

Fray Antonio de Tello was very precise in his quotations, and at first glance, he seems to give excellent sources for what he wrote. Unfortunately, Carmen Aguirre and Leandro Tormo checked different prints of Gómara and found that Gómara does not mention the name of Fray Juan de Olmedo [33]. He simply says: "Fray Marcos de Niza and other friars entered the land of Culiacán in 1538." [34]

Moreover, the chapter of Herrera's work that Tello quoted concerns not New Spain or New Galicia but Venezuela! Herrera did write about Marcos de Niza and Vázquez de Coronado, in Decade VII, book I, chapters VII and VIII, but he did not mention any expedition to Cíbola that preceded Marcos' trip, and he did not give the name of Juan de Olmedo. In addition, Torquemada never wrote that Marcos took another friar as guide. It all sounds as if Fray Antonio made up his sources!

Be that as it may, one of his comments is of special interest to us here. There is the phrase about "God allowing a single ragged friar to make the discovery instead of a big army", that is nearly a precise quote of a statement made by Hernán Cortés about Marcos de Niza, in a letter to the Viceroy, written on August 6, 1539, upon receipt of the first news about the good lands to the north. Wagner's translation is: "And so God wished to reveal this, not as the result of expenditures for huge fleets by sea and large armies by land, but through a single discolored friar..." [35] Viceroy Mendoza used very similar phrases in his October 1539 letter cited earlier.

In Cortés and Mendoza cases this remark concerned Marcos finding Cíbola instead of Vázquez de Coronado, who had accompanied the friar in 1538. Cortés' clever remark may have been widely paraphrased. Fray Antonio Tello's use of the phrase strongly suggests that his sources were referring to Marcos and not some other friar.

Nearly a century after Fray Antonio wrote, Matías Mota Padilla completed a similar history, in 1742. He used the *Crónica Miscelanea* as source. He also claimed to have examined documents of Pedro de Tovar, one of the captains on the Coronado expedition. These latter documents, which Mota Padilla claimed to have located in Culiacán, are today considered lost. Mota Padilla's account contains the following:

*Ciudad-Rodrigo had sent out priests from Jalisco to discover these lands, and they returned giving a report of them. These priests went by way of the coast of the South Sea, and around toward the north, and when they had swerved to the left more than 200 leagues, many Indians came out to receive them, from whom they heard that further on, the land was inhabited with people who wore clothes*

*and who had houses of many stories, and that where were other tribes on the banks of a copious river, and that there were cows and other animals. This report was given by one of the priests called Fray Juan de Olmeda to Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, who by the same person forwarded the report to Fray Marcos de Niza, the commissary-general, who was of such a turn of mind that he set out, on foot and shoeless, taking with him the said Father Olmeda.*

*Having reconnoitered the provinces of Marata, Acux, and Tonteaca, and getting news of the province of Tzibola, he found it convenient to return to Mexico, and gave a detailed report to the Viceroy. [36]*

Once again, the report of a trip ascribed to Juan de Olmeda is really a synopsis of the early information obtained by Marcos de Niza as he followed the coast northward and received descriptions of the multistory pueblos of Cíbola. And the narration of the second trip, attributed to Fray Marcos and Fray Juan together, is an abbreviated version of what Fray Marcos learned about Cíbola and the nearby areas of Marata, Acus, and Totonteac, as he moved inland. As pointed out earlier, on this trip, Marcos had Fray Onorato as companion, not Juan de Olmeda.

In 1729, Captain Matheo Mange repeated the erroneous story once again, but introduced the name of Fray Juan de la Asunción instead of Juan de Olmedo, and added more confusion, replacing the captain who accompanied the friars by eight miners and stating that Marcos de Niza's first journey to Cíbola was in 1544, fully two years after the end of the full-fledged expedition led by Vázquez de Coronado! [37]

The final step in rounding out the myth came in 1792, when Juan de Arricivita reformulated the material of Mange and Torquemada and gave the name of the companion of Juan de la Asunción as Fray Pedro Nadal. [38]

### **How Did the Myth Arise?**

Our summary of the sequence of accounts suggests how the idea of an entrada of friars in advance of Fray Marcos arose. The descriptions that make up the supposed Olmedo / Asunción report match Marcos' Relación of the early and middle stages of his trip, when he was welcomed by villagers in Sonora and collected detailed accounts of the lifestyles in Cíbola. But none of the later accounts of the fanciful Olmedo / Asunción trip provide information from farther north. There is no mention of Estéban's having been killed in Cíbola or actual sighting of the city.

