

## **One or Two Chichilticale?**

### **The Red House and The Expeditions of Niza, Díaz, Alarcón and Coronado.**

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#### **Abstract**

The first time the word Chichilticale appeared in history was in a letter written in August 1540 by Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to the viceroy Mendoza. Since that time, scholars have proposed numerous various locations for this place. In 2007 Nugent Brasher has claimed to have found the camp of Coronado at Kuykendall ruins and have identified it to Chichilticale. His arguments are convincing, and few doubts remain about his finding of Coronado's camp. Is it the end of the story? This paper focuses on the existence of two Chichilticale, one common to the expeditions of Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539, Melchior Díaz in 1539-1540, and Hernando de Alarcón in 1540. And a second one, the camp found by N. Brasher, used by Coronado and his army.

#### **Resumen**

La primera vez que apareció la palabra Chichilticale en la historia fue en una carta escrita en agosto de 1540 por Francisco Vázquez de Coronado al virrey Mendoza. Desde entonces, los investigadores han propuesto numerosas ubicaciones diferentes para este lugar. En 2007 Nugent Brasher ha afirmado haber descubierto el campamento de Coronado en las ruinas de Kuykendall y haberlo identificado a Chichilticale. Sus argumentos son convincentes, y quedan pocas dudas acerca de

su descubrimiento del campo de Coronado. ¿Es el fin de la historia? Este artículo se centra en la existencia de dos Chichilticale, una comuna a las expediciones de Fray Marcos de Niza en 1539, Melchior Díaz en 1539-1540, y Hernando de Alarcón en 1540. Y una segunda, el campamento encontrado por Brasher, utilizado por Coronado y su ejército.

## **Introduction**

On August 3, 1540, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado wrote a letter to the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, from the city of Granada, in the province of Cíbola, in fact from one of the Zuni villages he had just conquered. In this letter he wrote (Vázquez de Coronado, 1540):

*I set out from Los Corazones and kept near the seacoast as well as I could judge, but in fact I found myself continually farther off, so that when I reached Chichilticale I found that I was fifteen days' journey distant from the sea, although the father provincial had said that it was only 5 leagues distant and that he had seen it. We all became very distrustful, and felt great anxiety and dismay to see that everything was the reverse of what he had told to Your Lordship. The Indians of Chichilticale say that when they go to the sea for fish, or for anything else that they need, they go across the country, and that it takes them ten days; and this information I have received from the Indians appears to me to be true. The sea turns towards the west directly opposite Los Corazones for 10 or 12 leagues, where I learned that the ships of Your Lordship had been seen, which had gone in search of the port of Chichilticale, which the father said was on the thirty-fifth degree. English translation (Winship, 1896).*

The analysis of this paragraph gives us lot of useful information: Coronado, while wanting to stay close to the coast, found himself continually farther off, and reached Chichilticale at a distance of 15

days from the sea; Fray Marcos de Niza knew about Chichilticale, which he thought to be close to the sea, and located it at 35 degrees of latitude; and Coronado expected Chichilticale to be a port.

### **Chichilticale candidate locations**

One of the first locations proposed for Chichilticale has been the ruins of Casa Grande (now Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Coolidge, Arizona). This proposal, by the Jesuit Eusebio Kino (Kino, 1699-1710), meets the criteria for a “port”, Casa Grande being located close to the Gila and being accessible by ship from the Gulf of California, the Colorado mouth and the Colorado / Gila confluence. And the color of Casa Grande is pink / red, in accordance with the Nahuatl words “Chichilte”, red, and “Calli”, house, which give the etymology of Chichilticale.