How might information from the early stages of Marcos' trip have been received independently from his final Relación and thus have given rise to the notion of another earlier entrada? The answer is that on his way north Fray Marcos almost certainly sent messengers back to New Spain. Lansing Bloom suggested this sixty years ago and pointed out that it solves many problems about rumors concerning Marcos that began to circulate in the summer of 1539. [39]

But Carl Sauer [40] and Cleve Hallenbeck [41] emphatically denied that Marcos sent messengers back, even though Mendoza instructed him to. Hallenbeck and Sauer gave no grounds for this denial, and it has blocked much progress in understanding the whole case.

Not only was Fray Marcos instructed by the viceroy to send such messages, but Vázquez de Coronado actually referred in writing to messages received from Marcos [42]. Now, if messages were received in Culiacán or Compostela by the governor in, say, late May or June, describing Marcos' welcome by the villagers and his first news of a great northern city with multistory buildings, Vázquez de Coronado would have sent them on at once to Mexico City. Indeed, the governor wrote on July 15 of Marcos' reports of "the grandeur of the land," [43] and as early as July 26, Cortés, near Mexico City, wrote of rumors of Fray Marcos "having found a good country." [44] Thus, in July 1539 a "first wave" of information came back about Marcos' news of good lands in the north, and Vázquez de Coronado's failure to find much in Topira. Then, in late August, 1539 a "second wave" arrived with Fray Marcos himself, including news of his view of Cíbola.

This sequence is all but confirmed by Mendieta's garbled phrase that Marcos, "having verified the account... came back to Mexico City and confirmed what the other one had seen." [45] As perceived by chroniclers in Mexico City, first one friar appeared with a first wave of news, and later Marcos de Niza appeared and "confirmed" what the first one had reported!

Who brought these messages back from Marcos to the father provincial Ciudad-Rodrigo and the viceroy? A possible answer is that the messengers were priests or lay brothers. Remember that López de Gómara wrote, "Fray Marcos de Niza and other friars entered the land of Culiacn in 1538." And Castañeda maintained that two friars, Fray Daniel and Fray Antonio de Santa Maria accompanied Marcos. They might have remained in Culiacán and would have been able to carry messages back to Mexico.

If such men returned to Mexico with Marcos' news, their names (rather than Marcos') might have mistakenly been associated with the discoveries. Antonio Tello, who reportedly had access to documents contemporary with the trip, explicitly confirmed that the early records were "confused" and that different names were given for the friars who made the trip. In the centuries that followed authors tried to identify those obscure companions of Fray Marcos and proposed names from the large number of Franciscan friars recorded in New Spain in the sixteenth century. Among the names proposed are Juan de Olmedo, Fray Pablo, Juan de la Asunción, and Pedro Nadal. If they wrote cover letters to accompany Marcos' message, such individuals may have been perceived in Mexico City as those who actually made the exploration. In this way the messengers later may have gotten credit for the message.

### **Who Were the Friars?**

According to Antonio Tello, the mysterious Juan de Olmedo was a native or "son" of Jalisco. Since he was said to have accompanied Fray Marcos in 1538, he was probably born no later than about 1520, suggesting he was an Indian, the Spaniards not yet having conquered Jalisco at that time. On the other hand, his ecclesiastical name, following usual Franciscan practice, indicates that he was from a town named Olmedo, like the one in the south of Valladolid in Spain.

Several friars with Olmedo or a similar place name as the final element of their names are known to have been in New Spain prior to 1540. The first was Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Mercedarian and chaplain to Cortés during the conquest of Mexico as early as 1518. In 1519 a Fray Juan de Olmedo was among fourteen Franciscans who arrived in Hispaniola to convert the natives there. [46] Mendieta reported the existence of the Franciscan Fray Juan de Alameda who arrived in New Spain in 1528 with the future bishop Fray Juan de Zumárraga.

He was sent as missionary to Huexotzingo, Tula, and Guacachula. [47] But none of those three friars was a "son" of the Province of Jalisco, or even connected with Jalisco.