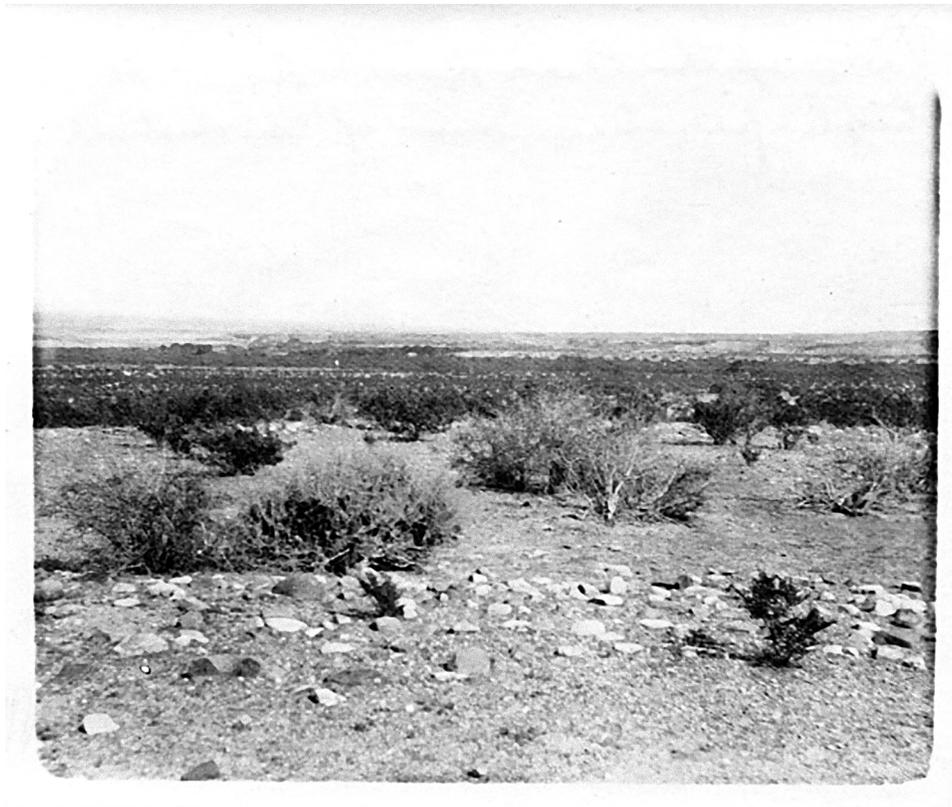


*Illustration 1: Casa Grande, by Ed. Schieffelin, 1880.*

Casa Grande has been widely adopted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by authors such as E. J. Squier, H. C. Morgan, Hubert H. Bancroft (Riley, 1985) until a strong criticism by A. Bandelier, who remarked that the surroundings of Casa Grande didn't meet the descriptions of Chichilticale by members of the Coronado's expedition such as Castañeda de Najera and Juan de Jaramillo.

Bandelier proposed for Chichilticale a ruin in the Fort Grant area, west, or south of Fort Graham and the Pinaleno Mountains (Bandelier, 1892:408-409). Emil Haury, Herbert Bolton, William A. Duffen and William K. Hartmann have proposed a close location (or maybe the same location as Bandelier), a Salado ruin known as Ranch 76 (Duffen and Hartmann, 1997).

In his unpublished “Rocky Mountain Library”, Francis W. Cragin identified Chichilticale to a ruin seen by Lieut. W. H. Emory and Capt. A. R. Jonhston in 1846, on the south side of the Gila, near the October 30 noon camp of Colonel Kearny’s Army of the West, in its march down the Gila. He located Chichilticale on the top of a hill, close to the ghost city of Geronimo (Cragin, 1916:supplement to chapters 1, 2 and 3).



*Illustration 2: View up the Gila River from the high-perched ruin of Chichilticalli, by F. Cragin, 1916.*

Carroll L. Riley has proposed two locations for Chichilticale, one on the Salt River, “Riley West”, on the Coronado’s route favored by Albert Schroeder, and another one on the upper Gila, “Riley East”,

on a variant route by Charles Di Peso (Riley, 1985).

It was in September 2004 that Nugent Brasher began his investigations on the ground in search of Chichilticale. These investigations had been preceded by a thorough analysis of all the original Spanish documents about Coronado and Chichilticale, arranged in chronological order. This study had convinced him that Coronado, on his way to Cíbola, had turned to the right (east) at Lewis Spring, and that the slope that the army had to climb followed Blue Creek.

In the beginning of 2006, his team became convinced they had discovered the campsite of Coronado and his army at Chichilticale. He locates Chichilticalli on the Kuykendall ruins on the route from Ures (or Los Corazones), Sonora, to Wilcox, Arizona. His discoveries have been the subject of several publications (Brasher, 2007), (Brasher, 2009), (Brasher, 2011) and are detailed in his own website, [chichilticale.com](http://chichilticale.com).

The excavations which followed the discovery yielded numerous Spanish artifacts, spread out over a large area, a sign that for decades one or more Spanish armies used this site as their camp.

This attribution to Coronado's expedition actually rests on a fragment of a coin, dated between 1497 to 1504, an iron ferrule of a lance and a piece of rusty iron identified as a crossbow bolt head in forged iron. The other artifacts, nails, clasps, needles, tools, eyelets, horseshoes, chain mails, are not typical of Coronado's expeditions.