Another possible candidate is a second Fray Juan also mentioned by Mendieta. This friar, a warehouse assistant (probably an Indian servant and "lay brother") was killed by Indians along with three other friars during an attack on the convent of Izatlán, in Jalisco, during the war of Miztón. This friar with Jalisco connections might have inspired Antonio Tello, who may even have gratuitously attributed to him an origin in Olmeda, since there are locations in Jalisco with similar names, such as Almeda or Alameda. Being himself a son of Jalisco and writing a story in which people of Jalisco, and particularly Indians, played a positive role, Fray Antonio may have ascribed to "his" Juan de Olmeda the deeds that Mendieta and Torquemada had reported. If it seems harsh to suggest that Antonio Tello fabricated a Juan de Olmeda or Olmedo, we note only that a number of the friar / chronicler's other references are not reliable.

To be more optimistic, it is also possible that Juan de Olmeda was a real, if obscure, figure who actually carried to Mexico City the first message, or one of the first messages, sent by Fray Marcos de Niza to Culiacán. With his arrival in the viceregal capital the good news "leaked" to the populace.

The historian Otto Maas proposed that Fray Pablo de Acevedo was the companion of Juan de Olmedo, known as Fray Pablo from Tello. According to Maas, "The first Franciscan to have entered the province of New Mexico was Fray Juan de Olmedo, who, in the year 1538, in the company of Fray Pablo de Acevedo, left for Jalisco, and both went to Culiacán, where Fray Pablo de Acevedo remained for a few days." [48] The life of a Fray Pablo de Acevedo was reported by Mendieta. This Pablo de Acevedo was Portuguese, took the Franciscan habit in Hispaniola, went to Tlaxcala then to New Biscay, and was killed by the Indians in Sinaloa. However, he is probably discarded as being companion of Juan de Olmedo, since Mendieta mentions that Pablo de Acevedo had been one of his companions in the convent of Tlaxcala, and Mendieta arrived in New Spain not before 1554 [49].

No data were found concerning Juan de la Asunción and Pedro Nadal, to the exception of a mention of the arrival of a Pedro Nadal in Venezuela, in 1534 [50].

### **The Role of Onorato, A Speculative Hypothesis**

Even Marcos de Niza's companion, Fray Onorato, is a mysterious figure. Very little is known about him apart from the fact that he accompanied Marcos as far as Petatlán during the 1539 expedition. Marcos did not report how or when Onorato returned to Mexico City. Hallenbeck simply wrote, "He turns up later, well and hearty, in the history of New Spain." [51] We could find no further mention of Onorato in the sources that we used, and Hallenbeck does not give his source.

The name Onorato may provide a clue about the man. "Onorato" is very seldom used in Spanish. It may come from two patron saints: San Honorato de Navarra, born in the Roman Hispania Tarraconensis, who was the second or the third bishop of Toulouse, France; or Saint Honorat, born near Toul, in the northeastern Roman Gaul about 350, who founded a monastery in one of the islands of Lérins, today known as Saint Honorat Island, in the bay of Cannes. This latter Saint Honorat has been well known and popular in Provence, since

Raymond Féraud's publication in 1300 of a long poem in Provençal verses, recounting his life.

Therefore, one possibility is that Fray Onorato was born in Navarra or in the region of Toulouse, if he took his name in the honor of San Honorato de Navarra. If, on the other hand, his patron was Saint Honorat, Fray Onorato may well have been born in Provence, more particularly on the French Riviera. Edouard Béri even suggested that, like Marcos de Niza, he was born in Nice [52]

But this possibility can also lead to the following hypothesis: the lay brother Onorato was an Indian christianized and baptized by Marcos de Niza, who gave him a name well known in Nice [Cannes and the islands of Lérins are only 18 miles from Nice], the name of Saint Honorat.

The above discussion leads to a suggestion that would solve several problems and explain the origin of the myth. The clue comes from Mota Padilla. He wrote that it was Juan de Olmeda who brought the first report from the north to the minister provincial, Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo. He also wrote that the same Juan de Olmeda accompanied Marcos de Niza to Cíbola. Fray Marcos himself, as noted, called his companion Fray Onorato. Perhaps then, Fray Onorato is the same man as Fray Juan de Olmeda. It might seem dubious to use Mota Padilla's account from 1742 to suggest this, but he claimed to have used documents of Fray Marcos' contemporary and resident of Culiacán Pedro Tovar as the basis for his account.

This hypothesis is consistent with several independent lines of evidence. Under it, Juan de Olmeda was the name of an Indian born in Jalisco, who came to Mexico City, was taken into the church and became an associate of Marcos de Niza. Marcos suggested Juan's ecclesiastical name, Onorato, after a favorite saint from Marcos' homeland. When Onorato became ill, he recuperated in Petatlán, as Marcos recounted, and then returned to Culiacán. In April 1539 Marcos received the first news of Cíbola. Some days thereafter he sent messengers back to Culiacán with word of a prosperous land to the north with multistory permanent buildings, and perhaps also with news of the ruined multistory buildings in the province of Chichilticale, along the route. This message could have been received in Culiacán in early to mid-May. At this point, officials in Culiacán would have been anxious to get Marcos' early report to Mexico City. The obvious messenger was Fray Onorato (Juan de Olmedo), since he, after all, had been a key part of the original expedition which left Mexico City in 1538. Thus, Onorato / Juan de Olmedo carried the "first wave" of news to Mexico City around mid-July 1539, and gave it to the father provincial and eventually Viceroy Mendoza. The news then "leaked" widely in late July-August.

Thus, according to many of the people who left letters or gave accounts to historians of the next generation, a friar named Juan de Olmedo / Onorato left Mexico in 1538 with a companion friar (Marcos de Niza) and a military captain (Vázquez de Coronado) and his troops. The captain had hoped to find gold "to the right" at Topira, but failed. Meanwhile, the humble friar Juan de Olmedo / Onorato "took the path at his left hand" up the coast with his companion (Marcos). Within months this same Juan de Olmedo / Onorato returned with news of great lands to the north. And it was only later that Marcos de Niza reached Mexico City with direct news of Cíbola, confirming the earlier report.

This marches the legend of a 1538 exploration of the north, and if our speculative hypothesis is correct, it is all true! And was only misunderstood and distorted in later retelling.

Admittedly we are pushing the interpretation further than the scanty data will definitively confirm, but it is intriguing that our simple hypothesis, Juan de Olmedo being Onorato, explains so many aspects of the legend that developed as the centuries progressed. This hypothesis is the only one that simultaneously connects:

- Antonio Tello, claiming in 1653 that one of the two friars sent by Fray Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo was Juan de Olmedo, and that this friar was a "son of Jalisco";
- Mota Padilla, who wrote in 1742 that Juan de Olmedo carried the report to Mexico City, but also was the friar who went with Fray Marcos de Niza;
- Onorato's name, which is a name strongly associated with Marcos de Niza's home region near Nice, and might have been bestowed by him on as an acolyte.

This suggestion explains the whole story and the attribution to Juan de Olmedo of what Fray Onorato did. Nevertheless, the hypothesis awaits firm confirmation.

## **Conclusion**

The 1538 journey to northern Sonora and southern Arizona, attributed first to Juan de Olmedo and Pablo de Acevedo and later to Juan de la Asunción and Pedro Nadal, is a figment, the product of cumulative misinterpretation and invention by chroniclers and historians. Accounts of the legendary trip were built, step by step, by a succession of authors writing on this subject, following an initial error by Gerónimo de Mendieta, who misunderstood the cryptic report of Marcos de Niza's journey by Toribio de Benavente, Motolinía. A long chain of subsequent fragmentary citations added credibility, transforming the myth into a credible story.

The basis of the myth was misinterpretation of the departure of Fray Marcos de Niza, Fray Onorato, and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado from Mexico City for the northwestern frontier in 1538; the successive travels to Topira of Marcos and Onorato in February 1539 followed by Vázquez de Coronado in April 1539; and the journey along the coast by Marcos and Onorato, followed by Marcos' journey to Cibola in 1539. Fray Onorato was forced to give up the trip at Petatlán and was thus there to relay Marcos' first reports south, so that they arrived in Mexico City before the man himself.

There is no credible contemporary report of an expedition by land in 1538 of two Franciscans who would, thus, have preceded Fray Marcos de Niza and could have delivered substantive information about Cibola and the north in advance of Fray Marcos' reports. Neither Viceroy Mendoza's letters summarizing the attempts at northern exploration nor the chronicles of members of the full-fledged expedition that was subsequently mounted mentioned such a precursor.