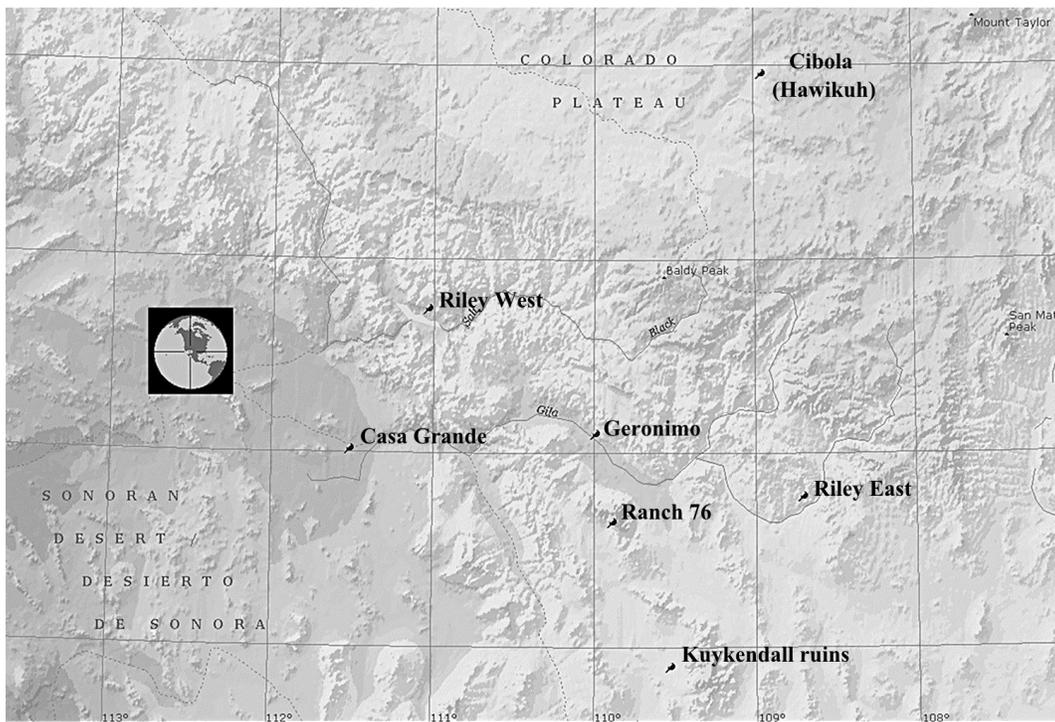
The most convincing indication of Coronado's presence on this site is without doubt this single crossbow bolt head which was found.

It could seem a weak indication to date the site and affirm that Coronado camped there. But it must be taken into account that places like Hawikuh, Bernalillo and Albuquerque, where copper crossbow bolt heads were found, are places of Spanish-Indian confrontation; it is normal to find there the bolt heads used in combat. And the Spaniards took advantage of the halt at Blanco Canyon to replenish their provisions and hunt bison: again it is normal to find here a number of these artifacts.

In contrast, Kuykendall was an encampment site, without confrontation or hunting: the Spaniards had no reason to handle their crossbows and therefore lost few of their bolt heads. And one may consider that, at the beginning of their expedition, they still had Spain made forged iron bolt heads, that they replaced with copper arrowheads made en route, as their original munitions diminished.

Finally, one should not forget that the Kuykendall site was not discovered by chance, but after a documentary analysis which permitted to restrict the area to investigate: this analysis and the artifacts which were discovered are enough to prove that Coronado and his army did camp at Kuykendall, on the way to Cibola.

Here is the map of the candidate locations for Chichilticale and their positions relatively to Cibola:



*Illustration 3: Cibola and the candidate locations for Chichilticale.*

Coronado's expedition had been preceded by a reconnoiter led by Melchior Díaz, sent by Mendoza to check the veracity of Fray Marcos' relation. Returning to Mexico City, he had joined Coronado's army at Culiacán and sent an emissary to Mendoza, Juan de Zaldívar, with his report.

This report is indirectly known, through a letter of Mendoza to Charles V, dated April 17, 1540, sent from Jacona (Mendoza, 1540). This report doesn't mention the name of Chichilticale. We know however, from Zaldívar's testimony, that Díaz did reach Chichilticale, and that Chichilticale was at a distance of 60 to 70 leagues (300 to 350 km) from Cíbola; the two estimates come from three different versions of Zaldívar's testimony (Zaldívar, 1544).

The distance estimate of 300 to 350 km, from Chichilticale to Cíbola, disqualifies Riley West, Geronimo, Ranch 76 and Riley East, which are too close from Hawikuh: within this range, we have only Casa Grande and Kuykendall ruins.

### **Niza's Chichilticale**

The most astonishing is that, according to Coronado, Niza knew about Chichilticale, while he doesn't mention it in his own relation (Niza, 1539). This is not surprising: several indices show that his relation has been strongly censored or altered, probably under the influence of Mendoza who didn't want to give precious information to his competitors for the conquest of Cíbola, Hernán Cortés, Hernando de Soto and Pedro de Alvarado (Nallino, 2012:211-212).

And this is probably the same for Díaz report: being afraid of a leak, Mendoza did censor the information, even in a letter to Charles V!