The misinterpretations that led to stories of an earlier trip probably began in the summer of 1539 when the first reports of Fray Marcos de Niza's astonishing discoveries, written by him on the way north, reached Mexico City ahead of him. It is plausible that Franciscan friars who played a secondary role as helpers or messengers for Marcos, perhaps Onorato himself, inspired parts of these erroneous tales.

## Notes

1. Juan Domingo de Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica y apostolica del Colegio de Propaganda de la Fide de Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España* (Mexico City: Felipe de Zuniga y Ontiveros, 1792), prologue.
2. Adolph F. Bandelier, "La découverte du Nouveau-Mexique, par le moine Franciscain Frère Marcos de Nice en 1539", *Revue d'Ethnographie* (1886, 1):31-48; (1886, 2):117-134; (1886, 3):193-212. English translation by Madeleine Turrell Rodack, *Adolph F. Bandelier's The discovery of New Mexico by the Franciscan Monk, Friar Marcos de Niza in 1539* (University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1981).
3. William K. Hartmann and Gayle Harrison Hartmann, "Juan de la Asunción, 1538: First Spanish Explorer of Arizona?," *Kiva* 37(2) [1972]: 93-103.
4. Julio César Montané Martí, *Por los Senderos de la Quimera: El Viaje de Fray Marcos de Niza* (Hermosillo, Mexico: Instituto Sonorense de Cultura, 1995). 55-61.
5. AGI, Patronato, 20, N.5, R.10, *Relación de Fr. Marcos de Niza a la provincia de Culhuacan en Nueva España, 1539*. Haus, Hof und Staatsarchivs, Vienna (Austria), Handschrift Blaum 192, *Relación de las Indias de fray Marcos Denica*. English translation, Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (University Press, Dallas, 1949). 9-37.
6. Cleve Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos de Niza* (Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1987), 11.
7. See, for instance, Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, "Letter to the emperor, giving him news about his government," Mexico City, December 10, 1537. Published by J. F. Pacheco, *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de América y Oceanía, sacados de los Archivos del Reino y muy especialmente del de Indias*, 64 vols. (Madrid, 1864), II:206.
8. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca y Relación de la Jornada que hizo a la Florida con el Adelantado Pánfilo de Narváez*. Published in 1550. English translation by Fanny Bandelier, *Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, from Florida to the Pacific 1528-1538* (New York: Allerton Book Co., 1922). 1-193.
9. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 36.
10. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, "Letter to Charles V," Compostela, December 15, 1538. Translated in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 35-41.
11. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 46.
12. Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillos, *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano (1610-1615)*. Reprint (Mexico City: Editorial Guaranía, 1944), VII:90.

13. Nallino translation from the Italian in Giovam Battista Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, a cura de Marica e Milanese, 3 vols. (Venice: 1556). Reprint 6 vols. (Torino: Einaudi, 1978-1988), VI:583-6.
14. Francisco de Vázquez de Coronado, "Letter to Charles V," Compostela, July 15, 1539. Translated in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, 45-49.
15. Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, VI:577-578.
16. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 15.
17. Nallino translation from the Italian in Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, VI:577-8.
18. Lansing B. Bloom, "Who Discovered New Mexico?," *New Mexico Historical Review* (XV, 1940):101-132; Lansing B. Bloom, "Was Fray Marcos a liar?," *New Mexico Historical Review* (XVI, 1941):244-246.
19. Nallino translation from the Italian in Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, VI:576-7.
20. Nallino translation from the Italian in Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, VI:583-6.
21. Pedro de Castañeda thought erroneously that there were two Franciscans with Marcos in his journey, Fray Daniel and Fray Antonio de Santa Maria.
22. George Parker Winship, *The Journey of Coronado* (Mineola: Dover Books, 1990), 9.
23. The usual explanation, however, is that this route was already well known to the Spaniards from the days of Nuño Beltrán de Guzman's slave raiding.
24. The two Sevilla copies were both prepared by the same scribe and were signed by Marcos himself. The Vienna copy is in a different hand.
25. Diego de Córdova de Salinas, *Crónica de la religiosissima provincia de los doce apostolos del Perú* (1620). Reprint (Washington D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957). 57-68 and 139-143.
26. Nallino translation from the Spanish in Toribio Benavente, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (circa 1540). Reprint (Mexico City: Editorial Salvador Chávez Hayhoe, 1945), III:48-50.
27. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 17.
28. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 16.
29. Nallino translation from the Spanish in Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana*. (1596). Publication, ed. by Joaquin García Icazbalceta (Mexico City: Antigua Librería, 1870); various reprints (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa ...); lib. IV, cap. VIII.
30. Nallino translation from the Spanish in Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. VIII.