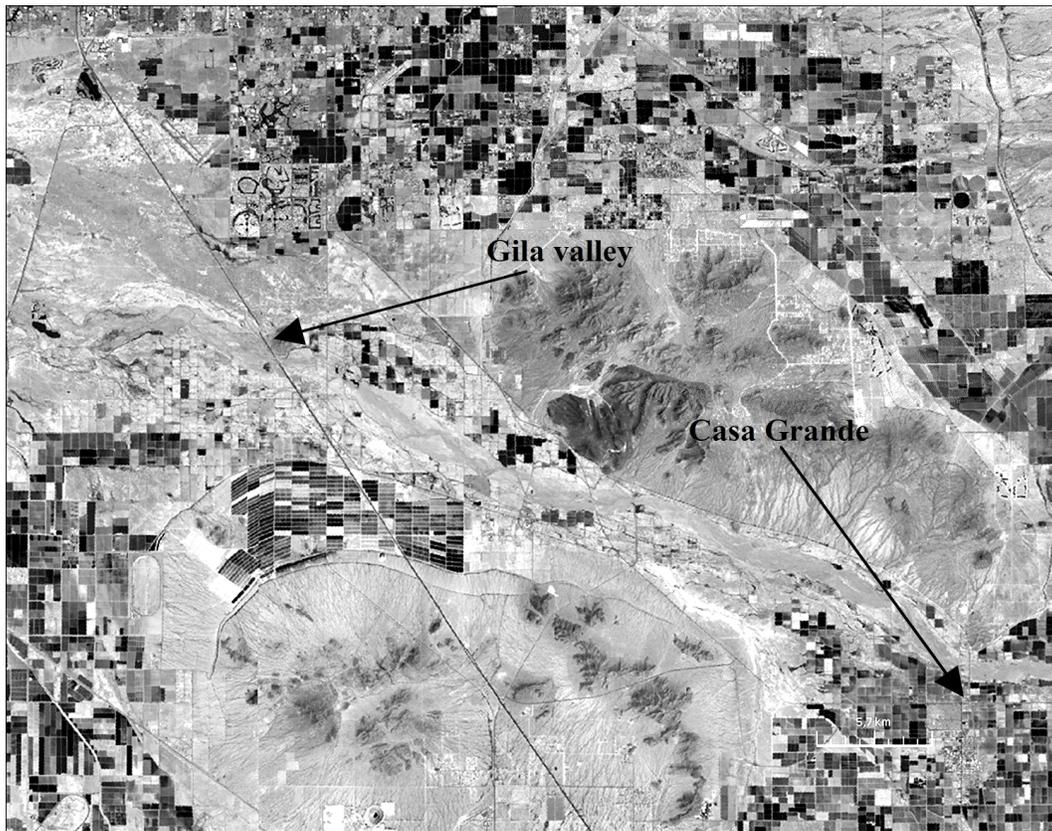
Among the important information given by Coronado, we learn that Fray Marcos thought that Chichilticale was 5 leagues, or 25 km, distant from the sea, and located at 35 degrees of latitude. This reminds a paragraph of Fray Marcos' relation (Niza, 1539):

*Here I learnt that the coast turns to the west, almost at a right angle, because until I reached the entrance of the first desert which I passed, the coast always trended toward the north. As it was very important to know the direction of the coast, I wished to assure myself and so went to look out and I saw clearly that in latitude 35 degrees it turns to the west. I was not less pleased at this discovery than at the good*

*news I had of the country.* English translation (Baldwin, 1926).

This paragraph seems so to be related to Chichilticale. However, it doesn't give directly the location of Chichilticale, since there is no evidence of the coast turning west at 35 degrees, or Fray Marcos having been close to the sea, at a distance of 25 km, in this latitude.

But, at 33 degrees, we find Casa Grande, close to the Gila; the Gila flows west, and, at some 25 to 30 km far from Casa Grande, the valley of the Gila considerably widens. Had Fray Marcos seen the Gila at Casa Grande on a day of flood, he could have well believed to see the estuary of a river joining the sea.



*Illustration 4: Satellite view of Casa Grande and Gila valley (photograph: NASA).*

This matches well the fact that Fray Marcos would have seen the coast turning west, and his location of Chichilticale at a distance of 5 leagues from the sea.

However, the latitude of Casa Grande is close to 33 degrees, not 35. A common explanation is

that 16<sup>th</sup> century navigation instruments had a poor precision, but it should be noted that Ulloa gave a very good estimate of the latitude of the “Ancón de San Andrés”, the mouth of the Colorado.

So, Fray Marcos may have mistakenly evaluated the latitude of Casa Grande at 33 degrees, or it is also possible that the value of 33 has been altered in 35 in his relation, once more to avoid to give precious information to Mendoza competitors.

But what about Bandelier’s criticism? He wrote (Bandelier, 1892:408):

*Further on he [Castañeda de Najera] writes: “The name of Chichilticale was formerly given to this place, because the priests found in the vicinity a house that had been inhabited for a long time by a people that came from Cíbola. The soil of that region is red. The house was large, and appeared to have served as a fortress. It seems it was anciently destroyed by the inhabitants.”*

*Again in another place: “At Chichilticale the country is no longer covered with thorny trees, and its aspect changes.”*

*The soil around Casa Grande is of a glaring white, vegetation is particularly thorny, and remains so for a long distance towards the north. The few mountains where Conifers grow are distant, and their aspect no different from that of ranges farther south. The description of Castañeda cannot, therefore, apply to Casa Grande.*

This remark is absolutely pertinent, and I agree with Bandelier: since Castañeda did not see Casa Grande, but Kuykendall ruins’ “Red House”, his description cannot match Casa Grande.

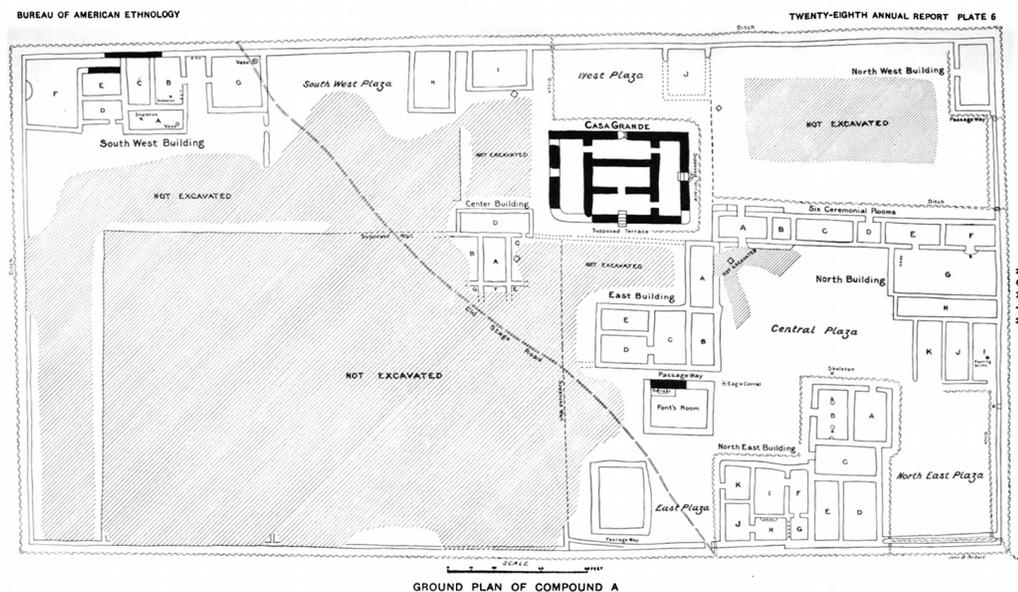
We have already seen that Coronado could not follow the coast as he wanted, but was forced to go farther off. Moreover, Juan de Jaramillo reports that the army turned east (Jaramillo, 1560):

*We went down this stream two days, and then left the stream, **going toward the right** to the foot of the mountain chain in two days’ journey, where we heard news of what is called Chichiltically. English translation (Winship, 1896).*

We have so two direct testimonies, from Coronado and Jaramillo, which report that the army followed a east path, far from the coast, while Fray Marcos de Niza tried to follow the coast, as instructed by Mendoza (Mendoza, 1538). It is a strong indication that Niza and Coronado followed two different paths, and then reached two different Chichilticale.

Therefore, Bandelier's criticism applies only to Coronado's journey, and not to Fray Marcos' one. Casa Grande, as a location for Fray Marcos' Chichilticale, matches effectively all the criterions:

- it is a “Red House”, with external pink color, matching Nahuatl etymology
- it is in the good distance range of Cibola,
- it is connected to the sea, via the Gila and the Colorado, and could be called a “port”,
- in 1540, circa a century and a half after its building, the house and its surrounding compound, known as “compound A”, were probably in a much better condition than today and could have offered a shelter to Spaniards, even against potentially hostile Indians, and Casa Grande could have been considered as a good rear base camp,



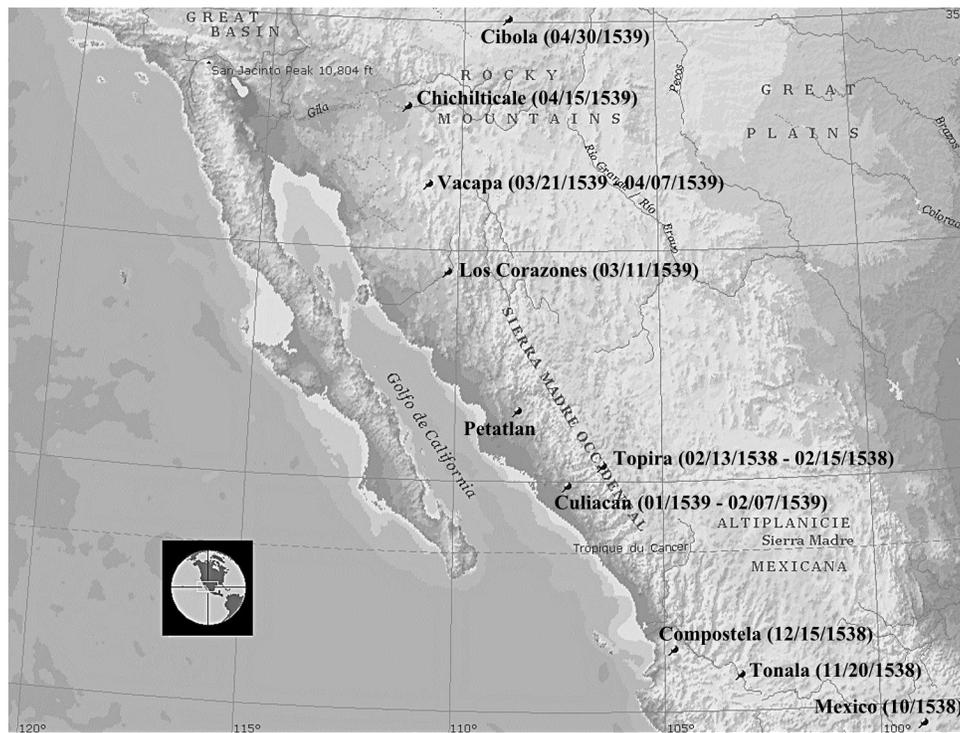
*Illustration 5: Ground plan of Casa Grande Compound A, by Cosmos Mindeleff, 1896.*

– when one follows the coast, one has more chances to reach Casa Grande than Kuykendall, and Fray Marcos had been ordered by Mendoza to follow the coast,

– after Casa Grande, in the direction of the Colorado, the Gila valley enlarges (it has some 5 to 6 km width at some 25 km from Casa Grande), and this could explain the sentence “at 35° the coast turns west”, Fray Marcos having been confused and having believed it was an estuary.