31. Nallino translation from the Spanish in Juan de Torquemada, *Los Veinte y un libros Rituales y Monarquía Indiana, con el origen y guerras, de los Indios Occidentales, de sus poblaciones, descubrimiento, conquista* (Seville: 1615). Reprint, ed. by Miguel León Portilla (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1969), 499-500.
32. Nallino translation from the Spanish in Antonio Tello, *Crónica Miscelánea de la Santa Provincia de Xalisco* (1653). Reprint, (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, Universidad de Guadalajara, 1968), lib. II, vol. II, 98-99.
33. Carmen Aguirre and Leandro Tormo, "Algunas características de los Franciscanos en Nuevo México durante el primer siglo (1535-1635)", *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, segunda época, 46(1986):729.
34. Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia General de las Indias. Hispania Vtrix*. (1551). Reprint, 2 vols. (Barcelona: Obras Maestras, 1965), I:360.
35. Henry R. Wagner, "Fr. Marcos de Niza", *New Mexico Historical Review*, 9 (1934):217.
36. Matías Angel de la Mota Padilla, *Historia del Reino de la Nueva Galicia en América Septentrional* (1742). Reprint (Guadalajara: Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Historia, 1973). English translation, A. Grove Day, "Mota Padilla on the Coronado Expedition", *Hispanic American Historical Review* 20(1) (1940): 88-110.
37. Matheo Mange, *Luz de Tierra Incógnita en la América Septentrional y Diario de las Exploraciones en Sonora* (1729). Reprint, (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1926), 88-89.
38. Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica y apostólica*, prologue.
39. Bloom, "Who Discovered New Mexico?"; Bloom, "Was Fray Marcos a liar?"
40. Carl Ortwin Sauer, "The Road to Cibola". *Ibero-Americana*: 3, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1932):1-58; Carl O. Sauer, "The Discovery of New Mexico Reconsidered", *New Mexico Historical Review* 12 (1937):270-287; Carl O. Sauer, "The Credibility of the Fray Marcos Account", *New Mexico Historical Review* 16 (1940):233-243.
41. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 39-95.
42. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, "Letter to Mendoza," Culiacán, March 8, 1539. Italian translation in Ramusio, *Navigazzioni e viaggi*, 577-578. English translation in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, 41-42; Bloom, "Who Discovered New Mexico?"; Bloom, "Was Fray Marcos a liar?"; William K. Hartmann, "Pathfinder for Coronado, Reevaluating the Mysterious Journey of Marcos de Niza," in Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint eds., *The Coronado Expedition to Tierra Nueva* (Niwot:University Press of Colorado, 1997), 89-92.
43. Vázquez de Coronado, "Letter to Charles V" (1539).
44. Hernán Cortés, "Letter to the Viceroy", Mexico City, July 26, 1539. English translation in Wagner, "Fr. Marcos de Niza", 213-214.

45. Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. IV, cap. VIII.
46. Aguirre and Tormo, "Algunas características", 728.
47. Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. V, part. I, cap. XXXVI.
48. Otto Maas, *Misiones de Nuevo México* (Madrid: 1929), prologue, v.
49. Mendieta, *Historia*, lib. V, part. II, cap. VIII.
- 50 Peter Boyd-Bowman, *Indice Geobiográfico de Cuarenta Mil Pobladores Españoles de América en el Siglo XVI. Tomo I (1493-1519)*, (Bogota: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1964). Tomo II. (1520-1539) (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1968). Entry number 6031, vol. II.
51. Hallenbeck, *The Journey of Fray Marcos*, 89.
52. Edouard Béri, "Fray Marcos de Niza, Frère Marc de Nice, Mineur de l'Observance de Saint-François d'Assise, Apôtre, Historien, Explorateur", *Nice Historique* 5-6 (Nice: 1938):140.