All the criterions are matched, and Bandelier’s criticism is no longer valid once we consider there are two Chichilticale: Casa Grande is Fray Marcos’ Chichilticale!

This allows completing the journey and calendar of Fray Marcos de Niza, assuming that he left Culiacán on February 7, 1539, as written by Coronado to Mendoza, and not on March 8, as Fray Marcos reported in his relation (Nallino and Hartmann, 2003).



*Illustration 6: Fray Marcos' journey and calendar.*

[For a complete justification of this journey and calendar, see (Nallino, 2012:210-246).]

### **Díaz and Alarcón's Chichilticale**

Alarcón's expedition was not an annex to Coronado's one, but a full part of the project of the conquest of Cíbola. He brought in his vessels most of the heavy luggage, tools and personal effects of the members of Coronado's army, and he had to meet them at Chichilticale.

In the project of the conquest and the settlement of Cíbola, Chichilticale was intended to serve as a rear base camp, to offer a shelter to Spaniards and to facilitate the transports between New Spain and Cíbola, because it was located close to Cíbola by land, and supposed to be close to the sea.

Alarcón's testimony should be used very carefully: there are evidences of translation errors in the Italian text, and it appears to be very confusing, even contradictory, in several places; this text alone doesn't allow building strong conclusions. So, we will satisfy to use it to give indications only, knowing that it opens the door to very different interpretations.

Alarcón could not use his vessels to navigate in the Gila; he left them in the mouth of the Colorado, and he used small sailing boats which he had disembarked from his vessels, to go deeper in the lands. But where did he go?

We know from Castañeda de Najera that Melchior Díaz, coming back from Cíbola in 1540 - 1541, decided to reconnoiter the Colorado, instead of taking command of Culiacán (Castañeda de Najera, 1560). He reached the confluence of the Gila and the Colorado, where he heard of Alarcón's boats, and found a letter, buried by Alarcón, some 15 leagues, or 75 kilometers, up the mouth of the Colorado, or, approximatively, 20 kilometers before the Gila and Colorado confluence. This gives a first estimate, Alarcón went near the confluence of the Gila and the Colorado, in the vicinity of today Yuma.

There are several indications that Alarcón may have reached Casa Grande vicinity.

At the end of his relation he reports (Alarcón, 1540) "*I navigated eighty-five leagues up the river, where I saw and learned everything I have reported*". Eighty-five leagues, or approximatively 425

kilometers, this is enough to go from the mouth of the Colorado to Casa Grande vicinity, navigating the Gila after its confluence with the Colorado.

He met an Indian who had gone to Cíbola, and he *“requested him then that he would say how many days far was the kingdom of Cevola, said along that river, and the man replied that there was a space of ten days without a house, and from there he did not give an estimate, because there were people”* (Alarcón, 1540). The Italian text is a bit fuzzy, and the meaning of the end of the sentence is not very clear. Among the possible interpretations, I understand it as “he did not give an estimate, because there were people **of Cíbola**”, and this means: after the space of ten days without a house you are in the territory of Cíbola, and meet its inhabitants.

Precisely, Casa Grande is at a distance of ten days march of Cíbola.

Alarcón decided to go back to his vessels: *“Having told the old man and the others that I would go back, and leaving them the best satisfied as possible, though they always said that I was leaving for fear, I went back to **Cevola** by the river, and the journey I had made up the river, against the water, in fifteen and a half days, I made it on the return in two days and a half because the flow was large and very fast”* (Alarcón, 1540).

We have here an example of the translation errors in the Italian text: Alarcón could not go back to Cíbola, because he had not gone to Cíbola first. It is generally assumed that the sentence should be read *“I went back to **my vessels** by the river, and the journey I had made up the river, against the water, in fifteen and a half days, I made it on the return in two days and a half because the flow was large and very fast”*.

It’s a pity Alarcón doesn’t give a direct estimate of his speed. But we can estimate it indirectly: he needed two days and half, or sixty hours, to go back to his vessels, stayed at the mouth of the Colorado. In sixty hours, he had so travelled the 85 leagues or 425 kilometers which he mentioned, and this corresponds to a speed of 7 kilometers per hour, or 2 meters per second. This is a reasonably fast speed

for the flow of a river, and not an impossible one.

We also note that 7 km per hours is just slightly higher than a pedestrian speed, and effectively Alarcón reports that people walked along the river to speak with him and convince him to stay.

So, sixty hours do seem a reasonable time to travel on the river on 425 kilometers, or from the distance between Casa Grande and the mouth of the Colorado.

At this stage of our thinking, we have strong indications, from Alarcón's report, that he could have reached Casa Grande vicinity. But, as we said, his report, or at least its Italian translation, is not clear enough to build conclusions.

We will so look for other indications of Alarcón's presence in the vicinity of Casa Grande. For this, we will refer to Esteban's death, as reported by Fray Marcos de Niza, Coronado, Castañeda de Najera, Juan de Jaramillo and Alarcón.

Esteban was a black slave, who followed his master Andrés Dorantes in the Americas. Dorantes and Esteban were members of the Pánfilo de Narváez' catastrophic attempt to conquer Florida. They survived the shipwreck, were made prisoners by the Indians, and, after several years of captivity, joined Cabeza de Vaca in his return to New Spain.

Esteban had been bought by Mendoza from Dorantes, and sent with Fray Marcos de Niza in his discovery expedition, because of his ability to negotiate with Indians and his knowledge of the territories in the North of New Spain.

The first to report Esteban's death was Fray Marcos in his relation; he reports about fresh news, but gives in fact no precise details on the way Esteban had been killed (Niza, 1539):

*So he [Esteban] continued his journey till he arrived at the city of Cibola, where he found people who would not consent to let him enter, who put him in a big house which was outside the city, and who at once took away from him all that he carried, his articles of barter and the turquoises and other things he had received on the road*

*from the Indians. They left him that night without anything to eat or drink either to him or to those that were with him. The following morning my informant was thirsty and went out the house to drink from a nearby stream. When he had been there a few moments he saw Stephen fleeing away, pursued by the people of the city and they killed some of those who were with him.*

*[...] Continuing our journey, at a day's march from Cibola, we met two other Indians, of those who had fone with Stephen, who appeared bloody and with many wounds. English translation (Baldwin, 1926).*

Castañeda mentions, about Esteban's death (Castañeda de Najera, 1560):

*They lodged him [Esteban] in a little hut they had outside their village, and the older men and the governors heard his story and took steps to find out the reason he had to come to that country. For three days they made inquiries about him and held a council. The account which the negro gave them of two white men who were following him, sent by a great lord, who knew about the things in the sky, and how these were coming to instruct them in divine matters, made them think that he must be a spy or a guide from some nations who wished to come and conquer them because it seemed to them unreasonable to say that the people were white in the country from which he came and that he was sent by them, he being black. Besides these other reasons, they thought it was hard of him to ask them for turquoises and women and so they decided to kill him. They did this, but they did not kill any of those who went with him. English translation (Winship, 1896).*

Like Fray Marcos, Castañeda reports the detail of the hut outside the city where Esteban had been kept prisoner. He gives more reasons for Esteban's death than Fray Marcos, but still no detail on the way Esteban has been killed.

Jaramillo gives a very short relation of Esteban's death (Jaramillo, 1560):

*From here we came in two days' journey to the said village, the first of Cibola. The houses have flat roofs and walls of stones and mud, and this was where they killed Steve (Estebanillo), the negro who had come with Dorantes from Florida and returned with Friar Marcos de Niza. English translation (Winship, 1896).*

Coronado gives some reasons for the death of Esteban, and mentions that his death is sure because he has found some of the things he had brought with him. Coronado had just conquered Hawikuh, the Zunis were well obliged to admit Esteban's death, but they didn't give him any details on the way they killed Esteban (Vázquez de Coronado, 1540):

*The death of the negro is perfectly certain, because many of the things which he wore have been found, and the Indians say that they killed him here because the Indians of Chichilticale said that he was a bad man, and not like the Christians, because the Christians never kill women, and he killed them, and because he assaulted their women, whom the Indians love better than themselves. Therefore, they determined to kill him, but they did not do it in the way that was reported, because they did not kill any of the others that came with him. English translation (Winship, 1896).*

The first details about Esteban's death and the way he was killed are given by Melchior Díaz, in 1539 - 1540, when he was sent by Mendoza to confirm what Fray Marcos had reported. We know from Zaldívar's testimony (Zaldívar, 1544) that Díaz had reached Chichilticale, and it is from Chichilticale inhabitants that he had got these informations. Díaz' report is known only from Mendoza (Mendoza, 1540):

*The death of Esteban, the Negro, took place the way the Father, Fray Marcos, described to your Lordship, which is why I did not mention it here, except that people of Cibola have told those of this village and its vicinity that, if Christians were to*

*come, they should not be regarded as special beings, but to kill them, because they are mortal, saying they had learned that and they kept the bones of the one who had come, and that if they didn't dare to do so, they had to send a message to those of Cibola, which would come and act in their place. I can very easily believe that this actually took place, and there has been communication between these villages because of the coldness with which we were received and the sour faces we were shown.*

So, the Zunis, after having killed Esteban, kept his bones to prove his mortality and the one of those who would follow him.

This detail is confirmed by Alarcón (Alarcón, 1540):

*I asked him the reason why he [Esteban] was dead, and he told me that the lords of Cevola had asked him if he had other brothers: he answered them that he had an infinite number, and that they had many weapons with them, and that they were not far away of them. This heard, many lords began to concert and gave advice to kill him, so that he could not give news to his brothers about where they were, and for this reason they killed him and cut him in many parts, which were divided among all those lords to remind them he was, for sure, dead.*

We have so two groups of informations: Fray Marcos, Coronado, Castañeda de Najera and Jaramillo report Esteban's death, propose some reasons for his death, but don't give any precise detail about the way Zunis killed Esteban; Díaz and Alarcón are the only ones to report that, after his death, Esteban has been dismembered, and his bones kept by the principals of the Zunis.

This shows that Díaz and Alarcón got this information from the same source, the same location, a place that Coronado, Castañeda and Jaramillo didn't cross. Díaz learned this at Chichilticale, so did Alarcón. But the only Chichilticale candidate location which Alarcón could have reached with his

sailing boats is Casa Grande, not Kuykendall site!

And so, Díaz' and Alarcón's Chichilticale could well be Casa Grande. This reinforces the result of the analysis of Alarcón's report, and gives supplementary indications that Díaz, in 1539 – 1540, and Alarcón, in 1540, reached Chichilticale – Casa Grande.

### **How can Coronado and his army have taken Kuykendall red house for Chichilticale?**

I suggest here a very simple explanation: when Spaniards, Fray Marcos de Niza and Melchior Díaz, have heard of Chichilticale for the first time, they understood it as a proper noun, the noun of an old fortified village.

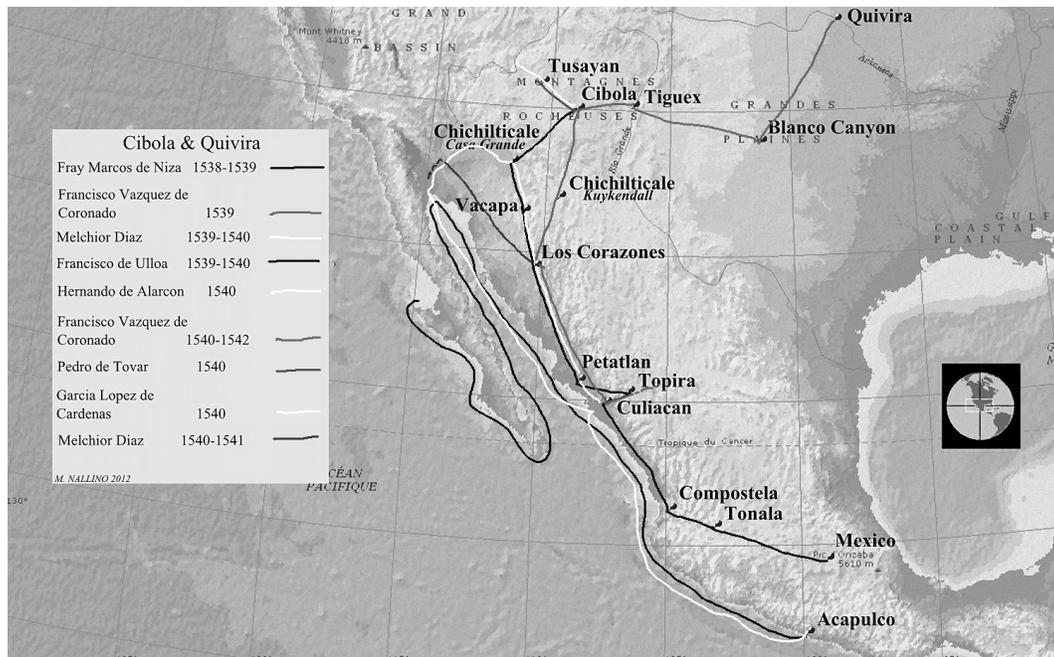
When Coronado and his expedition were forced to go east and to abandon the path followed in 1539 by Fray Marcos, they asked the Indians they met the way for Chichilticale. The Indians understood that they asked their way for “a red house” or “the red house”, an association of common nouns, the Nahuatl being a *lingua franca* in the territories of the North. And they answered Coronado by showing him the way to a red house they knew, then built on Kuykendall site.

The impossibility for Coronado and his army to follow the same path as Fray Marcos, this confusion between a proper noun and a couple of common nouns, Alarcón's necessity to let his vessels at the mouth of the Colorado and his fear to leave his small sailing boats and to reach Cíbola by land are at the origin of a failed meeting at Casa Grande, the rear base camp which was intended to serve the settlement of Cíbola.

### **Conclusion**

Archaeological evidences prove that Coronado's Chichilticale was the “red house” built on Kuykendall site. Documents analysis proves that Fray Marcos' Chichilticale was Casa Grande and gives strong indications that Díaz and Alarcón reached Casa Grande or its vicinity.

This allows proposing the following map for Cíbola and Quivira Spanish explorations:



*Illustration 7: Spanish explorations, Cibola & Quivira.*

[For a complete justification of this map, see (Nallino, 2012:79-95).]

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